

SOCIALISTIC LABOR PARTY.

PLATFORM,
CONSTITUTION
AND RESOLUTIONS,

TOGETHER WITH A CONDENSED REPORT OF THE

Proceedings of the National Convention.

HELD AT

ALLEGHENY, PA.,

December 26, 27, 28, 29, 30 and 31, 1879, and January 1, 1880.

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DETROIT, MICH.

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PLATFORM

OF THE

SOCIALISTIC LABOR PARTY.

labor being the creator of all wealth, through and by it is organized society and civilization possible. It right- follows that those who labor and create all wealth are most important part of society, and hence should enjoy all results of their toil; and we declare that a just and equitable distribution of the fruits of labor is utterly impossible under the present system of competition. This fact is abundantly illustrated by the deplorable condition of the working classes, who are in a state of utter poverty and degrading dependence in the midst of their own productions. While the hardest and most disagreeable work brings to the worker only the bare necessities of life, the capitalist, who labor not at all, riot in labor's production and consume that wealth can purchase; and we declare that the present industrial system of competition causes and intensifies this inequality, concentrating into the hands of a few all means of production, distribution and the fruits of labor, thus creating gigantic monopolies dangerous to the people's liberties; and we further declare that these monster monopolies and these extremes of wealth and poor are the natural outgrowths of the industrial system, supported by class legislation, and are subversive of democracy, injurious to the national interests and destructive of all truth and morality. This state of affairs, condoned and upheld by the now ruling political parties, is a gross violation of the welfare of the people, and as the emancipation of the working classes must be achieved by the working classes themselves, it now becomes their duty to unite as a powerful labor party to free themselves from all forms of oppression and an unjust system.

For these reasons the Socialistic Labor Party has been organized, and in order to ameliorate the condition of the working people under the present system, we present the following platform and demands:

The material condition of the working people in all civilized countries is identical and results from the same causes, consequently the struggle for the emancipation of labor is international and naturally cooperative and mutual.

The wages system has become destructive of the highest interests of mankind, and to abolish this system, with a view to establish cooperative production and to secure equitable distribution we demand that the resources of life, the means of production, public transportation and exchange, become, as far as practicable, the public property of the people under the administration of the government.

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DEMANDS.

First. Entire revision of the United States Constitution as to institute direct popular legislation, and enable the people to propose or reject any law at their will, and thus secure self-government.

Second. The right of suffrage shall in no wise be abridged.

Third. Political equality before the law, of all citizens without regard to creed, race or sex.

Fourth. The establishment of a national ministry of labor.

Fifth. All conspiracy laws operating against the rights of workingmen must be repealed.

Sixth. Congress shall provide for the immediate creation of a national bureau of labor statistics.

Seventh. The rigid enforcement of the eight hour law in all national public works. We also demand an amendment to the Constitution of the United States declaring eight hours a legal work day in all industrial employments.

Eighth. All uncultivated lands shall be taxed equal with cultivated lands in the same locality.

Ninth. The government alone shall issue all money, and such right should not be delegated to any banking or private corporation.

The Socialistic Labor Party struggles to carry out the following measures in those States where they are not now law:

First. State bureaux of labor statistics.

Second. Eight hours as a legal working day, and strict punishment of all violators.

Third. Abolition of the system of hiring out by contract the labor of convicts in prisons and reformatory institutions.

Fourth. Strict laws making employers liable for all accidents resulting from their negligence to the injury of the employees.

Fifth. Entire legal restriction of the labor of children under fourteen years of age.

Sixth. Universal compulsory education; all school material to be furnished at public expense.

Seventh. Factory, mine and workshop inspection, and sanitary supervision of all food and dwellings.

Eighth. All wages shall be paid in the legal tender of the land, and violations of this law must be punished.

Ninth. All ballots to be printed by town and city governments. Ballots containing the names of all candidates for public office to be sent to all voters two days before election, and all election days to be legal holidays.

Tenth. All property, whether used for religious or secular purposes, to bear its just proportion of taxation.

RESOLUTIONS.

1st—Resolved, We favor the organization of national and international trade and labor unions for the protection

of workingmen, and advise our members to assist and join them, and that in resisting aggressive capital we give to labor, exploited under whatever form, our full sympathy, and, according to our means, our material support.

2nd—Resolved, All so-called tramp laws punishing unemployed workingmen as tramps are unconstitutional and inhuman, as poverty is thereby made a crime, therefore we demand their repeal.

WHEREAS, Twenty-two different railroad corporations have failed to comply with the conditions under which they have received land grants aggregating over 125,000,000 acres, comprising an area of territory larger than nearly a dozen States, and

WHEREAS, Millions of the citizens of the United States are struggling for a bare existence, unable to procure homes and a competence, and

WHEREAS, Said railroad land grants would furnish farms of fifty acres to over five millions of our citizens, therefore be it

RESOLVED, We call upon the Representatives of the people in the Congress of the United States to revoke the charters of these railroad corporations and reclaim the land granted under them for the exclusive use, benefit and occupancy of the people.

WHEREAS, The so-called Democrats (landlords) of the South have joined hands with the so-called Republicans, (populists) of the North; and

Whereas, This combination of the wealthy men, both North and South, is made for the sole purpose of destroying the liberties of the common people of both sections of our country; therefore, be it

Resolved, That we urge the working people of the South, regardless of color, to unite with their brothers of the North against the attempts of the ruling class to further impoverish and enslave them by depriving them of the possession and enjoyment of the fruits of their labor.

CONSTITUTION

OF THE

SOCIALISTIC LABOR PARTY.

I. MANAGEMENT.

The affairs of the Party will be conducted by the Conventions, Executive Committees, and the Board of Supervision.

II. CONVENTIONS.

THE NATIONAL CONVENTION.

1st. The National Convention will assemble at least once every two years. Every Section belonging to the Party for three months prior to the National Convention, and which has fulfilled all its obligations, is entitled to representation therein by one delegate for each 100 members or fraction thereof. Each delegate shall have only one vote. Proxy delegates must receive their credentials from the Sections they represent.

2d. Sections suspended by the National officers of the Party will be entitled to representation only after their cases have been investigated and acted upon by the National Convention; but such cases must be investigated and acted upon immediately after the examination of credentials and election of officers.

3d. The National Convention frames the National Platform, decides the form of organization, nominates the national candidates and directs the national agitation, selects the place where the next National Convention will be held and where the National Executive Committee and Board of Supervision will be located, fixes the salary of the Party officers, elects the Party Secretary, and investigates and decides all difficulties within the Party.

4th. A special National Convention may be called by ten Sections of five different States.

5th. The expenses of the delegates will be borne by the sections sending them. The business expenses of the National Convention will be paid by the Party.

6th. All propositions for the consideration of the National Convention must be communicated to the sections at least six weeks before the Convention assembles.

STATE CONVENTIONS.

1st. The State Convention will assemble at a proper time before the State elections are held, when found practicable to participate. Each Section is entitled to representation in

the State Convention by one delegate for every fifty members or fraction thereof. No delegate shall have more than one vote, and credentials shall not be transferable.

2d. Sections suspended by a State Executive Committee shall be subject to the same regulations as those governing the National Convention (See II, Sec. 2.)

3d. The State Convention frames the State Platform, nominates the State candidates, and decides where the State Executive Committee shall be located. All state and local platforms must be based upon the National Platform and shall not conflict with the principles therein declared.

4th. In all States where no State organization exists, the section which has the largest number of members shall, before the 1st of April, 1880, appoint a State Central Committee to act in accordance with the regulations provided by the Constitution.

LOCAL CONVENTIONS.

1st. The local conventions assemble at a proper time before the city or county elections, where found practicable to participate in such elections. The manner of constituting the same shall be determined by the sections in the districts concerned.

2d. All matters of local importance will be acted upon by the local conventions.

III. THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEES.

NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

1st. The National Executive Committee consists of seven members, including a Party Secretary, with the exception of whom, all will be elected by the sections in the locality chosen by the National Convention. It shall elect from its members a Recording Secretary and a Treasurer.

2d. Vacancies in the Executive Committee will be filled with members elected by the sections as above stated.

3d. The National Executive has for its duty:

- To carry out the resolutions of the National Convention, and enforce their observance by all officers and members of the Party.

- The National Executive Committee shall divide the Northern and Western States into four agitation districts as follows:

1st District—New England States and New York.

2d District—New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Maryland and West Virginia.

3d District—Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Kentucky, Michigan, Wisconsin and Iowa.

4th District—Missouri, Kansas, Arkansas, Colorado, Louisiana, and all South-Western States.

Proper arrangements shall be made whereby the sections in these districts may act unitedly for systematic propaganda.

- c. To conduct and manage the agitation in those States or Territories where no State or Territorial organization exists.
- d. To represent the Party internally and publicly.
- e. To establish proper relations and communication with the Socialistic Parties of other countries.
- f. To make all necessary preparations for the National Convention, and make a full report of the same on all Party matters.
- g. To issue semi-annually a report to the Party, stating definitely the condition of every Section and of the Party's finances. This report shall be revised by a committee of three, elected by the local section.
- 4th. The National Executive Committee has the right:
 - a. In cases of urgent necessity to make suitable propositions which shall become binding if endorsed by a general vote of the Party within two months after issue of the call.
 - b. To representation in the National Convention by the Party Secretary, who shall have no vote, but a mere advisory voice in the proceedings, and shall bear no other credentials.
 - c. The Party Secretary shall carry on all correspondence, but special correspondence shall be ordered by the National Executive Committee; he shall preserve a copy of the same, file all communications received, and keep a record of the same. He shall preserve all lists of membership, and keep an accurate account of all moneys received; he shall promptly deliver to the Treasurer all funds received by him, and take his receipt therefor. Upon request of any section, he shall furnish an accurate statement of its financial condition. He shall receive a proper salary.
 - d. The Treasurer shall receive all funds from the Party Secretary, pay all orders of the National Executive Committee when signed by the Party Secretary and another member thereof. He shall present, at every meeting of the National Executive Committee a true statement showing the condition of the Party Treasury, and publish a financial report to the Party every three months. He shall keep an accurate account of all moneys paid out and give bonds in the amount fixed by the National Executive Committee.

STATE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEES.

- 1st. The Executive Committees shall be elected and organized in the same manner as the National Executive Committee.
- 2d. The duties and powers of the State Executive Committees shall be substantially the same in the State organizations as those of the National Executive Committee in the National Party.
- 3d. Each State Executive Committee shall transmit the

proportional dues of its Sections to the National Executive Committee each month.

4th. It shall send to the National Executive Committee, every three months, a full report showing the condition of its Sections.

IV. BOARD OF SUPERVISION.

- 1st. The Board of Supervision shall be composed of seven members.
- 2d. The duties of this Board shall be:
 - a. To watch over the actions of the National Executive Committee and of the whole Party.
 - b. To settle all difficulties in the Party within four weeks after receiving the necessary evidence—the decisions to be at once communicated to the National Executive Committee.
 - c. The Board of Supervision can when necessary suspend any Boards, Executive Committees, Party officers, Sections or members. Such suspension to be, if called for, laid before the Party for a general vote, the result of which shall be made known within four weeks after close of the vote.
 - d. The Board of Supervision shall send its Corresponding Secretary as a delegate to the National Convention, under the same conditions as the delegate of the National Executive Committee. (See II, 4, b.)
 - e. The Secretary of the Board of Supervision shall render a full report of the transactions of that Board during its term, to the National Convention.

V. SECTIONS.

- 1st. a. Ten persons may form a Section providing they acknowledge the Platform and Constitution and resolutions of the National and State Conventions and belong to no other political party.
- b. They shall demand admission to the Party by sending a list of members to the National Executive Committee, and both list of membership and dues for the current month to the State Executive Committee.
- c. Each Section shall send each month a report of its numerical and financial condition, also its progress and prospects, to the National and also its State Executive committee.
- 2d. Only one section shall be established in each city or town. Branches shall be formed by the section wherever necessary. All of these branches shall be designated numerically in the order of their organization in the town or city. These branches shall be permitted to transact business of a local character, but all matters of a general nature shall be settled by the Central Committee, in which all branches shall be proportionately represented.

3d. Sections and branches shall be the judges of their own members, and responsible for their actions. The jurisdiction of branches over their own members to be, however, subject to the approval of the Central Committee.

4th. Five sections of different localities may propose the calling of a Special State Convention. Ten Sections are necessary to form a State Organization.

5th. All ward and district organizations, including all branches in suburbs shall belong to the Section.

6th. No branch or district organization shall conduct business of an important local character, independently of the Section.

7th. Should a protest be entered against the admission to a ward or district organization or to a Section, of any person making application, a two-thirds vote of all present in the regular business meeting will be necessary to admit him.

8th. A majority vote in the business meeting shall be sufficient to expel any member.

9th. Each Section or Branch shall hold an agitation meeting at least once every two weeks, and a regular business meeting at least once a month.

10th. Three-fourths of the members of a Section must be wages workers.

11th. Sections in States having State organization shall draw their cards and constitutions from the Secretary of the State Executive Committee upon payment of the fixed price of the same. Those in States not yet organized shall receive them under the same conditions from the Secretary of the National Executive Committee.

12th. The names of all persons applying for admission to the Party must be voted upon in a regular business meeting of the Section or Branch, but are subject to the approval of the Central Committee.

CENTRAL COMMITTEE.

1st. In every city where two or more branches exist, all local business of the section, and dealings with the party authorities will be carried on by a central committee.

2d. The central committee will be composed of delegates elected by the branches, the basis of representation determined by the branches collectively.

3d. The central committee shall have power to assess the local membership in a sum not exceeding two and one-half cents per member per month, for funds necessary for local purposes. This assessment to be deducted from the regular dues.

4th. The treasurer of each branch will report monthly to the central committee in writing, concerning the financial standing of his branch, and will pay to the Financial Secretary of the section the dues of each member (5 cents) five cents, to the National Executive Committee, and also all dues and assessments belonging to the local central committee. All other money of the branch shall be held by its

treasurer, subject to the order of the branch, which will be self-supporting, and conduct its own affairs, subject to the general regulations of the sections.

5th. Every delegate to the central committee will be subject to recall at any time, by the branch which he represents.

6th. All transactions of the central committee shall be subject to the approval of the branches, and will be promptly reported to them. If not objected to, they will be considered approved, but upon call of any branch, a general vote of all local branches shall be taken for the purpose of ratifying or rejecting any disputed action of the central committee.

7th. The section officers shall report to and receive their instructions from the central committee which represents the section. They shall attend all meetings of the central committee, and perform the duties specified in the Constitution. They are full members of the central committee.

8th. The central committee has full power to fill vacancies in section offices during the regular term, until a new election of officers takes place.

9th. The central committee shall elect from its midst an investigating committee of three, who shall investigate and decide upon all difficulties within the section, subject to the approval of the central committee or the section.

10th. Any motion on new business made in the central committee must be laid over until the next meeting, if one-third of the members present demand it.

11th. The central committee will meet as often as necessary, and the sessions shall be open to all party members who may desire to witness the proceedings.

12th. Upon dissolution of any branch, all of its property shall be delivered to the section officers.

13th. During political campaigns the Central Committee shall act as a Campaign Committee.

14th. The section shall assemble semi-annually, in January and July, for the purpose of electing the officers. In extraordinary cases, the branches may be called upon to assemble in joint meeting, as the section.

15th. The Organizer shall have the right to appeal to the whole section in case of conflict with the Central Committee, but must execute their orders until countermanded by a general vote of the section.

DUES.

1st. Where State Organization exists, the sections shall pay five cents per month for each member to the State Executive Committee, from which funds the State Executive Committee shall pay to the National Executive Committee the sum of two and one-half cents per month for each member.

2d. In case of need, the State or National Executive Committee shall have the right, with the approval of the Board of Supervision, to levy an extra tax on each member, of five

cents (5 cents) per month, until such amount of money as is necessary has been raised.

SECTION REGULATIONS.

1st. Each Section elects from its midst an Organizer, Corresponding, Recording and Financial Secretaries, Treasurer, and an Auditing Committee of two. Where no Central Committee exists, an Investigating Committee of three will also be elected.

2d. All Section officers will be elected for the term of six months.

3d. The Organizer conducts the local agitation. Where no State organization exists, the Organizer of the various localities shall establish proper connections for united action.

4th. The Corresponding Secretary shall carry on the correspondence of the Section, preserve a copy of all communications issued, send an official report every month to the State Executive Committee, and where none such exists to the National Executive Committee. He shall place on file all communications received.

5th. The Recording Secretary shall keep the records of the business meetings, and as far as possible of the agitation meetings.

6th. The Financial Secretary shall keep a correct list of the members, collect the dues and deliver them to the Treasurer, and keep a systematic account of his financial transactions.

7th. The Treasurer receives all moneys, pays all orders, and keeps a proper system of accounts.

8th. Every officer of the Section shall present a written report at each monthly business meeting.

9th. The Auditing Committee shall investigate all financial business of the Section, and audit all bills.

10th. The Investigating Committee shall examine and report upon all charges against members. Such charges shall not be published or debated upon before the committee has reported.

11th. At every meeting a new chairman shall be elected who shall observe the rules of order hereto attached. (See Page—)

12th. Every member shall pay as monthly dues at least ten (10) cents per month, of which sum five cents shall be sent to the State Executive Committee, and where none such exists, to the National Executive Committee, which sum shall be held by the Section Treasurer in trust for the National Executive Committee, (or State Executive Committee where such exists), and shall not be paid out by him for any local purposes, the Section having no jurisdiction over such money other than to assure its proper payment to the party authorities as required by the constitution."

13th. Members who have withheld payment of their dues

for more than three months shall be suspended from all rights until restored to good standing.

14th. Sick or unemployed members will be excused from payment of dues.

15th. The result of every election within the Section must be communicated at once to the State and National Executive Committee.

16th. Any party member who opposes and antagonizes the Demands, Measures and Resolutions of the party, in public meetings, shall be expelled from the party.

GENERAL REGULATIONS.

1st. Amendments to or alterations of this constitution must be adopted by the National Convention, such action, however, to be submitted to the Party for ratification by a general vote. The result must be communicated to the National Executive Committee within four weeks from call for vote. When necessary, however, a general election may be called by the National Executive Committee, and any proposition in the interest of the party voted upon.

2d. No person shall be eligible as a candidate of this Party for any public office who has not been at least one year a member of the Party in good standing, and has identified himself with the movement by active participation. This rule may be suspended in cases of necessity, by the Board of Supervision and National Executive Committee, on application of any section.

3d. All Committees and Officers in the Party shall be elected by a majority vote.

4th. No member shall hold more than one office in the Section at the same time.

5th. All Officers, Boards or Committees in the Party shall be subject to dismissal by a general vote of their constituents. Any member expelled from the Section shall have the right to appeal to the Central Committee where such exists, and from there to the Board of Supervision. No accusations or expulsions shall be published by anybody other than the National Board of Supervision.

6th. All members shall be eligible to any office or position in the Party.

7th. All members acknowledging the Platform and Constitution take upon themselves the obligation to assist each other to the extent of their ability in case of need.

8th. All actions of the National, State and Local Conventions must be submitted to their constituents for ratification.

9th. Under no circumstances shall personal attacks against members be published in our Party organs, under penalty of expulsion from the Party of the member publishing or causing the same to be published.

PROCEEDINGS
OF THE
NATIONAL CONVENTION
OF THE
Socialistic Labor Party,

HELD AT
TURNER HALL, ALLEGHENY CITY, PA., COM-
MENCING DEC. 26th, 1879.

At 10 o'clock A. M. the delegates assembled, and were called to order by Philip Van Patten, Corresponding Secretary of the National Executive Committee, who announced the convention formally opened. Temporary organization was formed by the election of the following officers:

A. R. Parsons, of Chicago, Ill., Chairman, and Wm. Wagner, of Brooklyn, N. Y., Secretary.

Committee on Credentials was appointed, consisting of comrades Christ, of St. Joseph, Mo.; Salinger, of New York; Collenburg, of New York; Guwang, of Allegheny City, and Nye, of Albany, N. Y.

Resolved, To take a recess until the Committee on Credentials shall be ready to report.

Shortly after 11 o'clock the convention was again called to order, and the Committee on Credentials reported the following persons entitled to seats in the convention, representing the following States:

MASSACHUSETTS.

Thos. C. Brophy, Salesman, Boston.

CONNECTICUT.

Aug. C. Jordan, Mechanical Engineer, West Meridan.

NEW YORK.

Edward Nye, Commercial Employe, Albany.

J. Salinger, Cigar Maker, New York City.

C. E. Collenburg, Painter, New York City.

J. W. Jahelka, Carpenter, New York City.

M. Bachman, Tailor, New York City.

P. J. McGuire, Piano Maker, Long Island City.

William Wagner, Cigar Maker, Brooklyn, N. Y.

Joseph Holler, Photographer, Brooklyn, N. Y.

PENNSYLVANIA.

S. Waldman, Tailor, Philadelphia.
E. Guwang, Cabinet Maker, Allegheny City.
C. Loether, Cigar Maker, Pittsburgh.
F. W. Hirt, Machinist, Erie.

MARYLAND.

Adam Kehm, Shoemaker, Baltimore.

NEW JERSEY.

S. Feuerherm, Newark.

OHIO.

W. C. Pollner, Cigar Maker, Cleveland.

ILLINOIS.

A. R. Parsons, Printer, Chicago.
Wm. Jeffers, Wood Turner, Chicago.

MICHIGAN.

Chas. Erb, Cigar Maker, Detroit.

WISCONSIN.

Wm. Mueller, Mason, Milwaukee.

MISSOURI.

Geo. Winter, Cigar Maker, St. Louis.

LOUISIANA.

August Raiser, Shoemaker, New Orleans.

CALIFORNIA.

Julius Albert, Painter, San Francisco.

The *National Executive Committee* was represented by Philip Van Patten, and the *Board of Supervision* by Frederick Meiselbach, of Newark, N. J.

Credentials were offered by Calvin A. Light, who demanded admission as representative from Indiana, and showed that he had been elected by the Indianapolis section. The section was declared entitled to representation, but objection being raised by P. J. McGuire to admission of Mr. Light, a heated debate commenced. It was said that Light had, in 1878, been the publisher of a Socialistic weekly paper at Indianapolis, and that in the spring of 1879 he sold the subscription list, good will and entire proprietorship of the paper to democratic politicians, who changed the name of the paper to that of "The Democrat," and filled its columns with puffs of the democratic party. Also, that Light continued to act as business manager and general editor, and sent the paper to nearly all the same workingmen who had been subscribers of the paper before the change. The reply was made by Mr. Light that he had been compelled by circumstances to sell subscription list of the paper, and accept the position of assistant editor and business manager, but that he never wrote a line in favor of the democratic party, or assisted that

party in any way. In short, that he had regarded the newspaper merely as a business enterprise. Also, that he had paid his dues as a member for nearly four years, and is today as true a socialist as any one can be. The debate continued for some time on the question of accepting the credentials and admitting Light. Arguments were made by Parsons, of Chicago, Bachman, of New York, and Hirt, of Erie, Pa., all in Light's favor, while McGuire, of St. Louis, Brophy, of Boston, Wagner, of Brooklyn, and Winter, of St. Louis, opposed admitting him to a seat in the convention.

The convention at this point adjourned to meet again at 1:30 P. M.

At 1:30 P. M. the convention re-assembled; on motion of Waldman, of Philadelphia, the debate on the credentials of Mr. Light was resumed.

Bachman claimed the section being entitled to representation, it had a right to send as delegate any of its members, and this convention had no right or power to reject such delegate. Hirt said that Light was as good a socialist as any one in the convention. Philip Van Patten said that Light is a printer, and member of the Union of that trade; that he could make \$15 to \$18 per week, and therefore it could not have been poverty that compelled him to publish the paper, for he acknowledged that he never realized over \$8 to \$10 per week from it. Light's principal fault was that he turned over to the democrats the list of subscribers, who were favorable to our principles, and allowed his name to be used as editor and business manager of the democratic paper.

The chairman decided the credentials were legally sent, but that the question of admitting the delegate was the only one to be decided upon. The question being called for, the motion to admit was lost. 8 voting for, and 15 against his admission.

Resolved, To notify the Indianapolis section that admission of their delegate was refused. Van Patten was instructed to send such a notice by telegraph. Mr. Nye offered a resolution concerning the improper manner by which the delegates from New York had been elected. The resolution was subsequently withdrawn. The report of the committee on credentials was then adopted.

REGULAR SESSION.

The convention then proceeded to form a permanent organization. The following officers were elected for the day: Chairman, P. J. McGuire, of Long Island City; Vice Chairman, C. E. Collenburg, of New York; Secretary, Philip Van Patten; Assistant Secretary, Geo. Winter, of St. Louis, Mo.

Resolved, That during the sessions of this convention, a new chairman shall be elected every day; also, a Vice Chairman, but that the Secretary shall serve during the entire convention.

Resolved, That the rules of order attached to the constitution and order of business for nominating conventions there

laid down, shall be the rules to govern this convention—adopted.

Resolved, That all communications shall be laid over until after the appointment of committees—carried. The following committees were then appointed:

Grievances—Parsons, Collenburg and Nye.

Report of Nat. Executive Com. and Board of Supervision—Brophy, Loether and Albert.

Press—Erb, Winter and Mueller.

Platform—Bachman, McGuire, Wagner, Waldman and Jahelka.

Organization—Holler, Jeffers, Pollner, Salinger, Christ, Guwang and Feuerherm.

Finance—Hirt, Kehm and Jordan.

Resolutions—to be considered by the committee on platform.

Translations—Collenburg and Pollner.

COMMUNICATIONS.

The following communications were then read: Telegraphic dispatch from Justus Schwab, of New York, expressing sympathy and best wishes. Letter from Carl Schuman, relative to purity in politics, also enclosing letters sent him by the Board of Supervision, in relation to the Cincinnati section—referred. From Lawrence, Mass. section, memorial with suggestions—referred to committee on platform. Memorials and suggestions were also received from the Cincinnati section and the Chicago Scandinavian branch—referred. Philip Van Patten bringing charges against Carl Schuman, of Cincinnati; letter from L. Schick for redress of grievances for his alleged unjust expulsion—referred. Letter of F. Filly asking investigation of his charges against the Executive Committee. Letter from W. G. H. Smart, of Boston. Complaint of C. A. Light against his rejection as a delegate. Motion to refer to committee on complaints and grievances ruled out of order. Appeal taken and chair was sustained. Dr. Stiebeling sent manuscript of his pamphlet "*Lesebuch für das Volk*," which he offered the party free of charge—accepted and referred to committee on press. A letter was read from Dr. Stiebeling in behalf of the Social Democratic Printing Association, demanding payment in full of debt owed by the party for *Arbeiter Stimme*—referred to finance committee.

T. C. Brophy, of Boston, offered the following resolution:

Resolved, That the committee on organization be directed to consider the expediency of amending the constitution, so that all national candidates will be nominated by the members of the party in their respective sections instead of by the convention—referred to committee on organization.

W. G. H. Smart, of Boston, sent letter suggesting various improvements of platform and constitution—referred.

Philip Van Patten then read the official report of the National Executive Committee, reciting the various acts of that body, and also a general history of the party. It was received

with applause, and referred to committee on report of National Executive Committee. The following is a summary:

"It is to be regretted that our party has lost valuable opportunities offered during the past two years, but which could not be properly grasped, as our own organization had not yet the experience nor confidence necessary to control the vast numbers of discontented workmen who were ready to be organized. The situation has now materially changed. The temporary revival of business prosperity is rapidly drawing the plundered toilers back into their old paths, and closing their ears to the appeals of reason. They are selling their birthright for a mess of pottage, by rejecting the prospect of future emancipation, in their greed for the trifling gains of the present.

It is especially to be regretted that we had not secured the election of at least a dozen representatives in the legislatures of every Northern State, since a party which has elected a number of representatives, is considered tolerably permanent, while one which has not is regarded by the public as transient and uncertain. We believe, therefore, that our party has been over-cautious in spending all its time and efforts in perfecting the means, while the results have been treated as secondary in importance. We must expect the labor movement to meet with dangers, for only by actual experience can our members obtain a knowledge of political management. We cannot know what men to trust until they have safely passed through the temptations and corruptions of several campaigns. In endeavoring to avoid the extreme of pushing forward candidates regardless of consequences, we have fallen into the other extreme, that of electing nobody. We have vainly attempted to convert all those upon whose votes we depend into philosophers and political economists, able to direct and guide such public officers as might be elected, and we regret that our efforts made to this end, have only reduced the quantity, without materially improving the quality of those voters. We can be careful without being timid, and bold without being rash, consequently this convention should remove some of the obstacles to progress, and still retain all checks necessary for safety.

We must grapple with present false conditions, and so alter, modify, and re-adjust them, that we can always hold public attention and keep the minds of workingmen excited over each progressive measure leading toward the desired result. In the arguments above offered, we believe that the cause of our present political weakness is made clear, and with this introduction we will now review the history of the party during our administration.

When our committee first organized itself in Cincinnati, in March, 1878, the conditions which caused the congress to choose that city as the location for its managing officers had greatly changed. Although at the fall elections of 1877, Hamilton County had cast 9000 votes for the ticket of the Workingmen's party of the United States, yet within the

two months following that election, a dangerous reaction set in.

The old quarrels between the extreme theoretical Socialists and the stronger elements which favored ameliorative measures and financial reforms, were revived with intense bitterness, so that when the congress of Newark changed the name of the party, many made that action an excuse to leave our organization. Just before that fall election above mentioned, a daily newspaper, the *Ohio Volks Zeitung* first appeared, with no capital of consequence to back it. The circumstances attending the establishment of this paper brought up fresh strife, and inaugurated the internal warfare among our German members which has almost completely destroyed the Cincinnati Section.

When therefore, our committee entered upon the duties of office, the situation was already discouraging, especially when at the April elections, one month later, the small number of only 1700 votes were cast for our local ticket. The failure of the daily paper in September following, completed the downfall of the movement in Cincinnati. Our committee could do nothing to avert the blow, but were obliged to witness with sorrow the consequences of imprudent speculation. We state these facts, in order to explain how the Section once most powerful in the party, and which appointed our National Executive Committee, has been destroyed and our committee itself greatly weakened.

THE PARTY PRESS.

When the last Party Congress adjourned there were in the United States the following newspapers devoted to our movement:

- "*The Arbeiter Stimme*," (property of the Party). Weekly. New York.
- "*Vorwaerts*," (published by stock company). Daily. Newark, N. J.
- "*Ohio Volks Zeitung*," (published by stock company). Daily. Cincinnati, Ohio.
- "*Arbeiter von Ohio*," (published by stock company). Weekly. Cincinnati, Ohio.
- "*Philadelphia Tageblatt*," (published by stock company). Daily. Philadelphia, Pa.
- "*Die Neue Zeit*," (published by stock company). Daily. Louisville, Ky.
- "*Arbeiter Zeitung*," (published by stock company). Tri-Weekly. Chicago, Ill.
- "*Vorbote*" (published by stock company). Weekly. Chicago, Ill.
- "*Volks Stimme des Westens*," (published by stock company). Daily. St Louis, Mo.
- "*Delnicke Listy*," (published by stock company). Weekly. (Bohemian). Cleveland, O.
- "*Vorwaerts*," (published by stock company). Weekly. Milwaukee, Wis.

"*The Socialist*," (English). (published by stock company). Weekly. Detroit, Mich.

"*The Times*," (English). (published by C. A. Light). Weekly. Indianapolis, Ind.

Shortly after the Congress, the "*Vorwaerts*" of Newark, suspended publication, followed by the "*Neue Zeit*" of Louisville, the "*Vorwaerts*" of Milwaukee, and "*The Socialist*" of Detroit. The "*Delnicke Listy*" was removed to New York City. Early in 1878 the German membership of New York established a handsome daily entitled the "*New Yorker Volks Zeitung*." The competition made by this paper very soon took so many subscribers from the "*Arbeiter Stimme*,"—the weekly paper belonging to our party—that its suspension had to be ordered. Before ceasing publication we called upon the publishers of the "*Volks Zeitung*" to redeem their promise made at the Congress, to avoid destroying our weekly paper; and asked them to print our paper at a low price, from the standing matter used in the daily. After considerable correspondence this was refused, and the "*Arbeiter Stimme*" had to be suspended, leaving the party over \$400 in debt, to the Social Democrat Printing Association.

In April, 1878, our committee decided, with the approval of the Board of Supervision, to issue a weekly paper in the English language, entitled, "*The National Socialist*," with John McIntosh as editor. It came out early in May, and its appearance was the signal for the suspension of "*The Socialist*," the English weekly in Detroit, which was already nearly bankrupt. "*The National Socialist*" soon gained nearly 3000 subscribers, and although it ran heavily into debt, yet the weekly deficit was reduced to about \$20 per week.

In July, 1878, we decided to call for the payment of an extra tax of 5 cents per member, for the relief of "*The National Socialist*." The response was rather weak, yet considerable help was obtained.

In August, 1878, the Chicago Section resolved to publish a local Weekly of their own, with money (\$3,000) which they had gained by holding a picnic and festival. As the competition of this paper would be certain to break down our "*National Socialist*" which was then already \$800 in debt, and the other debts of the Party (over \$500 more) were very heavy, our committee decided to persuade the Chicago membership to buy the subscription list of our paper and issue the new one as the official Party organ. After two trips to Chicago, our Corresponding Secretary was successful in selling the list for \$400 cash, and making a contract binding the Chicago Section to publish the paper, strictly as an official organ of the party, with editors whose appointment should be subject to our approval. Under the Chicago management the paper lived nearly a year, until August, 1879, but its expenses were so heavy, and its deficit so large (an average of \$50 per week!) that its entire capital of \$2,600 was wasted, and the paper died. The Chicago "*Arbeiter Zeitung*"

was made a daily early in 1879, and a new company formed for its publication. The "*Indianapolis Times*" under the management of C. A. Light, changed its name and its politics, in the Spring of this year, and assumed the title of "*The Democrat*." As previously mentioned, the "*Ohio Volks Zeitung*" suspended in September, 1878, after seven months of severe struggling with financial difficulties, and the attempt to continue its weekly edition also failed.

All these disasters to our Party papers led us to suggest to the publishers of our principal daily papers that they enter into practical co-operation with one another, namely, that each of the two large papers, one in the East, the other in the West, should print one side of each of the smaller papers in neighboring cities from the standing matter used in their own. By this plan numbers of Weeklies and small Dailies, in towns near the central office, could be cheaply published. Our suggestion was however not acted upon except by the "*Philadelphia Tageblatt*" which gets its Sunday edition printed at the office of the "*New York Volks Zeitung*." Several months ago a small daily evening paper called the "*Arbeiter Zeitung*" appeared in Milwaukee under the editorship of M. Biron.

The Scandinavian members of Chicago, commenced soon after the last Congress, publication of a Weekly paper in their own language, with the title "*Den Nye Tid*." Great sacrifices were necessary on the part of the publishers to sustain it, but it still manages to exist, and deserves encouragement. We cannot close our review of the Socialistic Labor Press, without mentioning the "*Irish World and Industrial Liberator*." This splendid Weekly, while nominally a Greenback paper, and the principal organ of that Party, is nevertheless so impregnated with radical Socialism that it is doing far more for our cause than any English paper in America. We could wish it to be all our own, were it not for the fact that it now reaches tens of thousands who would ignore it were it devoted exclusively to Socialistic theories. We hope our members will aid it with correspondences, and lay our views before its readers.

In October last our National Executive Committee commenced publication of an official monthly bulletin, and the warmth with which its advent was hailed convinces us that such a paper ought to have been issued years ago. It is cheap and small and yet full of all party news of interest. We hope it will be continued, as it supplies a long-felt want.

AGITATION.

Our Committee have always made it their policy to so manage the financial affairs that the heavy debt by which we were burdened could be steadily reduced. During our administration we have paid off all debts except that of the "*Arbeiter Stimme*," which still amounts to \$115. Owing to these financial difficulties we were obliged to be very sparing in the matter of sending out traveling speakers.

Nevertheless we have done fully as much in this line as the former Executive Committee, although laboring under far greater difficulties. We have learned that Sections near to one another can be induced to join in paying expenses of a speaker on their route, and thus avoid drawing to any considerable extent upon the party treasury. An agitator with any enterprise can collect enough at each place he visits to carry him to the next place. In many cases he may deliver lectures, charging ten or fifteen cents for tickets, as has been successfully done by several agitators.

In the Fall of 1878, our Committee issued to all Sections quantities of blank subscription lists for the establishment of an agitation fund. The Northern, Eastern and Western States were apportioned into five agitation districts, and the Sections in those districts were appealed to to combine their strength and money and organize the States in such districts. Our appeal was read, approved, and—in most cases—forgotten! We must give credit to the Sections in the States of New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania, for having formed temporary State organizations and appointed State Executive Committees. Those of New York and Pennsylvania made numerous efforts to strengthen their connections, and did succeed partially. Our party papers gave very little attention to the matter, and deserve censure for ignoring so important a movement.

OUR POLITICAL RECORD.

At the ballot box—the instrument which is popularly supposed to correctly express the will of the people—our party has generally held its ground very firmly, some localities showing increased strength, while others, once prominent in the movement, have weakened in a most discouraging manner. But however slowly we may seem to gain in voting strength, it cannot be denied that we have compelled the public to adopt a much more respectful attitude toward us, and tens of thousands who still regard the success of the old parties to which they severally belong, as necessary to public safety under present circumstances, have nevertheless become convinced of the justice of our ultimate aims. They no longer believe in the divine right of property, but they are too indolent or indifferent to devote their time and talents to the work of organizing, or of spreading our principles. We have compelled such journals and periodicals as "*The Nation*," the "*North American Review*," "*The Independent*," "*The International Review*," "*The XIXth Century*," "*The Boston Investigator*," and many other prominent publications, to discuss our movement in an earnest manner. That their conclusions generally are unfavorable is to be expected, yet we find that after the literary champions of capitalism have to their own satisfaction demolished our arguments, they find it necessary every few months to renew the contest.

Two years ago we were treated as incendiaries and inciters of riots for purposes of plunder. To-day we meet with silent

respect for our devotion, although it is the respect shown to "well-meaning fanatics and harmless dreamers." But these fanatics have arguments which startle the scoffers, these dreamers offer *remedies* for social wrongs—remedies based upon the soundest principles of socio-political economy, and the poorest workingman is furnished with weapons which pierce through all the armor of sophistry. The progress of socialism cannot be measured by the number of votes cast for our humble ticket, but by the extent to which the public have become enlightened as to our principles. Therefore we find no cause for discouragement in the weak vote polled by our Party. The following is a short and hasty review of our political history. Most of the sections have abstained from participating in the campaigns since their organizations are claimed to be too weak to achieve success. In the New England States, only the section of Boston has taken much interest in the elections, and there only in a limited degree. In the manufacturing towns, the workmen are kept under such strict supervision by their employers that they rarely dare to hold public meetings.

In New York City and Brooklyn the party polls from three to five thousand votes, the former figure being the reliable voting strength. At the recent election the socialists of New York State nominated a full State ticket, and quite a number of towns were organized for its support. Albany, Troy, Utica, Syracuse, Buffalo, and a number of towns around New York and on Long Island lent their aid. Comrade Caleb Pink was candidate for governor and comrade Osborne Ward for lieutenant-governor. The State organization was naturally very incomplete, owing to our lack of speakers and resources, so that not over ten thousand votes were polled. This result is however better than ever before, and is at least progress in the right direction.

The sections of New Jersey, Pennsylvania and Maryland remained inactive. In Ohio, where, in 1877, over 12,000 votes were cast for the State ticket, the organization was destroyed as before stated, before our Executive Committee was formed, since in April, 1878 only Cincinnati had a county ticket in the field. 1,700 votes were recorded, a downfall which frightened away all but those who were or had been section members. In the fall election, the Cincinnati members made the first nominations for Congress that have occurred since organization of our party. Peter H. Clark, a colored man, and Solomon Ruthenberg, were the candidates; their combined vote not exceeding 600. The "Ohio Volks-Zeitung" had been suspended, and the party was completely demoralized. The spring of 1879 witnessed the same state of affairs, the vote being less than 500. During the summer the partial revival of business induced workingmen to ask more wages and reorganize their trade unions, and as our members rendered them active assistance in this good work, we gained their confidence so that at the October election a handsome increase of our vote rewarded our efforts. The sections in Kentucky refrained from taking any part in the

campaigns, as did also those of Indiana. Detroit, Michigan now has a lively movement, notwithstanding all the difficulties under which the section has labored. As in Cincinnati, so in Detroit, our members believe in nominating a ticket and voting for it even if only a dozen votes are cast. At the last election they lacked very few votes of electing comrade Simpson as alderman.

It is to Chicago however that the attention of our party has been turned ever since the large vote of 1877. Then nearly 7,000 votes set the movement on its feet, and until the last election there has been a steady increase. In the spring of 1878 comrade Fred. Stauber was elected alderman from the 14th ward, and did good service in the city council, by exposing frauds and corrupt jobs dating back a number of years. In the fall of that year there were elected three State Representatives, namely C. Ehrhardt, C. Meier and Leo Meilbeck, and one State Senator, Sylvester Artley. During their first term they introduced bills to enforce the payment of wages in cash, prohibiting children's labor and the employment of convict labor by private individuals, a bill to license locomotive engineers, to enforce the eight hour law already on the statute books, to create a bureau of labor statistics, to secure proper ventilation in the mines, to make employers responsible for injuries to employees while at work, and a number of other important measures. Most of these were killed either by direct vote or by amendments which destroyed their efficiency. The bureau of labor statistics was however established, and good results hoped for. In the following spring four socialists were elected as aldermen, namely Altpeter, Lorenz, Meier and Stauber.

Although the opportunities of these representatives are somewhat limited, yet they have always been found on the side of honesty and justice on all questions requiring their votes. At the election in which these socialists were successful, our ticket was headed by a candidate for mayor who is deservedly one of the most popular and best loved men in Chicago, namely Dr. Ernst Schmidt, the leading German physician and an old associate of Karl Marx. He received 12,000 votes, running ahead of his ticket and lending great influence to the movement although he was defeated.

In the middle of summer a special election for judges was held, in which while our party took no official action, yet the members by tacit consent united in supporting Judges Barnum and McAllister, owing to their steadfast protection of the working people against the oppressions of the monied class. Our party was not disappointed in these men, for when the question of the constitutionality of the State militia law was brought into the courts, these judges affirmed the right of the people to maintain their own military organizations independent of the government. For having been instrumental in gaining this decision, the Lehr and Wehr Verein, the military workingmen's organization, fulfilled a valuable mission, thus convincing us that after all there is nothing on earth which is not *sometimes* useful. At the fall

election for county officers, our ticket suffered a discouraging loss, only 5,000 votes having been cast for it. To be sure, there was no hope of carrying the county, and therefore many thousands felt that votes for the socialist ticket would accomplish no good beyond showing our strength, so that these may return to their allegiance next time, yet the influence of this set-back will require great efforts on our part to restore our former power.

The Arbeiter Zeitung, our daily paper, has proven a valuable means of agitation.

Throughout the rest of the State there has been no political action, although a number of sections are organized. Chicago socialists ought long ago to have organized the State, and we trust this important matter will be no longer delayed. Missouri depends upon St. Louis to represent socialism politically. This city has cast as high as 7,000 votes for us, yet unfortunately these occasions happen when they can do no good except to give opportunities for strong protests against existing evils. None of our candidates for any important offices except those of members of school board, have been elected. On two occasions the greenbackers and our section have endorsed each others candidates, but this has, we believe, never been done in such a way as to compromise our principles. The Volks-Stimme des Westens, our daily German paper, continues to do good work, and only needs a little livening up in its local and general departments, to make it a formidable competitor with the capitalistic dailies.

Wisconsin, Iowa, Kansas and Louisiana all have sections of our party, but the only political action in these States was taken by the sections of Leavenworth and New Orleans, the former in a county election and the latter in opposition to the new constitution. Both sections lost their cause but gained in experience, and will do better next time.

In California our Sections are doing their best to educate the rank and file of the W. P. C. in our principles, but have not nominated an independent ticket, deeming it unwise and imprudent at present to divide the forces of the labor movement.

In Colorado a lively movement was inaugurated at Denver, by Comrade Pinther, and several old members from Chicago. In July they held a great demonstration in favor of the eight hour law, and afterward prepared for political action, since which time they have not reported. As may be gathered from the foregoing report, the Southern States remain unorganized with only an occasional subscriber here and there. The experience we have gained has forced us to the conclusion that Article 2, of general regulations of the constitution is a great injury to our movement, for it not only discourages newly organized sections by preventing them from voting for their principles until twelve months have elapsed, but it also cripples all other Sections by preventing them from expressing their judgment as to who are fit to be candidates. The rule has been broken so many

times that it no longer is considered binding, and we cannot suspend a section for its violation. The cases of Chicago, St. Louis, Cincinnati, Leavenworth, and we believe New York, offer we believe sufficient proof of the inefficacy of this law.

During the past summer our Committee called for a general vote upon a number of amendments intended to perfect our political machinery, and among other reforms we asked the limitation of the probation period of candidates to six months. This was, however, voted down by a small majority, while most of the other amendments were adopted. The most important amendments which became law were those permitting the recognition of only one section in each city or town (with as many branches as may be found necessary), and those providing means to conduct the movement in each large city through a central committee, which is to all intents and purposes the section itself, but can transact business much more rapidly and intelligently than the old style mass-meetings could. The clause which deprived executive officers of the section of voting power in the central committee, but left them the right to debate and advise upon all questions, has caused some discussion. Our reason for the amendment was that we considered such officers servants of the section, and as such they should not be allowed to vote upon questions affecting their own administration. We hope the amendments will not be materially changed by the Congress, except to better carry out the ideas embodied in them.

The question of our participation in the Presidential election of 1880 has been greatly debated, and the longer we reflect upon the matter the more we are convinced that we must under no consideration abstain from placing a ticket in the field. Great opportunities are now offered by the confusion in the ranks of the old parties. They have no longer any important issues, while we have the greatest issue ever presented to the people of America. The proposition to combine with the Workingmen's Party of California, the Liberal Party, and the Greenback Party; by uniting to support able representative men for the offices of President and Vice-President, would meet with our endorsement did we know who that man would be and what the platform would be. If one can be found who will represent all labor elements on the main principle, leaving particular questions not immediately essential, for future settlement, we shall indeed rejoice. The proposed Liberal Party, whose preliminary convention was held at Cincinnati in September last under the auspices of the Liberal League, and which adopted a Socialist platform, gives no indication of an intention to nominate a Presidential ticket, its newspaper organs being remarkably silent on the subject. Still they may carry out their promises and show some political independence, therefore we recommend that the future National Executive Committee be authorized to send representatives to their

convention in May, 1880, also to that of the Workingmen's Party at Chicago, or elsewhere, when held, for purposes of conference with a view to possible unity in the campaign. A general vote of our sections should be necessary to ratify any proposed coalition or endorsement of candidates. If none can be agreed upon we ought still to nominate one of our own men. We have fully as strong an organization now as the Greenback Party had in 1876, when they cast 100,000 votes, and as we believe that most other labor and reform parties will be used and possibly destroyed by the politicians of the old parties, we may be the only genuine labor party in the field. Let each State organization furnish its own tickets and distribute them well. The expense of tickets is trifling—not over fifty cents per thousand. Future details can easily be arranged. By all means let us vote for our principles next year!

BUREAU OF LABOR STATISTICS.

These valuable institutions are now established in many States, but do not all work satisfactorily. That of Massachusetts is too timid or else too crippled in resources to attract public attention. That of New Jersey is no better. In that of Ohio the laboring people have an able and devoted representative in the person of Mr. Harry Walls, former secretary of the International Iron Moulders' Union. His reports are so truthful that he may soon lose his position. The bureau of Illinois has not yet published its first report. That of Missouri is also in its infancy, under the management of Comrades Hilke and P. J. McGuire. It is expected that when the census of the United States shall be taken (in 1880), the statistics of the industries of America will also receive attention.

The trades unions and ameliorative reform movements are slowly gaining strength—very slowly. Although the eight-hour agitation has been kept up incessantly for years, and occasional demonstrations are held in its favor, yet the organization necessary to enforce observance of an eight-hour system makes little progress. The National and International trade union organizations have made little effort toward the desired federation of labor. At their annual conventions resolutions favorable to such combination were adopted by the Iron Moulders, the Amalgamated Association of Iron and Steel Workers, the Cigar Makers, and the International Typographical Union, but with their adoption the matter seems to have been consigned to oblivion until another convention should be held. The recent revival of industry awakened new life and interest in the unions, quite a number of important strikes having resulted favorably to the workingmen.

By assisting and advising them our membership has made many friends. Consistent and patient work among them seems to us absolutely necessary if we would gain political strength of any consequence, even without considering that

It is our manifest duty to assist every effort of workingmen to ameliorate their condition.

PAMPHLETS AND TRACTS.

Our Committee have done their best to furnish suitable pamphlets and cause their circulation. Those entitled "Lassalle's Open Letter," and "Does Socialism tend to Abolish Private Property," were published at the expense of the party; several others by members on their own responsibility. We have standing advertisements of them in all the party papers, yet regret to state that very few sections have bought them for distribution. A little attention to this valuable means of instruction would largely increase and improve our English speaking membership. In Detroit several enterprising members have formed a tract association, printing many thousand sheets at low prices. Sections should purchase large quantities of them for free distribution. Now is the time for action. Delay is almost criminal.

MILITARY ORGANIZATION.

During the months of May and June, 1878, the public press first began to express alarm at the reports of the organization of military companies among workingmen in Chicago and Cincinnati. As these carried the red flag and acknowledged their socialistic tendencies, the public were informed that the Socialists were determined to accomplish by force what they could not obtain by the ballot. The announcement having also been made that a general strike would occur in June, beginning at Chicago, and that the "Lehr und Wehr Verein" had ordered many thousand rounds of ammunition, caused the entire newspaper world to publish warnings and alarming threats. The statements of the "Lehr und Wehr Verein" avowing peaceable intentions and declaring that the organization was only for self-defence in case workingmen's meetings should be unjustly dispersed or our republican institutions overthrown, were received with derision. Americans asked, "what contingency could arise requiring the resistance of military organizations to the civil authorities?" Socialists asked, "what could be gained by resisting with arms and drilled forces the officers of the law in any one locality, even if such officers were acting in a manner unauthorized by law?" And above all, supposing a case might arise in which resistance of the working people to the civil officers would be justifiable, and that in the event of such an emergency some organization and discipline would be necessary for successful resistance, why should these armed bodies parade the streets in time of peace, in connection with and under the auspices of the Socialist Labor Party, a political association which is revolutionary in its aims but professes to desire only a peaceful revolution? What consistency is there in our professions when viewed from the standpoint of the generally uninformed and timid public? If the mildest philanthropist in the world, even

Peter Cooper, were to walk the streets armed to the teeth, with a belt full of revolvers and a breech-loading rifle on his shoulder, people would look upon him with fear and trembling, and should they learn that he was a Socialist who denies the privileges of property, they would feel like calling out the militia at once.

The public alarm at the period above mentioned required that our intentions should be declared and our position officially defined. Therefore we published a card denying the false reports that our sections were arming, and informing the public that our party, *as a party*, would not be responsible for any violations of law by its members. The German weekly *Vorbote* ridiculed our action in a most unwarranted manner. Shortly afterward we learned that the "Lehr und Wehr Verein" would march under arms with the procession of our sections of Chicago, upon the very day when the general strike was expected to commence, and that in anticipation of trouble the city authorities had issued special orders to the police department and that the militia forces would be assembled at their respective armories. We resolved to advise the Chicago section to avoid any military display and instead to ridicule the authorities by appearing in a manner as innocent as that of a religious procession. Owing to the lateness of the hour we had not time to communicate fully our wishes, but published through the Associated Press a declaration to all sections to the effect that military organization is unwarranted by our constitution, and that no official recognition should be granted to armed bodies of workingmen, also advising members of our party to withdraw from any military organizations of the kind described. This declaration was received by the Chicago section with the most bitter contempt. The advice was disregarded and the armed organization welcomed to the procession. The editor of the *Arbeiter Zeitung* and *Vorbote* not satisfied with this, attempted to create a permanent breach in the party by printing thousands of extra papers filled with abuse of our Committee, which were flung indiscriminately among the crowd in the streets through which the procession marched. After this event the *Vorbote* continued the abusive attacks upon our Committee, ignoring all explanations showing the good intentions which had actuated us, so that to maintain the honor of the party we repudiated the *Vorbote* as our organ until such time as its tone should be corrected. After a time we resolved for the sake of the party, which was being greatly injured by the strife, and in view of the fact that the *Vorbote* had evidently recovered its reason, to again publish our official records in its columns. Since then comparative harmony has existed, although occasional blows are still aimed at us. We now call upon the Congress for a final vindication of our course, and hope that future misunderstandings concerning the attitude of the party to military organizations of workingmen will be avoided by a suitable resolution.

With this emphatic demand we close, hoping that the party may rise above the petty difficulties which now embarrass it and become what we have striven to make it—a grand legion of devoted, earnest and sincere champions of Human Rights and Universal Brotherhood. Respectfully submitted,
THE NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

F. Meiselbach presented the report of the Board of Supervision—referred.

SYNOPSIS OF REPORT OF BOARD OF SUPERVISION.

Owing to the difficulty of keeping up a large paper on an extensive scale, to compete with capitalistic papers, recommend continuation of the present Bulletin and increase of membership dues to 13 cents or 15 cents per month, of which sum 5 cents shall be devoted to Bulletin, which can then be enlarged. Since much confusion has arisen over the relation of our party to the Trade Unions, we recommend change of Article 3, of Platform, explaining the nature of our party but also the necessity of Trade Unions, and advising their encouragement.

Recommend further, that present Plank No. 15 be made No. 1, and No. 16 as new No. 2, and No. 14 as new No. 3, these to form the political and the rest the economical platform. Recommend that the convention adopt measures to stop the publication of personal attacks in party papers.

Recommend that Convention deny to Sections the right to organize as military organizations, but acknowledge right of members to join such as individuals.

Concerning San Francisco Section we claim that body by combining with the W. P. C. voted themselves out of our party. The difficulty was subsequently settled by reorganization of the Section.

Recommend that appeals made from decision of Section by single members, should be signed by five besides the appealing one.

In the Cincinnati Section there has been strife ever since the executive committee was transferred to that city.

Charges against the Section, the Executive Committee, and the Corresponding Secretary, have been presented to our Board but always by one member of that Section, and without any substantial proofs.

William Haller was suspended from membership on account of his public attacks upon our platform and measures.

Recommend more restriction upon right of Sections whenever weak and disorganized, to go into political action. No Section to participate in elections till on a sound footing.

SIGNED,

F. MEISELBACH,

Corresponding Secretary Board of Supervision.

To give the committees time to perform their duties, adjourned to 1:30 M. P. Dec. 27th.

SATURDAY, DECEMBER 27TH.—AFTERNOON SESSION.

The Secretary called the convention to order at 1:30 P. M.,

and A. R. Parsons of Chicago was elected chairman for the day, and C. E. Collenburg of New York, vice chairman. On motion of Holler, of Brooklyn, the convention adjourned until 7 o'clock P. M., to give committees time to prepare their reports. The motion to adjourn was carried by vote of 9 affirmative 8 negative.

EVENING SESSION.

The roll was called and showed all present. Bachman, of New York, moved to take from table the memorial of Calvin A. Light, asking that his case be referred to a committee, and he be "given a full and impartial hearing." Lost by a vote of 11 to 9. Hirt, of Erie, Pa., was excused from attendance for a time. Brophy, of Boston, from the committee on Report of National Executive Committee and Board of Supervision, reported concerning Report of National Executive Committee; stated that the Executive Committee in sending out, through the associated press, in the summer of 1878, advice to members of the party to withdraw and abstain from joining military organizations, did that which they must have known was beyond their power and jurisdiction, and the committee hope that the manner in which the advice of Executive was received will be a warning to future Executive Committees to keep within constitutional bounds, and confine themselves to carrying out the platform and resolutions of the party. Also alleged inconsistency of Executive Committee, as they say further on in their report that, "the Lehr and Wehr Verein of Chicago had fulfilled a valuable mission, in forcing from the courts the decision that the people have the right to form and maintain military organizations, independent of the government." The committee also report that the Executive Committee did nothing but their simple duty in refusing to give official recognition to armed military organizations, as the party constitution does not admit of such recognition. The same committee recommend that no more be paid on account of *Arbeiter Stimme*—referred to finance committee.

Recommend that the party nominate a candidate for President and Vice President. Recommend that no committee be appointed to attend the Washington Conference, on the 8th of January. The report of this committee was taken up *seriatim*. First question was "Shall we nominate a candidate for President and Vice President?" Wagner opposed the motion and read the recommendation of the Brooklyn Section that no nomination be made, and moved adoption of same. Motion that Wagner's resolution be laid on table—carried, 16 ayes and 9 nays.

McGuire moved to amend report of committee to read "That we go into the Presidential campaign." Waldman opposed amendment of McGuire. Kehm in favor, Van Patten in favor. Bachman against, Erb against, Holler against. Muller of Milwaukee introduced a resolution recommending, that in particular cases, joint action with other parties may be permitted on condition that our party shall

not lose its identity—withdrawn. Brophy said that the resolution recommended by the committee was so worded that, if adopted, we would have to nominate a candidate of our own, and McGuire's amendment would leave a loop hole for coalition which he (Brophy) was opposed to. Motion to first vote upon question of sending a committee to Washington conference—lost.

The question then came on the adoption of McGuire's amendment, Bachman, Collenburg, and Brophy opposed. Amendment of McGuire was carried, ayes 15, nays 9.

Bachman moved that the Socialistic Labor Party shall nominate a candidate for President of their own without any coalition with other parties. McGuire asked that the question be divided, sustained by chair, appeal taken from decision. Chair sustained, 15 to 8.

Bachman moved that the party shall not confer with the Washington conference. Waldmann opposed the motion. Parsons offered motion to adjourn and simultaneous adoption of rules providing time for holding sessions—Adjournment to be at 9:30 P. M.—lost.

Previous question was called; for motion withdrawn till 8:30 A. M. Parsons' resolution fixing time of assembling and adjourning, to be 9 to 12 A. M.; 1:30 to 5 P. M.; 7:30 to 9:30. Amended 8 to 12 A. M.—adopted. Evening 7 to 10. Adjourned to 8 A. M. Sunday.

SUNDAY, DECEMBER 28TH.—MORNING SESSION.

P. J. McGuire was elected chairman. T. C. Brophy vice chairman.

Minutes of the previous day were read and after corrections, were adopted. Brophy moved that, hereafter, the yeas and nays on all questions, be inserted in the minutes—carried.

Wagner complained that the Committee on Platform and Resolution contained two members of the New York Section with same instructions, and asked relief.

Waldman moved that committee be increased to 7. Bachman objected; said that the chairman of committee has not properly reported, as he had been instructed.

Bachman moved as substitute that Committee on Platform be instructed to leave out of Platform Planks requiring action of states, and make the platform only national. Collenburg opposed, and said we were here to frame principles. Waldman insisted that State Planks should be left out. Winter moved that committee be instructed to bring in only planks of a national character, planks of a state nature to be brought in the form of a special State Platform. Bachman opposed and said that two reports would be brought in. Holler opposed and said that planks about 8 hours, children's labor, etc., must go in as demands, not resolutions. Collenburg said same, stating necessity. Parsons said there is a national 8 hour law. Van Patten denied it. Jeffers wanted only a National Platform. Brophy said that the eight hour

plank should not be inserted in some obscure portion of the platform. It was a national demand. He desired the constitution of the United States amended to that effect. Bachman wished Winter to fix his motion that the State Platform shall be mandatory upon the State convention. Winter accepted. Motion was adopted.

COMMUNICATIONS.

From Cincinnati Section—referred.

Brophy presented a proposed preamble and amendments to the platform adopted by Boston Section—referred to Committee on Platform.

Unfinished business—Motion of Bachman, we do not send committee to conference at Washington, on the 8th of January. Parsons spoke against the motion and in favor of the appointment of committee. Bachman spoke in favor of motion. Van Patten said we could lose nothing, and gain much by a conference. He referred to the Liberal convention held in Cincinnati, at which half a dozen Socialists influenced 200 delegates to adopt a Socialist Platform, also at Pittsburgh convention in 1876, where our men conferred with the representatives of Trades Unions and Labor Organizations, and exercised their right to withdraw. Our men did much good without sacrificing principle. Wagner spoke in favor, Erb against. The main question was ordered. The question being "Shall we send a committee to the Washington conference?" The roll was called and the motion was lost, as follows:

Nays—Albert, Bachman, Brophy, Parsons, Collenburg, Erb, Guwang, Jahelka, Jeffers, Jordan, Kehm, Loether, McGuire, Nye, Pollner, Winter, Salinger, Raiser, Holler—19. Yeas—Feuerherm, Muller, Wagner—3. Absent, or not voting, Hirt and Waldman.

Nye moved that a committee be sent to the convention called by the workingmen to be held in Chicago, on the 4th of July, 1880. Parsons offered the following resolution as a substitute:

Resolved, That the Socialistic Labor Party shall send delegates to the Chicago convention to be held in July. We recommend, that the Sections in each State shall send one delegate for each electoral vote in their State to the Chicago Labor Convention next July, with the understanding that if our platform of principles is not accepted, and Presidential candidates nominated not satisfactory to three fourths of our delegates, they shall withdraw and nominate a Socialistic ticket for Presidential candidates, and we advise the Chicago Section to elect 200 proxies and furnish them to such Sections who are unable to send proper representation, these Sections to furnish the proper credentials, but we earnestly call upon all Sections to do their utmost to send as many delegates as they can afford from their own midst. In States where more than one Section exists, the number of delegates shall be divided pro rata to the State, according to the number of members to each Section.

Bachman opposed, on the ground that virtually the Chicago Section will have the whole thing in their hands, as Sections throughout the country will have to appoint Chicago proxies. He was instructed to work not to send delegates but a committee for conference, to ask them to endorse our candidates and platform. McGuire and Waldmann both spoke in favor of Parsons' resolution. Nye opposed manner of representation. Salinger opposed any conference until our candidates are nominated. Wagner offered an amendment in writing which Parsons accepted.

Brophy opposed either the appointment of committee or the sending of delegates, wanted the Socialists to nominate their own candidates and stand on their own bottom. He moved to lay the motion on the table, which resulted in a tie vote—12 to 12. The whole question was postponed until the evening session.

Resolved, That when we adjourn it shall be to 7 P. M.

Motion to suspend the rules to read communications—lost.

Resolved, That the consideration of the question of nominating a candidate for President be postponed until we settle the question of Chicago convention—adjourned.

EVENING SESSION.

The chairman called the convention to order at 7 P. M. The roll was called and showed the absence of Hirt and Nye. The question of sending delegates to the Chicago convention was again taken up. Wagner's motion was amended by Holler to read "Send as many delegates as possible, and the actions of our delegates in the Chicago convention must be brought to a general vote of the party for adoption or rejection." Bachman accepted. Brophy's motion declared by chair out of order, as nominations cannot be considered until after the question of sending delegates to the Chicago convention. Appeal taken by Brophy from decision of chair—lost, ayes 14, nays 4.

Bachman's motion, first part stated by chair, second part ruled out of order, was read and laid on table. Wagners motion as amended was presented. Bachman moved to lay on table. Brophy opposed motion of Wagner. Collenburg said it looked as if an attempt was being made to level the road to compromise or to sell out. Wagner's motion to send delegates tabled—ayes 14, nays 9.

Nyes motion which was nearly the same as Wagner's then came up. Brophy moved to lay it on the table—carried, ayes 13, nays 9.

Resolution submitted by Brophy from Committee on Report of National Executive Committee and By-Laws then brought up amended by Brophy to say further, "and such nomination shall be made by the party before the 1st of June, 1880." Christ favored nominating and explained. Parsons moved to divide the motion, leaving the question of time until after we have decided to nominate. Question was divided by vote of 11 to 8.

Parsons moved to nominate candidates for President and Vice President from our own midst. Holler explained that he voted No, because Brooklyn wanted combination with other parties, but no candidate of our own. Motion was adopted—ayes 14, nays 9.

Winter moved that a special convention be called, to be held at Chicago, July 3d, 1880. Jeffers of Chicago opposed, as it was not certain that convention of W. P. C. will be held there. Bachman moved postponement of the question until the report of the Committee on Organization was read, and new constitution adopted. Jeffers proposed to leave the calling of convention to National Executive Committee. Winter moved to lay over the whole question until Committee on Organization has reported—carried.

Brophy's report from Committee on Report of National Executive Committee was then taken up. That portion of the report censuring the National Executive Committee for sending out through the associated press a dispatch advising members of the party to withdraw and abstain from joining military organizations, was first taken up. Motion to lay report on table, lost—ayes 9, nays 11.

Parsons of Chicago, defended report of the committee. Erb opposed. Brophy said that the committee had no desire but to do justice, they had approved and sustained the action of the National Executive Committee in refusing to recognize armed military companies, but had disapproved their action in going outside of their duty and power. Jeffers defended the Chicago Section and military organizations. Waldman opposed report saying if the rebuke given the National Executive Committee is endorsed by this convention, we endorse at the same time, the foul language of the Chicago "*Vorbote*," which would cast a slur upon the whole party. Van Patten said that when the military organization represented itself as part of the Socialistic movement and thereby misrepresented our cause, it was the duty of the National Executive Committee to advise members of our Section to withdraw from that organization, and any other which under the guise of Socialism places us in a false position.

Resolved, That when we adjourn it shall be to 8 A. M. Monday, and that owing to the holding of a festival, no session will be held on that evening, but an afternoon session instead, to commence at 1:30 P. M.

Christ of St. Joseph, said that the members of his Section had defended the right of workingmen to form military organizations as well as other societies.

Adjourned.

MONDAY, DECEMBER 29TH.—MORNING SESSION.

At 9 o'clock A. M. the Secretary called the convention to order. S. Waldman of Philadelphia, was elected chairman for the day, and C. E. Collenburg of New York, vice chairman. Winter moved that that part of the minutes referring to a telegram from Justus Schwab of New York, be stricken

out. Bachman on point of order stated that it could not be stricken out, as the telegram had been read by permission of the house. Chair ruled his point of order not well taken, as only the chairman of the day before had given permission to read it, and not the house. Bachman appealed from decision of chair. Chair sustained.

Bachman entered the following protest: "I solemnly protest against the decision of this convention, in ruling the telegram from Justus Schwab, presented by me, out of order." Motion to strike out was then adopted.

Brophy rose to a question of privilege, and asked that a communication from W. G. H. Smart, for H. W. Brown of Boston, in the hands of the Secretary, be read. Communication was read and laid on the table unanimously. The minutes were then adopted with changes stated. The following communications were then read:

Telegraphic dispatch from New York Section:—"The Section at Germania Assembly Rooms hails the congress of the Socialistic Labor party. Expect good work."

Signed "SEIDEL."

Communication from delegate Nye, representing Albany New York, excusing himself from further attendance, as he was compelled upon receipt of telegram to return home.

Two letters translated, concerning the case of L. Schick, were read and referred to Committee on Complaints and Grievances.

A letter from August Theiss of New York, was placed on file.

The following complaint from C. A. Light, was read:

COMPLAINT.

To the Congress of the Socialistic Labor Party now in Session:

Comrades—The undersigned requests, in accordance with the constitution of the party, an investigation of the insinuation made against him, and by which means he has thus far been deprived of his seat in this body, so that the facts in the case may be shown up, and thus afford you an opportunity to judge of the merits and demerits. Owing to all not having a knowledge of, and being familiar with the facts in the case, a great injustice has been done me. Believing that you will be actuated by a sense of justice in the matter, and that knowingly you would not do me a wrong, therefore I claim the opportunity for a full, fair, and impartial investigation at your hands, and thus give the Indianapolis Section a right to have a voice on the floor of this convention, and a vindication of myself as a faithful member of the S. L. P.

Respectfully,

C. A. LIGHT.

Parsons of Chicago, moved that the communication be referred to the Committee on Complaints and Grievances. Winter of St. Louis moved as substitute that it be referred to Board of Supervision. McGuire favored substitute. Brophy said he voted against admitting Light, but now, be-

lieved he had done so on insufficient evidence, and favored referring the case to Committee on Complaints and Grievances, for thorough investigation. Erb of Detroit, said the case had taken up so much time of the convention, members have no longer any patience, and valuable time was being lost. Van Patten stated that previous to the convention it was not known to either McGuire or himself that Ligh was still a party member. F. Meiselbach spoke for an investigation. Salinger demanded investigation. Said Ligh had not been given a fair hearing. Wagner stated there was no time. Both sides had been practically heard. Winter's substitute to refer to Board of Supervision was carried.

The Yeas and Nays being called for resulted as follows:

Yeas—Albert, Christ, Erb, Feuerherm, Holler, Jeffers, Kehm, McGuire, Muller, Wagner, Winter—11.

Nays—Bachman, Brophy, Collenburg, Guwang, Jahelka, Pollner, Waldman, Raiser, Salinger, Parsons—10.

Absent or not voting—Hirt, Jordan and Nye:

So the complaint was referred to the Board of Supervision. Hirt came in after the vote had been announced, and asked that his vote be recorded. Motion to allow his vote to be recorded was laid on the table. Bachman presented protest against allowing P. J. McGuire to occupy a seat in the convention, he having secured his credentials in an improper and unconstitutional manner. Referred to Committee on Credentials, by vote of 9 to 6.

A vacancy on that committee caused by the absence of Nye of Albany, N. Y. was filled by the election of Raeser, of New Orleans. Motion was made to telegraph to Long Island City, New York at once, and ask who represents them in the convention. Winter moved that the Long Island Section be asked whether McGuire's representation is satisfactory. The Secretary, Van Patten, stated that the credentials had been sent blank in care of Nye of Albany, who had been authorized by the Section of Long Island City to fill out the credentials with the name of some good member. The whole matter of credentials was then by vote laid on table.

Erb, of Detroit, sent in a communication which was referred to Committee on Platform.

Unfinished business then came up. Parsons of Chicago moved to adopt that portion of Report of Brophy's Committee censuring the National Executive Committee for going beyond their duty and power in advising members to withdraw and abstain from joining military organizations. Van Patten called upon Parsons to so alter his motion as to avoid approval of language of Chicago "*Vorbote*." Parsons upheld his motion, and said he did not know what the "*Vorbote*" had said. Jeffers favored adoption of Report of Committee. Wagner spoke against report. Holler against. Erb moved to strike out that portion of report censuring National Executive Committee. Parsons objected. Erb's motion declared out of order. Parsons asked Van Patten if

the Executive Committee had been asked to officially recognize military organizations. Van Patten explained, and said they had not, but that the military organization forced recognition from the Section. Parsons said the military organizations asked no recognition, and the Executive Committee had no right to assume that they had. The question is, shall the Executive Committee be censured for meddling with other people's business. The question was called for. Bachman having the floor before question was called for, said "the constitution says nothing against military organizations," and hoped the Chicago Section would uphold its military organization.

The Report of the Committee approving the rebuke given by the Chicago Section was adopted. It read as follows: "but when the National Executive Committee took it upon themselves to advise members of the Section to withdraw, and abstain from joining military organizations they did that which they must have known was beyond their jurisdiction and power, and we trust the reception this advice of the Executive Committee got, will be a lesson to future Executive Committees to keep within constitutional bounds, and confine themselves strictly to carrying out the platform and resolutions of the party."

Yeas—Albert, Bachman, Brophy, Christ, Guwang, Hirt, Jeffers, Kehm, Muller, Parsons, Pollner, Raiser, Salinger, —13.

Nays—Collenburg, Erb, Feuerherm, Holler, Jahelka, McGuire, Wagner, Waldman, Winter—9.

Absent or not voting—Jordan, Loether, Nye—3.

The following resolution submitted by Brophy's Committee was then read:

Resolved, That the party constitution does not admit the recognition of military organizations, and we hereby approve and endorse the action of the National Executive Committee in refusing to give official recognition to above named organization. Bachman moved that the resolution be rejected. Parsons said that the convention had given its opinion of the matter, and must disapprove of the entire course of the National Executive Committee. Van Patten denied this, and said that the question now is, shall military organizations be recognized as belonging to our party? Parsons asked Brophy what the committee had intended? Brophy said that the Party Constitution does not admit the recognition of military organizations, and that the National Executive Committee did right in informing the public and Sections of the fact. Winter said that the motion to reject the resolution was dangerous. If individuals want to form military organizations they can, but the Party can have no connection. He recited occasions where military companies composed of members of our own party, had compromised the party. Waldman said the Philadelphia Section would leave the party if military organizations were recognized. Chair decided the motion of Bachman to reject, out

of order. Appeal taken. Chair was sustained. The Report of the committee was then adopted as a whole. Brophy of Boston was elected reading clerk of the convention. Erb of Detroit was elected to fill vacancy on Committee of Complaints and Grievances.

REPORT OF PRESS COMMITTEE.

The committee on Press reported following recommendations:

1st.—That a Daily and Weekly paper in the English language be established in the city of New York, said papers to be managed by the New York and Brooklyn Sections.

2d.—That the New York and Brooklyn Sections raise the sum of five thousand dollars (\$5,000) for the purpose.

3d.—That all Sections throughout country be asked to hold entertainments for the purpose of raising an additional five thousand dollars (\$5,000).

4th.—That the paper be not issued until six thousand dollars (\$6,000) have been secured.

5th.—The paper shall be under the control of the party authorities.

6th.—That no other Section or Party member shall start a paper of the same nature until the establishment of the above named is secured.

7th.—The New York and Brooklyn Sections shall in joint meeting elect a committee of five, who shall be members in good standing, to frame a charter and by-laws, to be approved by National Executive Committee.

8th.—The name of the paper to be "The Union."

9th.—The Section shall elect a Board of Administration, who shall appoint all employes of the establishment. The joint Section shall also elect a chief editor, who must be endorsed by the National Executive Committee.

10th.—Your committee recommend the following:

Resolved, That any party paper that publishes or prints any statement in its columns affecting the character and standing of any member, before such charges have been investigated and acted upon by the Section of which such person is a member, or Board of Supervision, the paper publishing such charges shall lose the official recognition of the party.

Parsons moved acceptance of Report of Committee on Press—carried.

McGuire moved to take up Report *seriatim* so far as English paper is concerned. Winter read the plan in the report. The clauses in the report were taken up *seriatim*. After reading the first clause, Collenburg offered a plan of the Section of New York. Parsons called for reading plan of New York Section—carried.

Collenburg read plan for a daily two cent paper, to be published in New York. Moved that we establish a daily and weekly paper in the English language. Hirt said that we cannot maintain such a paper. Every Weekly we have had

has died. Among others, the *Socialist* of New York. McGuire said the *Socialist* of New York had been stolen from us. Waldman said "we must have a paper, even if members are taxed five cents each to support it. The *Bulletin* is not a paper for agitation." Previous question was called for. *Resolved*, to establish a paper in "the English language." Winter moved that the party establish a daily, connected with a weekly paper, in New York. Holler objected, and said that an evening paper would be too expensive, as it would need more employes than a morning paper. Bachman moved that it be an evening paper.

Adjourned.

MONDAY, DECEMBER 29TH.—AFTERNOON SESSION.

The convention was called to order at 1:30 P. M., by the chairman. Debate opened on Winter's motion to establish a daily evening paper in the English language, in connection with the weekly. Erb spoke showing necessity of large capital; he referred to Detroit experience. Collenburg then read various estimates. Winter spoke in favor of motion. Collenburg spoke in favor. At this point a dispute arose about rules allowing members to secure the floor in advance. Motion made to amend rules to retain parliamentary method of securing floor, by rising after the floor had been vacated—carried—12 to 8.

Holler spoke, saying that the figures of *Del Listy* are no fair example of what an English paper will cost. Van Paten said that it was evident from what he had learned from conversation that he had with members from New York, they did not intend that their paper should be managed by the National Executive Committee, or that the party should derive any profits, if the enterprise should be successful. Collenburg offered a plan showing the contrary in both instances. Parsons moved that the convention recommend to the New York and Brooklyn Sections to establish a daily and weekly paper in the English language, in New York City. McGuire proposed that the Convention shall endorse it, and that the Sections of the districts around New York unite to publish the paper, under editorial supervision of the National Executive Committee. All Sections of the party to raise money to start it. Brophy said that the party had for the past four years endeavored to establish and maintain a good weekly paper of a national circulation. It was a failure, and he was opposed to having anything to do with a daily paper, until a good weekly was a permanent fact. Motion was put and carried.

Collenburg said that strife would arise if both Sections had control, and that one Section must have control. He had been instructed to demand that New York alone should have it. Jeffers moved that the word Brooklyn be stricken out. Winter said there must be united action. Their interests are identical; the paper must be a large one, and this is only possible by united action. Wagner spoke against making New York the only controller. Hirt moved to table the motion to strike out the word Brooklyn.

The roll was called and resulted as follows:

Yeas—Bachman, Collenburg, Erb, Feuerherm, Jahelka, Jeffers, Parsons, Salinger—8.

Nays—Albert, Christ, Guwang, Hirt, Holler, Jordan, Kehm, McGuire, Muller, Pollner, Wagner, Waldman, Winter, Raiser—14.

The motion to strike out the word Brooklyn was lost. Motion to make the New York Section the sole controller was voted down. Motion to place control in the hands of the New York and Brooklyn Sections—carried.

Winter moved the following: "We call upon Sections in the party to hold fairs and festivals to aid the establishment of daily and weekly paper in New York." Jeffers said that principal Sections already had too much to do to support their own dailies. Motion of Winter was unanimously adopted.

Resolved, Not to publish until the sum of six thousand dollars (\$6,000) has been secured.

Motion that we recommend that no other paper in the English language be started by any Section or party member until this paper is a success. Any paper so started shall not have the sanction of the party, provided it is started before the first of June, 1880—carried.

Moved that the name "*Union*" be adopted as the paper's title. "*Union*" was adopted, against one vote.

Motion that the appointment of the editor in chief must have the approval of the National Executive Committee—carried.

Resolved, That the size and quality of the paper and all other details be left to the Sections of New York and Brooklyn.

Moved that if the paper is not started before the 1st of June, this convention recommends that the New York Section carry out the plan for an evening daily and weekly themselves. Laid on the table.

Resolved, To recognize the New York *Del. Listy* as an official party organ.

Pollner, of Cleveland, moved that the National Executive be instructed to issue a pamphlet explaining the different planks in our platform, which shall be sold at cost price; this pamphlet to be gotten up as cheaply as possible to enable Sections to distribute them free of charge. Adopted.

Raiser, of New Orleans, was appointed to serve on Committee on Finance.

Brophy moved that the name of the proposed paper may be changed any time before the first issue, provided it has the approval of the National Executive Committee. Tabled—10 to 9.

Committee on Platform reported progress.

Resolved, That all committee reports shall be in writing. Adopted.

Motion to postpone until to-morrow consideration of resolutions from Press Committee.

Holler, of Brooklyn, asked whether the plan submitted by delegate Collenburg for a daily and weekly had been acted upon by the New York Section or only by the Central Committee. Collenburg replied that the plan was that of the Central Committee, who had been authorized by the Section to draw up such a plan.

McGuire moved to adjourn. At this point Mr. J. G. Fell was given the privilege of the floor for five minutes. Said he came for the purpose of ascertaining the opinion of the convention on three or four points as follows: "Has the social condition of labor correspondingly increased with the advance of wages in the last 35 years?" "Does not our prosperity primarily depend on home consumption?" The gentleman was informed by a member of the convention that he would find answers to his questions in the platform of the Socialistic Labor Party.

Adjourned.

TUESDAY, December 30th.

MORNING SESSION.

C. E. Collenburg of New York, Chairman. Charles Erb of Detroit, Vice-Chairman.

Roll call showed absentees as follows: Jordan, Loether, Nye, Raiser.

Minutes of last day's proceedings were read. Minutes were adopted after corrections had been made.

COMMUNICATIONS.

Telegram from G. Lizius, Indianapolis, to C. A. Light, as follows: "Your rejection unjust; credentials were all right, and we consider you all right." Section of Salineville, Ohio, recommending sanitary measures. Referred. Communication from the Lehr und Wehr Verein of Cincinnati, asking that they be adopted as a section. The secretary was directed to inform them that they were welcome to our party as individuals. Letter from F. R. Strojce and W. Tuecke appealing from the decision of the Section of Allegheny City expelling them. Referred. Received printed appeal from the Detroit Tract Association. Referred to Committee on Press. Letters from Meltzer of Philadelphia and Schaeffer of Ripley, Ohio, placed on file.

Committee on Organization reported progress, also committee on report of Board of Supervision, Finance and Complaints and Grievances.

Resolved to go into executive session. Carried.

Committee on Complaints and Grievances reported on the case of L. Schick of Paterson, N. J., action of Board of Supervision is correct in refusing to expel, but Paterson Section has the right to exclude any of its members; recommend that the decision of the Board of Supervision be published in the Chicago *Vorbote*, New York *Volks Zeitung* and *Bulletin*. Adopted.

The executive session was then raised and the convention proceeded in open session. Committees were ordered to report in the afternoon session.
Adjourned to 1:30 p. m.

TUESDAY, December 30.

AFTERNOON SESSION.

The chairman at 1:30 p. m. called the convention to order. Roll call showed three absentees, Jordan, Nye and Loether.

Brophy, from the committee to whom was referred the report of Board of Supervision, reported that the board's report was very incomplete, many important matters had been omitted; in fact they had absolutely failed to give any account of their actions during the past two years. Winter moved to adopt committee's report as a whole. Meiselbach explained that the Board of Supervision instructed him to report only upon matters of the greatest importance. Winter moved as an amendment that that portion of the report censuring the board of Supervision be rejected. Jeffers and Bachman both claimed that the actions of the Board of Supervision should be reported for criticism. Guwang, of Alleghany City, said the constitution required the Board of Supervision to report all cases to the convention. Constitution was read by McGuire, showing duties of Board of Supervision. Meiselbach said the Board of Supervision considered that upon cases wherein no appeal is made there need be no report. Bachman said there was an important case not mentioned in the report. Brophy said that a body with such powers as the Board of Supervision, unless all its actions were reported to the convention, might become a gigantic engine of despotism. Collenburg said that the records are always published in the party papers, so that no action of theirs can be screened. Motion to reject the disputed part of the report was lost. Motion to strike out words "failed" and insert "have not made," tabled by vote. The report of the committee was then adopted.

The same committee further reported: That the report of the National Executive Committee be printed in the records of the congress and that fifty copies be furnished each section. Parsons moved that the report be received. Postponed until Committee on Press has reported.

Pollner of Cleveland offered a resolution that the Committee on Organization amend the constitution requiring the Board of Supervision to make a full report of their action. Adopted.

Committee on Press reported. Moved that report be taken *seriatim*. The first part taken up was that recommending the formation of a press association. Bachman said we must first establish as soon as practicable the large paper in New York, and we need \$6,000 before the first of June. Winter explained that it was not intended to force the matter prematurely.

The committee corrected the report to say "as soon as practicable." Miller spoke ten minutes in favor. He reviewed the disorder, mismanagement and incompetence of party papers. Brophy said that the party could get their printing done outside cheaper than we could do it ourselves. The city of Boston had thousands of dollars worth of printing done annually, and done by contract cheaper than they could do it themselves. He was opposed to the formation of a press association within the party. Parsons spoke in favor. Winter explained further. Previous question was called for by vote of 13 to 5. Waldman protested against choking off debate, as he had instructions and desired to speak. Parsons moved that the privilege of the house be extended to the delegate from Philadelphia. Granted. Waldman spoke against the plan. Original motion that a central publishing association be established as soon as possible. Carried. Motion that Cincinnati be selected as the place of publication. Waldman suggested Chicago. Bachman objected to Cincinnati and proposed Chicago. Van Patten said that the plan cannot be carried out for some time to come; it makes little difference whether Cincinnati, St. Louis or Chicago is selected. Motion that Chicago have it was lost by 9 to 6. Cincinnati received 10 to 6.

Motion of committee, the association to issue 5,000 shares at \$1.00 each. Bachman moved to refer this matter to the Cincinnati Section and proper party authorities.

Moved that the Executive Committee publish Stiebeling's pamphlet "Lesebuch fur das Volk"—carried.

Moved that the offices of Financial and Corresponding Secretary be consolidated—postponed.

That the country be divided into four agitation districts—carried. Winter moved that all papers in the interest of the party shall be prohibited from publishing personal matters not sanctioned by section or party authorities, under penalty of withdrawal of official recognition. Motion by Collenburg that any slanderous accusations made against any party member or published in any party paper shall be brought before the party authorities, and if found unfounded the slanderer or slanderers shall be expelled. Referred to committee on organization. Winter's motion adopted.

Kehm of Baltimore moved that 2,000 English and 2,000 German copies of the proceedings of the convention be printed. Brophy of Boston moved to amend to be 3,000 in each language. Motion that two thousand in each language be printed was carried.

Resolved that by-laws and rules of order be printed with constitution, except the rule for securing floor to speak by raising finger or sending names in writing, also leaving out the rules relating to "ward and district clubs."

Committee on Platform reported. After the report had been half read, McGuire moved that it be sent back for correction of clerical errors. Motion to refer back was carried 10 to 9. The convention passed into Executive session. The

committee on complaints and grievances reported on the appeal of F. R. Stroje and William Tuecke of Alleghany City, against alleged unjust expulsion from the section of that city. Referred to Alleghany section for a new trial. Same committee reported on the protest of Cincinnati section against election of Philip Van Patten as Party Secretary, declared that in the opinion of the committee the protest was not fairly or impartially considered and the case cannot properly be considered by the convention. The report was adopted unanimously.

On the charges of Van Patten against C. Schumann, of Cincinnati, the committee after carefully examining the charges and the testimonials to sustain them submit the following report:—1st and 2d charges to be referred back to the Cincinnati Section for investigation; 3d charge to be referred to the Board or Supervision for investigation and decision; 4th, 5th and 6th, from the testimony before us we find these charges well sustained; 7th charge; this charge to be referred back to the section for investigation together with the letters from the Board of Supervision to C. Schumann, to be noted by the Section.

From the testimony in this case your committee finds that the said Charles Schumann has been guilty of gross violation of Socialistic principles, and we respectfully recommend that he shall be tried before the Cincinnati Section in an impartial manner, and if found guilty, expelled from the Socialistic Labor Party.

This report was after short debate unanimously adopted.

Executive Session raised. Motion to continue session till 7 o'clock as five or six members must go to Pittsburgh this evening to speak at mass meetings—carried.

Motion to amend that when we adjourn it will be to 8 o'clock to-morrow—carried.

Parsons of Chicago, offered a resolution concerning land grants, referred to Committee on Platform. Wagner moved that the the name "*Socialistic Labor Party*," be retained, amended by McGuire, seconded by Christ that the name be changed to "*Social Labor Party*." Muller moved that it be changed to "*Social Democratic Party*," not seconded. Question came first on name *Social Labor Party*. Defeated by the following vote—

Nays—Albert, Bachman, Brophy, Collenburg, Erb, Guwang, Feuerherm, Holler, Jahelka, Jeffers, Kelm, Muller, Parsons, Pollner, Wagner, Waldman, Salinger—17.

Yeas—Christ, Hirt, McGuire, Winter—4.

Absent or not voting—Jordan, Loether, Nye, Raiser—4.

The committee on organization reported and submitted the following amendments to the constitution:—

II. CONVENTIONS. THE NATIONAL CONVENTION.

Article 1st. (Addition.) Proxy delegates must receive their credentials directly from the sections they represent—adopted.

Article 3rd. Elects the Party Secretary, etc.

Article 4th. May be called by 10 sections of five different States. Adjourned.

WEDNESDAY, Dec. 31.

MORNING SESSION.

The convention was called to order by Secretary Van Patten, at 8:30 A. M. A. R. Parsons of Chicago, was elected chairman for the day, and Henry Christ, of St. Joseph, Mo. vice-chairman. The roll-call showed three absentees, viz: Jordan, Hirt and Raiser. Delegate Loether of Pittsburgh, was excused for being absent from previous session. Minutes were read and accepted. Communications were received as follows: From A. Henninger, of Matawan, N. J., suggesting plan of agitation, placed on file. From E. Johnson, of Chicago, concerning the land question, referred to committee on platform. From Chas. Marin, of Newark, N. J., enclosing report from the London commission upon the tombola (or raffle) held for the benefit of French political exiles in New Caledonia. (The Tombola endorsed by the Newark Congress of our Party, Dec. 1877.) The receipts were as follows:

	28,062	Francs	30	centimes.
Expenses,	5,372	"		
Balance,	22,690	"	30	"

2564 tickets were sold in America, the balance in Europe. (For more detailed reports see our Socialistic papers.)

The above report was accepted and ordered published.

Continuation of report of committee on organization.

National Conventions—Par. 6, all after the word "Assemblies" in the third line, to be stricken out—adopted.

State Conventions, Article 1st. (Addition to first sentence,) "if found practicable." Further amended. "*In all States where no State organization exists, the section which has the largest number of members shall, before the first of April 1880, appoint a State Central Committee to act in accordance with the regulations provided by the constitution.*" Upon motion this later amendment was numbered Article 4. Both the above were adopted.

Local Conventions, Art. 1. The first sentence to be amended by addition of words "*if found practicable to go into the election*"—adopted.

III. EXECUTIVE COMMITTEES.

Art. 1. Amend by striking out the words "Corresponding and Financial" and altering the word Secretaries to read Party Secretary.

Art. 2. The Party Secretary can only serve two terms in succession. This proposition was defeated as it had not the requisite two-thirds vote. The result showed 11 in the affirmative and 10 in the negative, necessary for adoption, 14.

Art. 3. Par. a, amend by inserting in first after "resolutions" and demands—adopted.

The National Executive Committee shall divide the northern and western States into four agitation districts as follows:

First District—The New England States and New York.
Second District—New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Maryland and

West Virginia. Third District—Ohio, Indiana, Northern Illinois, Kentucky, Michigan and Wisconsin. Fourth District—Southern Illinois, Missouri, Kansas, Arkansas, Iowa and Colorado. Proper arrangements shall be made whereby the sections in these districts may act unitedly for systematic propaganda—adopted.

Art. 4. Par. b, amended by substituting "Party" for "Corresponding" Secretary.

Par. c, amend as follows:—The Party Secretary shall carry on all correspondence, but *official* correspondence shall be ordered by the National Executive Committee. He shall preserve a copy of the same, file all communications received, and keep a record of the same. He shall preserve all lists of membership, and keep an accurate account of all moneys received, he shall promptly deliver to the Treasurer all funds received by him, and take his receipt therefor. Upon request of any Section he shall furnish an accurate statement of its financial condition. He shall receive a proper salary—adopted.

Art. 4. Par. d. (Former par. e.) Substitute the word Party Secretary wherever the titles Corresponding or Financial Secretary were formerly used—adopted.

Board of Supervision. Par. e. (New.) The Secretary of the Board of Supervision shall render to the National Convention a full report of the transactions of that Board during its term of office—adopted.

IV. Sections. Art. 1. Par. c. Amend first line to read *every three months*.

The last sentence concerning Trade Unions to be stricken out—adopted.

The vote upon striking the last sentence was as follows:—Albert, Bachman, Christ, Collenburg, Feuerherm, Holler, Jahelka, Jeffers, Kehm, Loether, Parsons, Wagner, Salinger—13 ayes.

Brophy, Erb, Guwang, Hirth, McGuire, Muller, Pollner, Waldman, Winte, Raiser—10 nays.

A motion to refer the matter to the committee on resolutions was adopted.

Art. 2. An amendment to this article was read by the committee on organization, but the convention adjourned without coming to a conclusion.

WEDNESDAY, Dec. 31.

AFTERNOON SESSION.

The roll call showed the following absentees:—Nye, Loether, Jordan, Hirt. Debate on Article 2, was then resumed.

The report of the committee advocated branch language sections with sub-branches of their own. Jeffers of Chicago, Salinger, Bachmann and Jahelka of New York, and Holler of Brooklyn, spoke in favor of the committee's report. Wint of St. Louis, Brophy of Boston, McGuire of Long Island City, Collenburg of New York, Wagner of Brooklyn, Hirt

of Erie and Muller of Milwaukee, all spoke against the committee's report and in favor of numbering the branches serially. The report of the committee was rejected by a vote of 15 to 6.

Article 2, was then by vote amended to read as follows: "*Only one Section shall be established in each city or town; branches shall be formed by the Section whenever necessary; all of these branches shall be designated numerically in the order of their organization in the town or city; these branches shall be permitted to transact business of a local character, but all matters of a general nature shall be settled by the Central Committee, in which all branches shall be proportionately represented*—adopted.

Article 3. Sections and Branches shall be the judges of their own members, and responsible for their actions. The jurisdiction of Branches over their own members to be, however, subject to the approval of the Central Committee—adopted.

Article 9. Amended to include, after the word "Section," the words "or Branch"—adopted.

Article 10. The majority of the committee reported in favor of striking out this article.

The majority report was supported by speeches from a number of delegates, some of whom deemed that a majority instead of three-fourths should be wage workers. The minority favored three-fourths, as in the old constitution. The minority report was adopted, leaving the article as before.

Article 12 was amended to include the following addition: "Subject to the approval of the Central Committee." Also the insertion of the words "or branch," after the word "Section"—adopted.

CENTRAL COMMITTEE.

Article 1. In every city where two or more branches exist, all ordinary local business of the Section and dealings with the Party authorities will be carried on by a Central Committee—adopted.

Article 2. The Central Committee will be composed of delegates elected by the Branches. The basis of representation to be determined by the Branches collectively—adopted.

Article 3. The Central Committee shall have power to assess the local membership in a sum not exceeding two and a half cents (2½) per member per month, for funds necessary for local purposes, this assessment to be deducted from the regular dues—adopted.

Article 4. The Treasurer of each Branch will report monthly to the Central Committee, in writing, concerning the financial standing of the Branch, and will pay to the financial secretary of the Section the dues of each member (5 cents) to the National Executive Committee, and also all dues and assessments belonging to the Local Central Committee. All other money of the Branch shall be held by its treasurer, subject to the order of the branch, which will be self-supporting, and conduct its own affairs, subject to the general regulations of the Section—adopted.

Article 5. Every delegate to the Central Committee will be subject to recall at any time, by the Branch he represents—adopted.

Article 6. All transactions of the Central Committee shall be subject to the approval of the branches and will be promptly reported to them. If not objected to they will be considered approved, but upon call of any branch a general vote of all local branches shall be held for the purpose of ratifying or rejecting any disputed action of the Central Committee.

Article 7. The Section officers shall report to, and receive their instructions from the Central Committee, which represents the Section; they shall attend all meetings of the Central Committee, and there perform the duties specified in constitution. They are full members of the Central Committee—adopted.

Article 8. The Central Committee has full power to fill vacancies in Section offices during the regular term until a new election of officers takes place—adopted.

Article 9. The Central Committee shall elect from its midst an investigating committee of three, who shall investigate and decide upon all difficulties within the Section, subject to approval of the Central Committee or Section—adopted.

Article 10. Any motion or new business made in the Central Committee must be laid over until the next meeting, if one-third of the members present demand it—adopted.

Article 11. The Central Committee will meet as often as necessary, and the Sessions shall be open to all Party members who may desire to witness the proceedings—adopted.

Article 12. Upon dissolution of any branch all of its property shall be delivered to the Section officers—adopted.

Article 13. During political campaigns the Central Committee shall act as a campaign committee—adopted.

Article 14. The Section shall assemble semi-annually, (January and July) for the purpose of electing their officers. In extraordinary cases the branches may be called upon to assemble jointly as the main section—adopted.

Article 15. The organizer shall have the right to appeal to the section in case of conflict with the Central Committee, but must execute their orders until countermanded by general vote of the branches—adopted.

DUES.

Article 1. Where State organizations exist the Sections will pay five cents per month for each member to the State Executive Committee, from which funds the State Executive Committee will pay to the National Executive Committee the sum of two and a half cents ($2\frac{1}{2}$) per month per member.

Article 2. In case of need the State or National Executive Committee shall have the right with the approval of the Board of Supervision to levy an extra tax on each member, of five cents (5) per month, until such amount of money as is necessary has been raised.

GENERAL REGULATIONS.

Article 1. Amendments to, or alterations of this constitution must be adopted by the National Convention, such action of the convention must, however, be submitted to the Party for ratification by a general vote, the result of which must be communicated to the National Executive Committee within four weeks from call for vote. When necessary, however, a general election may be called by the National Executive Committee, and any proposition in the interest of the party voted upon.

Article 2. No person shall be eligible as a candidate of this Party for any public office who has not been at least one year a member of the Party in good standing, and has identified himself with the movement by active participation. The committee had recommended that the time limit should be only six months, without the additional qualification above noted. Collenburg, Bachmann, Erb and Brophy spoke against the committee report and in favor of one year as the time limit, while Wagner, Holler, Muller and Van Patten endorsed the report favoring six months as the necessary time.

Collenburg moved the additional requirement that every candidate must have been a member of the Party for one year and have identified himself with the movement by active participation, which was adopted as above shown. The vote stood 18 for and 4 against.

McGuire moved that this rule may be suspended in case of necessity, by the Board of Supervision and National Executive Committee on application of any Section—adopted.

Article 3. All committees and officers in the Party shall be elected by a majority vote—adopted.

Article 4. No member shall hold more than one office in the Section at the same time.

After the adoption of the above clause the convention adjourned.

WEDNESDAY, Dec. 31st.

EVENING SESSION.

The convention was called to order at 7 o'clock P. M. by the chairman.

The report of the committee was continued.

Article 5. All officers, boards, or committees in the Party shall be subject to dismissal by a general vote of their constituents. Any member expelled from a Section shall have the right to appeal to the central committee, where such exists, and from there to the Board of Supervision; no accusations or expulsions shall be published by any body other than the National Board of Supervision.

Article 6. The committee submitted the following: Every member of our Party who is not yet a citizen should become such as soon as possible.

Parsons offered the following as a substitute.

Resolved, That as the success of our Party depends wholly upon political action, it is the imperative duty of every Party member to deposit his ballot on election day, if possible, under penalty of expulsion. Motion to refer the whole thing back to the committee on platform and resolution with instruction to report—carried.

Brophy offered the following to be inserted as the sixth clause:

Resolved, That all members shall be eligible to any office or position in the party.

Brophy said that as we admitted members into the Party who are not citizens, it is wrong not to allow them to hold a position or office in the Party. He referred to the action of the New York section in passing a resolution to the effect that members who were not citizens were ineligible as delegates to the Convention. He would like to see all members become citizens, but as we did not make citizenship a qualification for membership, no distinction could or should be made, and to prevent anything of the kind happening again, he hoped the resolution would be adopted.

Bachmann took exception to the remarks of Brophy, and said that the Section could do as it pleased and say who was or was not eligible as delegates to the convention, and the convention had no right to interfere.

McGuire spoke in favor of the resolution, referring to the unjust action of the New York Section in refusing election as delegates to the convention of *members* not citizens of the United States, and said the New York Section deserves censure.

Collenburg of New York said that we were international in our principles, but strictly national in our practical Party work. The New York Section had proved by its action, that as a body, it would travel the road of political action only, therefore it was compelled to act as it did, and had a right to put certain qualifications upon its delegation at option.

Parsons said he appreciated the desire of the member from New York, to have all members become citizens, but we should adopt this resolution, which would prevent in the future any injustice being done members who did not happen to be citizens of the United States, let members meet as peers whether citizens or not, so long as we do not make that a qualification for membership.

Article 6. The question was put on the adoption of the above resolution, which was carried by a vote of 16 to 5.

Article 7. All members acknowledging the platform and constitution take upon themselves the obligation to assist each other to the extent of their ability in case of need—adopted.

The same committee reported the following:

Article 8. The National Executive Committee shall, on the 1st day of April, 1880, and every four years thereafter

send, or cause to be sent, to each section in the United States, a notification that the members of said sections shall assemble in their respective places of meeting and give in their votes for the Party candidates for President, each member shall have one vote, which must be by ballot. The Secretary of the section shall write down the name of each person who has received one or more votes, and the number of votes received by said persons, and after being signed by the organizer and secretary it shall be transmitted to the National Executive Committee before the 1st of June following. The envelope containing said vote before being sent to the National Executive Committee shall be marked on the lower left hand corner as follows: "Vote for President." The National Executive Committee in open session will, on the 1st of June, 1880, and every four years thereafter, open all letters then in their possession containing the vote for President, and count them. The person receiving the highest number of votes shall be declared the Party candidate for President, and the person receiving the second highest shall be the Party candidate for Vice-President.

McGuire denounced the above proposition to have the sections nominate the President. The National Convention should nominate. He said that the plan proposed was impracticable. Question by Brophy, "Do you favor the plank in the platform that your committee has reported, which says that the people shall propose and reject all laws?" McGuire, "I believe that this proposition is impracticable." Collenburg spoke in favor of the report of the committee; we should nominate in a democratic manner. Van Patten said that as a rule not more than one fifth of the membership voted when a general Party vote was taken, and that the sections send delegates to a convention to make their nomination, which will afterwards be ratified or rejected by the Party. Bachmann of New York spoke in favor of the proposition to have the people nominate the national candidate. Winter said the present constitution prescribes that our convention must nominate. Brophy said that the delegates who oppose this mode of nominating are the ones who have fought so hard to bring about a coalition with the Party who are to hold a convention in Chicago next July. The true inwardness of the opposition to the measure is this: If this is adopted and put into the constitution there will be no opportunity for a coalition, that is, we cannot indorse some other party's candidate. Winter rose to a point of order, that as the present constitution says that the national candidates shall be nominated by the National Convention Brophy's proposition is out of order. The chair (Parsons) decided the point of order well taken, and declared the report of the committee out of order. In the midst of an exciting debate Brophy appealed from the decision of the chair. The chair stated as his reasons for deciding the question out of order, that we were acting under the old constitution. Chair was sustained.

McGuire moved that the matter be laid on the table—carried.

The report of the committee on organization was then continued.

McGuire moved that the following be inserted:

Article 8. All actions of the National, State and Local Conventions must be submitted to their constituents for ratification—adopted.

Article 9. Under no circumstances shall personal attacks against members be published in our Party organs, under penalty of expulsion from the Party of the member publishing or causing the same to be published.

SECTION REGULATIONS.

Article 1. Each Section elects from its midst an Organizer, Corresponding Secretary, Recording Secretary, Financial Secretary, Treasurer, and an Auditing Committee of two, and where no Central Committee exists, an Investigating Committee of three—adopted.

Article 2 adopted.

Article 3 adopted, (both as before).

Article 4. The Corresponding Secretary shall carry on the correspondence of the Section, preserve copy of all communications issued and send an official report every month to the State Executive Committee, and where none such exists, to the National Executive Committee. He shall place on file all communications—adopted.

Article 5. The Recording Secretary shall keep the records of the business meetings, and as far as possible of the agitation meetings—adopted.

Article 6. (Former article 5.) Amendment to strike out the words "issue all cards of membership"—adopted.

Article 7 and 8. (Former articles 6 and 7.) Remain as before.

Article 9. The Investigating Committee shall consider and act upon all charges against members, such charges shall not be debated upon before the committee has reported—adopted.

Article 10. (Former article 8.) Same as before—adopted.

Articles 11 and 12. (Former articles 9 and 10.) Same as before—adopted.

Article 13. (Former articles 11 and 12 consolidated)—adopted.

Article 14. Any Party member who opposes and antagonizes the demands, measures or resolutions of the Party in public meetings shall be expelled from the Party. The report of the committee on organization was then adopted, as amended.

Bachmann moved that the rules be suspended so that the question of nominating presidential candidate might be considered. Ruled out of order.

Motion that the Session be continued until midnight 1880. Carried.

The report of the committee on platform and resolutions was then received. After the reading of the preamble Parsons

left the chair, and read a preamble, which he moved as a substitute.

Wagner offered a preamble by the Brooklyn Section.

McGuire opposed the substitute of Parsons.

Parsons again took the floor and made an impassioned speech in favor of his substitute. He dubbed the preamble of the committee as cold, bloodless and without life.

Brophy spoke in favor of Parsons' substitute.

Collenburg of New York said that he liked some points in the substitute, and also some in the original, but did not favor either as read, and would like to see both referred back to the committee on platform with instructions to consolidate them. The substitute was adopted.

Collenburg moved to reconsider the vote whereby Parsons' substitute was adopted—carried.

Motion that it be referred to the committee on platform with directions to revise and unite both platforms and report to-morrow—adopted.

The committee on finance submitted their report, after the reading of which, Winter called on the committee to state whether he (Winter) had received pay twice for an agitation trip.

Secretary Van Patten said that the statement was caused by an error; that Winter had given the money received to Osborn Ward for "Labor Catechisms," for which money the National Executive Committee has receipt.

Adjourned at midnight, 1880.

THURSDAY, Jan. 1st.

MORNING SESSION.

The convention was called to order at 8:30 A. M. by the secretary, Philip Van Patten.

Thos. C. Brophy of Boston was elected chairman, S. Waldman of Philadelphia vice-chairman.

As the secretary had met with an accident in the morning, having sprained his wrist, W. C. Pollner of Cleveland was elected secretary. The minutes of the previous day, after corrections, were adopted.

COMMUNICATIONS.

A letter from F. Gutting was read, containing charges against Brooklyn, N. Y. section. Referred to Board of Supervision.

The report of the committee on finance was then taken up. That portion recommending that no further payments be made to the Social Democratic Printing Association was debated. Collenburg explained the position of the Social Democratic Printing Association, that they had not had anything to do with the publication of the New York *Volkszeitung*, that the debt referred to was simply for labor actually performed but not yet paid for, and that Dr. G. Stiebeling in New York was the representative of that body.

Winter wanted the National Executive Committee in-

structed to inform themselves if that company was legally in existence yet.

Bachmann stated that they did exist, as they paid their debts and collected their demands. Van Patten explained in the same way. That part of the finance report was referred back to the Executive Committee with orders to pay the bill. The report of the finance committee was then adopted as a whole.

The committee on complaints and grievances then reported on the case of F. Pilly, vs. National Executive Committee. A lively debate commenced. The recommendation of the committee that the case be referred to the New York Section for investigation, was adopted.

The conclusion in which the National Executive Committee is reprimanded for the action taken by them in this case was rejected by a vote of 14 to 5.

Collenburg protested against vote being taken now, on account of evidence in his possession being prevented by the call for the previous question from coming before the convention.

Motion was made to excuse him from voting, but Collenburg stated that he did not want to be excused, as he refused to vote on this case now. Jahelka and Salinger said the same.

The convention now raised the Executive Session.

Bachmann moved to nominate candidates now for the Presidency and Vice-Presidency. Ruled out of order.

A motion to suspend the order of business to select the location for the next National Executive Committee was carried.

The following cities were then nominated: New York by Bachmann, Detroit by Christ, Cleveland by Pollner, St. Louis by Parsons, Alleghany City by Guwang, Chicago by Feuerherm and Raiser, Cincinnati by Erb. After debate the names of Cleveland, St. Louis and Alleghany City were withdrawn in favor of Detroit. An informal vote on the remaining four cities resulted as follows: New York, 4 votes, Detroit 13, Chicago 3, Cincinnati 1.

A formal ballot was then held by roll call, resulting as follows:

For New York—Bachmann, Collenburg, Jahelka, Kehm and Salinger, 5.

For Detroit—Albert, Christ, Guwang, Hirt, Holler, Jeffers, Loether, McGuire, Muller, Parsons, Pollner, Wagner, Waldmann and Winter, 14.

For Chicago—Brophy, Feuerherm and Raiser, 3.

For Cincinnati—Erb, 1.

The city of Detroit having the largest number of votes was declared the seat of the next National Executive Committee. It was then resolved to select the location for the National Board of Supervision. The following cities were placed in nomination: St. Louis by Winter, New York by Loether, Chicago by Collenburg, Brooklyn by Parsons, Cleveland by Jeffers.

The names of New York, Cleveland and Brooklyn were withdrawn. An informal ballot resulted in the casting of 12 votes for St. Louis, and 12 for Chicago.

A formal ballot gave the following result:

For St. Louis—Erb, Holler, Jeffers, Loether, McGuire, Parsons, Pollner, Wagner, Waldmann, Winter, 10.

For Chicago—Albert, Bachmann, Brophy, Christ, Collenburg, Feuerherm, Guwang, Hirt, Jahelka, Kehm, Muller, Raiser and Salinger, 13.

Chicago having received the highest number of votes was declared the seat of the next National Board of Supervision.

A motion to proceed with the nomination of candidates for President and Vice-President was made, but immediately tabled.

The convention proceeded to nominate candidates for the office of Party Secretary. The following names were placed in nomination: Philip Van Patten, by Holler, C. E. Collenburg, by Parsons.

As the hour of adjournment had arrived, the convention was dissolved to reassemble at 1:30 P. M. at Friendship Hall, East street.

W. C. POLLNER,
Sec. pro tem.

THURSDAY, JAN. 1st. 1880.

AFTERNOON SESSION.

The convention was called to order at 1:30 P. M. The debate on question of electing the Party Secretary was continued.

C. E. Collenburg of New York said that the New York members had no instructions regarding the Secretaryship—for had such instructions been given he would undoubtedly have declined the nomination. He hoped that the convention would re-elect Van Patten, as one who had done his work so well and could do it so much better than himself, is the best man for the position. For himself he would vote for the re-election of Van Patten.

Wagner spoke at length in favor of Van Patten.

Jeffers said he would meet, on his return home, with indignation on the part of many Chicago members if Van Patten should be re-elected.

Parsons stated that it would not be wise to re-elect as Secretary, one who had so much opposition in the Sections of Chicago and Cincinnati. Upon inquiry, Parsons then admitted that the English speaking branch of Chicago had voted in favor of Van Patten's re-election. That in the main section meeting it had been first resolved to instruct delegates to vote against Van Patten but that this resolution was afterwards reconsidered, leaving the delegates free to vote for the best man.

Collenburg answered a question asked him by Jeffers, "what position he would take in regard to Trades Unions if

elected," by saying that the platform and resolutions would define his position, but that he belonged to a Trade Union, that should be sufficient.

Bachmann said there was an ill-feeling among members of New York and other places, against Van Patten. Collenburg answered that that is not by many, but only by a few individuals.

Further speeches on the question were made by Holler, Waldmann, McGuire, Pollner and Brophy.

The main question being called for, the ballot resulted as follows:

For Van Patten—Albert, Christ, Erb, Feuerherm, Holler, Kehm, Loether, McGuire, Muller, Pollner, Wagner, Waldmann, Winter, 13.

For Collenburg—Bachmann, Brophy, Guwang, Jahelka, Jeffers, Parsons, Raiser, Salinger, 8.

Collenburg offered his vote for Van Patten, but the vote was refused on account of his being personally interested.

Absent during vote—Hirt, Jordan, Nye.

Upon return of Van Patten, he was informed by the chairman of his re-election. Van Patten thanked the delegates for this new mark of confidence, recited the difficulties of his position, said that he expected criticism and would never shrink from it. He hoped that in future his actions would be fairly and impartially considered, and that in critical positions those who oppose his acts would reflect how they might conduct themselves under similar circumstances.

It was moved that the salary of the Party Secretary shall remain at the present figure, \$12.00 per week.

Collenburg moved that it be raised to \$14.00 per week since the secretary must now transact the financial business formerly done by the financial secretary, and also edit the *Bulletin*.

Van Patten objected, saying that \$12.00 would be sufficient for him. The motion to increase the salary was lost and the original motion carried.

The plan for holding the next National Convention was then brought under discussion. The following cities were placed in nomination: St. Joseph, Mo. by Christ, Boston, Mass. by McGuire, Cincinnati, O. by Winter, Cleveland, O. by Guwang, Chicago, Ill. by Waldmann, Detroit, Mich. by Erb, New York City by Wagner.

Moved, that the four cities having the highest number of votes shall be selected, and at the proper time before holding the next National Convention submitted to the Party for a choice, carried.

The result of the ballot was as follows: St. Joseph, Mo. 5, Boston 10, Cincinnati 10, New York City 15, Cleveland 6, Chicago 18, Detroit 5. The four cities chosen were therefore Boston, Cincinnati, New York and Chicago.

The committee on platform again submitted the preamble and platform, which were taken up *seriatim*. After a short discussion the preamble was adopted.

1st, 2d, 3d and 4th planks were adopted without amendment.

5th. Congress shall provide for the immediate creation of a Bureau of Labor Statistics.

Collenburg moved as a substitute: "The establishment of a National Ministry of Labor," explaining that the scope is farther reaching, and a Bureau of Labor Statistics only a part of the duties of such a ministry, which had to do a good deal more than creating it. After a short debate it was adopted as a separate plank, and ordered to be put in the proper place. The original motion then was taken up, and adopted as a plank.

6. "We demand the rigid enforcement of the eight hour law on all National Public Works." This plank was approved. It was said it would be no benefit to the great mass of working people, it was a national eight hour law that was demanded instead of the eight hour law on public works.

It was moved that the following be inserted after the word "works" in the last line: "We also demand an amendment to the constitution of the United States declaring eight hours as a legal work-day in all industrial employments."

Wagner opposed the amendment because the constitution cannot deal with matters of that nature.

Brophy spoke at length and said it seemed that delegates could not rise above the constitution. After a long and exciting debate the amendment was adopted by a vote of 14 to 5, and ordered to be inserted as part of the sixth plank.

7. Adopted as reported by committee.

8. "The Government alone shall issue all money, and such right shall not be delegated to any banking or private corporation."

McGuire spoke in favor. Van Patten spoke at length, and denounced the National Banking System. He favored the adoption of the plank.

Brophy spoke against the plank and offered the following as a substitute: "All banking and insurance to be conducted by the Government." Lost.

The question was called for and carried by a vote of 14 to 5, as follows:

Yeas—Albert, Christ, Erb, Feuerherm, Holler, Jeffers, Kehm, Loether, McGuire, Muller, Pollner, Wagner, Waldmann, Winter, 14.

Nays—Bachmann, Brophy, Collenburg, Guwang, Jahelka, Parsons, Raiser, Salinger, 8. Absent—Hirth, Jordan, Nye, 3.

Collenburg offered the following as a plank: "The establishment of a National Ministry of Education." Withdrawn after a short explanation from McGuire.

At this point Bachmann moved that the rules be suspended to proceed to the nomination of candidates for President and Vice-President—lost.

That portion of the report of the committee of platform, relating to State demands was taken up.

The first, second, third, fourth and fifth planks under State demands were adopted.

Brophy offered plank that all ballots shall be printed by town and city Governments. Adopted and ordered to be inserted as last plank.

6. "Universal compulsory education. All schooling material to be furnished at public expense."

Collenburg moved to insert the following as part of the sixth plank: "A course of constitutional criminal and civil jurisprudence shall be taught in all the higher classes of public schools." Motion to lay on table. Carried.

Christ of St. Joseph offered the following: "All property whether religious or secular to bear its just proportion of taxation." Motion to lay it on the table—lost. It was, after short debate, adopted and ordered to be inserted as ninth plank. 7 and 8—adopted.

The committee on platform then reported a set of resolutions, the first one being in regard to trade unions, favoring the organizations of such, and calling upon members to join them. McGuire, Wagner, Winter and Van Patten spoke in favor.

Brophy said he was not one of those that does not see any good in trade unions, but was opposed having anything in the platform or resolutions concerning them. The resolution was adopted by a vote of 19 to 1. The same committee reported a resolution in regard to inhuman tramp laws—adopted.

A resolution by Parsons in regard to land grants was also adopted, (see resolutions).

Resolutions offered by Erb, regarding election days. Adopted and ordered to be embodied in State platform.

Resolution offered by Collenburg, regarding the position of the party to the labor question in economical direction. Adopted and ordered to be embodied with the resolution on trade unions.

Adjourned till 7:30 o'clock P. M.

THURSDAY, JANUARY 1ST.—EVENING SESSION.

At 7:30 the chairman called the convention to order. The roll was called, the absentees being Hirth, Loether, and Jordan. Winter moved that as we were not prepared, at this time, to nominate candidates for President and Vice President, a special convention be called to meet in Chicago, in June. McGuire offered as a substitute for the motion of Winter:

Resolved, That at this date it is premature and inadvisable to make nominations for President and Vice President, without consulting our constituents and ascertaining their wishes, and furthermore as the delegates to this convention have not any instructions on the subject, therefore in making nominations, we would not express the sentiments of our party.

Resolved, That the party shall call a special national con-

vention at Chicago, two days prior to the holding of the convention called by the California Workingmen's Party.

Resolved, That the arrangements and basis of representation to the convention be left in the hands of the new Executive Committee. Winter and Wagner favored the resolution after a debate of an hours duration, upon motion of Brophy, the resolution was indefinitely postponed. Brophy then offered the following:

Resolved, That we proceed to the nomination of candidates for President and Vice President. This was adopted by a vote of 8 to 12 as follows:

Yeas—Albert, Bachmann, Brophy, Collenburg, Guwang, Jahelka, Jeffers, Kehm, Parsons, Pollner, Raiser, Salinger, 12.

Nays—Christ, Feuerherm, Holler, McGuire, Muller, Wagner, Waldmann, Winter, 8. Not voting—Hirth, Loether, Nye, 3.

The convention having decided to nominate candidates for President and Vice-President, nominations were then in order. Bachmann and Winter nominated Caleb Pink, of King's County, N. Y., who they said was the Socialistic candidate for Governor of New York in 1879. Collenburg nominated O. A. Bishop, of Chicago. Salinger nominated Osborn Ward, of Brooklyn. The nominations were then closed, Bachmann, Pollner and Brophy spoke in favor of Caleb Pink. The roll was called and resulted as follows: For Caleb Pink—Bachmann, Brophy, Christ, Collenburg, Guwang, Jahelka, Pollner, Winter, Raiser, Salinger, 10.

For Bishop—Albert, Jeffers, McGuire, Parsons, 4.

For Osborn Ward—Kehm, 1.

Not voting—Erb, Feuerherm, Hirth, Holler, Jordan, Loether, Nye, Wagner, Waldmann, 9.

Caleb Pink was then declared the candidate for President. Parsons moved to reconsider the vote whereby Caleb Pink was nominated, stating that he thought it would be better to nominate three candidates, and submit them to the Party, the person having the highest number of votes to be the Party Candidate for President, and the person receiving the second highest to be the candidate for the Vice-President. After some debate the vote whereby Pink was nominated was reconsidered.

Caleb Pink, O. A. Bishop and Osborn Ward were nominated, and the National Executive Committee was directed to submit them to the Party.

Winter offered a resolution as follows: "A general vote shall be taken by the Party to decide whether an extra convention shall be held in Chicago in 1880, to publicly ratify the candidates of the Party. The National Executive Committee shall fix the day and the basis of representation."

Brophy opposed the resolution offered by Winter, and said that this same Chicago convention had been defeated a number of times, and now, like a ghost it comes up again and stares us in the face. Why do we want a convention in

Chicago? Have we not nominated our candidate? You may pass this, but the sections will vote it down. Winters resolution was adopted.

Collenburg and Brophy were elected to revise the records of the proceedings of the convention, the original to be sent to the Board of Supervision, and copy to be sent to the National Executive Committee.

Van Patten was ordered to assist as the third member of the Committee of Revision.

McGuire moved that the pay of committee on revision of records be three dollars (\$3.00) per day—adopted.

Collenburg moved that delegates be appointed to attend the Labor Convention to be held in Chicago to represent the Party. Laid on table.

Motion from Parsons, that the National Executive Committee take under consideration, that the National Convention be held at a different season of the year next time—adopted.

After a brief and graceful speech by Vice-Chairman Aldmann, the convention at 11:30 P. M. adjourned *sine die*.

W. C. POLLNER,
Rec. Sec., pro tem.

The undersigned, appointed to revise and compile the records of the convention, hereby declare the above to be a correct record.

THOS. C. BROPHY,	} Committee of Revision.
C. E. COLLENBURG,	
PHILIP VAN PATTEN.	

ERRATA.

On page 2 The name of the delegate from New Jersey should read R. Feuerherm, Carriagesmith.

On page 34. The motion to strike out sentence concerning Trades Unions included also the additional proviso that it be referred to the committee on resolutions. The names of those who voted against this motion are those of two different elements in the convention—the one element which insisted upon leaving the sentence in the constitution, and the other element including the delegate from Boston, which claimed that our Party should not deal with Trade Union matters at all, and were therefore opposed to making any mention of them, even in our resolutions.

BY-LAWS AND RULES OF ORDER

BUSINESS MEETINGS OF SECTIONS.

The regular monthly business meetings shall be opened by the Organizer, or in his absence, the Recording Secretary. The following order of business shall then be proceeded with:

1. Election of a Chairman.
2. Appointment by the Chair of doorkeepers or sergeants-at-arms when necessary.
3. Payment of dues and applications for membership.
4. Reading of minutes of previous monthly business meeting.
5. Reports of Committees.
6. Reports of officers (in writing).
7. Communications and bills.
8. Unfinished business of last monthly meeting.
9. New business.
10. Instructions to the Secretary regarding his monthly report to the National or State Executive Committee.
11. Announcements of future meetings.
12. Adjournment.

NOMINATING CONVENTIONS.

Every convention shall be called to order by the Secretary of the National, the State or the local Executive Committee, according to the nature of such convention. He shall read the list of accredited delegates, who alone shall be allowed to elect the temporary chairman and Committee on Credentials. The following order of business will then be carried out.

1. Election of temporary chairman and secretaries.
2. Election of a Committee on Credentials.
3. Adjournment or recess until the Committee on Credentials is ready to report. The temporary chairman will then re-open the meeting, and the report of the Committee on Credentials will be read and acted upon. The house will then proceed to constitute itself by the appointment of a chairman for the day and permanent secretaries, which latter will serve throughout the convention.

The following order of business will then be observed:

1. Communications.
2. Report of the Executive Committee, (and in a National Convention that of the Board of Supervision).
3. Election of the following committees:
Committee on Platform and Resolutions; Committee on Organization; Committee on Finance; Committee on Complaints and Grievances; Committee on Report of National Executive Committee on Branch Sections; Committee on Press.

Further committees may be appointed at the discretion of the House.

4. The reports of the above committees will be taken and acted upon in such order as the House may decide.

5. The National, State or Local, (according to the nature of the Convention,) Party officers for the ensuing term will be elected.

6. Nomination of candidates.

7. Special resolutions should circumstances require.

8. Adjournment.