THIRD DAY OF THE CONVENTION

The Third Day of the Convention Has Closed and But Little Has Been Accomplished.

There was much disappointment and dissatisfaction with the results of yesterday's session of the convention. Nothing of any moment was accomplished, other than the reading of the National Secretary's report, which in itself contained much that was encouraging and helpful,

The greater part of the afternoon session was taken up by a few delegates who evidently felt that the convention was called for the express purpose of giving them an opportunity to exercise their lungs.

It is to be hoped that the convention to-day will get down to practical work -there is much to do. The discussion of unimportant and trivial affairs detracts from the dignity of the occasion and gives our opponents good grounds for belittling the whole movement. It is safe to say that up to this time nothing has been done which can by any stretch of the imagination be said to have added to the strength of International Socialism.

Many of the delegates have traveled thousands of miles-they have come from the remote states of the Union, and made great sacrifices -in the hope of catching the inspiration which should come from such a gathering. They have just ground for grievance. Their time is being frittered away-all to the end that a few self-satisfied individuals may exploit their loud voices.

Never before has so important and serious a crisis presented itself to the Socialist movement in this country, and to see the valuable hours spent in senseless discussions is disheartening. It is only the fact that back of this side show majestically towers the great principles for which the earnest men of the convertion have come here to discuss and solve in so far as they are able.

Let us hope that ere too late the convention will come to its senses, get down te business, and do the work which the Socialists of America expect to see accom-

some of the delegates, whether this dele-

was a gentleman there with specimens

of ore from Colorado, and he wanted us

to establish a colonization scheme. I

have got a piece of that ore yet.

(Laughter.) But I submit that if this

convention is to take up every idiosyn-

cracy on the part of delegates, we have

day, and my position on the matter is

this, that we should pay no attention

to it officially. If we do, I don't know

who he is, but he would only sell more

Delegate Toole (Md.): "What is the

question before the house?".

The Chairman: "The motion is to

elect a committee to investigate this

matter from Colorado or this sale of

Delegate Rose (Miss.): "I wish to

move an amendment to the motion to

this effect, that the comrade be allowed-

to explain this matter, and then let

the convention decide whether it

will continue him as a delegate or not."

gate is here advertising a certain mining

stock or a certain brand of shoes or a

certain description of whiskey, this con-

vention has elected a sergeant at arms

to protect the convention against inva-

sion on any matter other than Social-

ism. If you are going to appoint com-

mittees to investigate this man and

that man and every circular which is

passed around, you will sit here until

it is time to nominate a candidate for

president in A. D. 1908. (Laughter.)

J. Lamb, of Michigan-the

Jolliest Man in the Convention.

Now, I do not know who it is he refers-

to; I assume that some delegate here

has spoken something about some scheme

that he has, which may be good, bad

or indifferent. Now, the rational way

is to leave it to my judgment. If the

delegates of this Socialist convention do

not know any better than to invest in

mining stock in Colorado-particularly

at this time-let them do so. It is the

duty of the sergeant at arms to insist

that there shall be no literature dis-

tributed in this body other than that

acceptable to the Socialist party, with-

out action by this body. That is the

way to do. The last time we met and

organized the Social Democratic party

we met in the Revere House, and there

Delegate Carr (Ill.): "I am opposed

to that. I don't want any invasion or

any scheme on this floor except the

scheme of Socialism. I move as a sub-

stitute for the whole that this matter

be put in the hands of the Sergeant-at-

Delegate Taft (III.): "A question of

information. I want to ask whether

the gentleman is canvassing and sell-

ing on this floor or outside of the build-

Delegate Hazlett (Colo.): "I would

like to explain that this comrade is not

a delegate. He is an alternate. He is

not selling stock. It is a little co-opera-

tive scheme of his own to settle a So-

cialist colony, and it is not mining

stock. I think if we just requested him

not to pass the leaflets around it would

settle the whole thing. It is not a capitalist scheme at all."

Arms." Seconded.

stock by one of the Comrades."

stock." (Laughter and applause.)

troubles enough without doing that to-

AFTERNOON SESSION.

The convention was called to order at 1:30 p. m. by Secretary Mailly.

Delegate Richardson of California was nominated for chairman of the day, and there being no other nominations was unanimously elected.

Delegate Snyder of Oklahoma and Delegate Stockell, of Tennessee were



Gets the Floor.

nominated for vice-chairman. Delegate Stockell was elected, and in the absence of Chairman Richardson, Vice-chairman Stockell took the chair.

Mining Stock and Socialism.

Delegate Elsner (Wis.): Mr. Chairman, before we proceed to our regular tusiness I understand that a so-called comrade from Colorado, instead of doing Socialistic business, is busily engaged in selling mining stock. This is disgraceful, and therefore I make a motion to request this so-called comrade to return his badge and that he may not be allowed to enter this hall until after this convention has adjourned sine die. Seconded.

Delegate Toole (Md.): I move to lay the motion on the table. Seconded, The motion to lay on the table wa put and declared carried, but a division being called for a rising vote was or-

A delegate insisted that before the convention expel a delegate he should be granted the privilege of the floor in order to explain himself.

Several delegates raised a point of order, and the chair held the point good. The motion to lay on the table was



Comrade Titus, Editor of the Scattle Socialist.

Delegate Zorn (Ohio): "I move that committee of three be appointed to vestigate this matter." Seconded. A delegate moved that the committee

lected. Motion not seconded. Deligate Carey (Mass.): "Mr. Chairnan, I simply desire to call the attenon of the convention to this fact, that er may be the idiosyncracies of

Delegate Carr (Ill.): "I submit it a very foolish waste of time and a very improper thing for this convention to take any recognition whatever of the private business of a private party. I would like to ask how much this man has paid the comrades to introduce this matter on the floor for the purpose of advertising. Comrade Carey has certainly hit the nail on the



Comrade John N. Work Asks the Chair

head-for once-(laughter when he said we might as well investigate the claims of a man who was selling whiskey or proposing to sell whiskey or anything else as this man's scheme. In the name of heaven, this is the most ridiculous thing I ever saw come before a national convention, and if I have not already spoken more than I am entitled to, I move the previous question.' Not séconded.

Delegate Berger (Wis.) moved to lay



Comrade Hilquitt, of New York, Chair-

man, Adds Another Chapter to the History of Socialism. the matter on the table. Seconded and

carried almost unanimously. Delegate Outram (Mass.): "I move that the whole matter be expunged from the record." Seconded.

Delegate Carey: "I move the previous question on the motion." Sec-

The motion that the whole matter be vention was carried.

Committee on Credentials.

Chairman Lee, of the Committee on Credentials, reported in favor of seating Frederick W. Ault as delegate from Wyoming, and Frederick T. Strickland as alternate from Colorado. On motion the report was accepted and the com

Cablegram.

The following cablegram, first read in German, was then translated and read in English to the convention: "National Convention, Socialist Party,

Chicago, Brand's Hall: "All hail to the comrades assembled for the important work of electing presidential candidates. Three cheers for the International Socialist Movement.

'The Executive Committee of the Social Democratic Party of Germany." The reading of the cablegram was greeted with great enthusiasm.

On motion of Delegate Mailly, the Executive Committee was instructed to send a return cablegram to the German comrades.

Delegate Lee (N .Y.): "Pending the report of the committee on credentials, I desire to make a motion that



the functions of the committee elected o confer with the delegates of the Polish Socialist Alli ce be so extended as to cover the w. le subject of the organization and affiation of the for eign-speaking Socia sts in America.'

Seconded and carried. Chairman Lee, of the Credentials Committee, also am junced that there would be some further credentials from Colorado and Wisco sin, and it would facilitate matters in in case of pro test the subjects should be brought promptly before the committee for con sideration. The committee reported favorably on seating also as delegates from Wisconsin, Alderman Emil Seidel, F. Brockhausen and f. Heath. On mo tion the delegates were seated.

Amendment of Bales.

Delegate Leonard, of Minnesota, gavnotice that at the next meeting he would move to amend Rule 17 so as to read as follows:

"Robert's Rules of Order shall be used, with the exception that when the previous question shall have been called for on matters involved in or pertaining to reports of committees, three dele-



The Long and the Short of Socialism-Comrade McHugh of Montana gives Comrade Mills an Idea of the Height of the Mountains About Anaconda

gates on each side of the question shall be allowed three minutes each for closing the debate before such question is

Delegate Hanford (N. Y.) moved to proceed with the regular order of business. Seconded and carried. Report of Secretary.

Secretary Mailly then read his annual report, as follows:

To the National Convention of the Socialist Party, May 1; 1904: Comrades: In submitting this report

as national secretary of the Socialist party, I shall confine myself to those questions which I have come to consider as essential to the development and progress of the party organization, believing that in the settlement of these questions is bound up the future of the movement in whose interests this convention has been assembled.

The industrial and political situation, presenting new phases from day to day, will continue to give birth to problems which will demand the earnest attention of all Socialists, and our ability to meet these problems and successfully dispose of them will depend more than all else upon the strength and compactness of the organization representing the Socialist movement of this country.



Wonderful Speech on "Interna-tional Socielism."

More than ever Socialists must realize that before they can expect to be thought capable of administering and directing the affairs of this or any other nation, they must first prove their fitness for the task by displaying the ability to administer and direct the affairs of a political organisation representing the interests of the working class, and it is to this task that I believe their best efforts and most conscientious endeavor should be applied for some time to come. In short, the government of the Socialist party organization must be the means of fitting its members for the larger duties and greater responsibilities that the future holds for them.

I desire to emphasize, therefore, the necessity of our members giving increased attention to the methods of

respective local, state and national organizations. They must acquaint themselves thoroughly with all the executive and administrative details, such as conducting business meetings and correspondence, keeping accounts, making reports, and other duties involved in the



omrade H.: Gaylord Wilshire—the "Only Wilshire." His Speech at the Banquet Delivered with

general government of the party. They should post themselves as far as possible upon the detail of party activity, in every field and they should elect as their officials and representatives only those comrades whose fitness especially qualifies them for these positions. More impertant still, they must continue to develop the spirit of self-confidence, of dependence upon themselves, of faith in their ability through their own foresight and wisdom to settle all the problems and overcome all the difficulties which lie between here and the Co-operative Commonwealth. Of the writing of books, the making

of speeches, and the editing and publishing of papers, there is no end, but there is an appreciable lack of application to the executive branches of our party work. However important the literary and other educational features of the movement may be, yet these factors' will continue to be more or less barrenof results so long as the party organization is not properly equipped to take full advantage of them. Heretofore (and this was perhaps unavoidable in the early stages of the movement) the greatest amount of energy has been expended upon the dissemination of literature and the holding of public meet



Comrade Otto Wegene ager "Comrade"-New York.

ings, regardless of the methods employed or of any direct purpose to which the results accruing therefrom were to be applied. There was competition instead of co-operation, and a consequent waste of energy, money and enthusiasm. As one result, there is now in this country a tremendous amount of Socialist sentiment of which we cannot take advantage because our organization is not yet in a position to do so. From this time forward we should try to adjust the mechanism of the party to secure the best results with the least expenditure of effort and money, so that the gathering forces of Socialist thought and sentiment can find concrete expression at the ballot box.

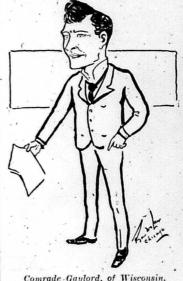
Perhaps no other task to which a So cialist can apply himself offers less of individual glory or immediate reward of any kind than that of faithful participation in and unremitting devotion to



the details of party organization, but this very fact makes it all the more nectransacting the party business in their essary that the task should be under-

taken. It is easy and convenient to let things run themselves, but sooner or later the party members pay the penalty for their indifference or carelessness by becoming involved in disagreeable situations which create discouragement and disgust, but which could have been well avoided in the first place. The lecturer or writer will always flourish and receive his proper meed of public reward, and admiration. For this reason these positions will naturally be the most coveted and the persons holding them will continue to have a greater personal influence through their association directly and indirectly with the general member-

For example, during the past year the number of applications for commissions as national organizers and lecturers has far exceeded the actual number within the ability of the national headquarters to employ at a given time. The comrade's filing these applications were in many instances new and inexperienced, but filled with a creditable enthusiasm to be of service to the movement. Several others were from comrades of more experience, but displaying a singular lack of comprehension of the scope and character of the party work. A majority of the applicants desired to be placed at work at once, and some were so insis-



Comrade Gaylord, of Wisconsin.

tent that they would brook no delay and appeared aggrieved when their wishes could not be gratified.

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

The comrade, however, who assumes the burden of executive and organizing detail must be prepared to accept responsibilities which are comparatively unknown to the worker in other fields. Such a comrade must be possessed of patience with himself and others. He must exercise caution, fortitude and courage. He must be impersonal and impartial. He must be prepared to accept the will or those for and with whom he works, even at the temporary sacrifice of his own opinions. And, above all, he must expect to be misunderstood and misrepresented by those to whom his services are devoted. All of this will be difficult and dis-

agreeable and other lines of work will offer greater attractions, but none will bring the immediate and permanent ben-



May His Shadow Never Grow Less.

efit to the Socialist movement faster than this one will. This fact in itself will be the most satisfying and satisfactory reward that can come to any Socialist. If the course indicated has not been followed more generally in the past it is not because the will to serve the movement has been lacking, but because the relative importance of this special phase of the party work has not been recognized. It only requires such recognition to call into action the latent executive ability which now lies dormant in the memb

of which the future success of our movement greatly depends.

This subject has also another phase which should not be overlocked. If the Socialist party differs from other political organizations, it is in this: that the membership and not a few leaders control and direct the movement. It is this very difference which constitutes its chief strength and must make it unconquera-



Comrade W. R. Parks of Kansas, is Thinking of Rising to a Point of Order.

ble and triumphant in the future. The organization must be democratic in the true sense of the word or lose its identity as one representing the working class movement to democratize the world. It follows, therefore, that only in the encouragement and development of selfgovernment within the organization can the spirit and practice of democracy be maintained and the movement held to its true course. Embodying as it does the vital principles which make for the liberation of mankind from all forms of industrial and political despotism, the Socialist party must announce, through its own actions, democracy as a fact limited only by those restrictions which capitalist conditions impose upon it.

But we should understand that a demeratic movement does not imply unrestricted individualism, as some comrades seem to believe. True democracy involves co-operation, and upon our ability to co-operate successfully everything depends. And co-operation in turn involves adaptation to one another; the ability to accept the will of the majority, wherever and whenever ear essed as inindividual will until such time as in-



Comrade Olson, of Wisconsin Enjoys the Convention.

dividual will can be expressed by the majority. And this again in turn involves faith in the movement as an organized force, the exercise of charity toward each other and of the prevalence of the spirit of comradeship throughout the movement.

Nowhere perhaps in the capitalist world will it be more difficult to organize a Socialist movement upon purely democratic lines than in this country, where the spirit of individualism has been distorted out of its true proportions until the simplest rules of organization are condemned even by some Socialists as "bureaucratic." These have yet to learn that the purest and highest individualism is that which can subserve itself when occasion requires to the so-

(Continued on Third Page.)



to Elect as Their Governor.

tional Socialist Party, from May 1st to May 6th, inclusive.

J. A. WAYLAND. FRED D. WARREN, Managing Editor.

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CIRCULATION STATEMENT.

Tuesday, May 3......29,000 Now that Hearst has carried Chicago we presume that the workingman will

find two pieces of pie in his dinner pail. Do you want to buy any mining stock ?

Wilshire's Magazine for May is out As usual it is full of good things, Get a copy and read "That 5x4 Merger Joke." It's worth while.

In a lecture Monday evening, Grover Cleveland attempts to defend his action in sending federal troops to Chicago in 1804. He claims it was necessary to quell riots, restore obedience to law and protect life and property. If Grover was president today, dees any one suppose he would send the troops to Colorado to compel the Citizen's Alliance, Governor Peabody and Sherman Bell to obey the laws? .

There is a law against carrying concealed weapons. Money, you know, is about the most powerful weapon in the world. I guess that's why the capitalists object to the working class carrying very much of it around.

"The magnificent residence of the late William C. Whitney has been sold to James Henry Smith, one of New York's multi-millionaires, for more than \$2,000,-000." So says a press dispatch. Wonder when the workers will get tired of building two million dollar residences for others, while they continue to live in shacks themselves?

I see one Chicago paper says Debs is in control of the Socialist party. Debs is a mighty big man, but no one man was ever big enough or powerful enough to control the Socialist party. Maybe some day these plute editors will learn that the membership of the Socialist partycontrol the Socialist party.

Bishop of Ripon, England, complains that while the marriage rate is increasing, the birth rate is declining, and that the nation is being deprived of 500 children a week. The nation is being deprived! Rats! He means capitalism is being deprived of 500 fresh slaves a

The legislature of Colorado influenced by corporation bribes, refused to pass an eight hour law endorsed by a majority of the citizens of Colorado. Now Governor Peabody and his hired thugs are protecting the act. This is the way the majority doesn't rule in Colorado,

Possibly the capitalists papers will have heard of us the day after election, particularly if we elect half a dozen Congressmen, as we are going to.

Those who fight the bitterest in conventien on minor points fight the best together when they get out shoulder to shoulder in the campaign.

While we do not smoke in conventions the capitalists may have the pleasure of watching our smoke when the campaign

One of the immediate demands that all will agree to is the speedy education of the working class.

The working class may rise to a point of order on par constitutional law, but until it has the power to make the decis ions itself the capitalists will ignore its

Whatever ideas may be in the platform the wording should be so plain that every working man can understand it.

While our platforms are not built to catch votes, we can't help it if they do.

Grover Cleveland's conscience must be hurting him since he felt called on to rise and make a defense at this late date

Sometimes people who think they disagree discover that they don't when they come to talk it over.

The Chicago Post says that a convention which begins its sessions on Sunday will not attract the American peo ple. Isn't it the best kind of capitalist morality that the better the day the better the dead.

All kinds of cranks are attracted to the Rockefeller bible class but its teacher is no crank. He knows what he is there

Figure it all around both sides and up and down the middle but Socialism is the only thing that will save Colorado.

Who will be the nominee is bothering the capitalist press much more than it is

Delegates who are carrying around

an Appeal watch are never late at their

Socialist members of the council in Milwaukee scored a victory Menday, Comrade Emiel Seidel introduced a measure providing that the union label should hereafter appear on all city printing. The opposition took it as a joke and laughed long and loud, but when it come

carried. The hired men of capitalism were afraid to vote against it in the face of labor's rapidly growing strength in Monday, May 2.28,500 | Milwaukee.

to a vote-well, that was different, it

Jim Carey's "I want to go home" crowd, is getting new converts every day.

It was amusing to watch the scenes around the democratic primaries Monday. No, did I say amusing-I meant it was pathetic. Pathetic to see free (?) American voting sovereigns being herded and driven to the voting booths like

You understand that to have Socialism we must, have Socialists. That means we must agitate, educate and or-

Socialism implies an intelligent voter behind a class conscious ballot:

Cinders are cheaper than bricks for sidewalks. The workers should use them.

Principles like men are judged by the company they keep.

I see they have invented a new light with which to see into a man's stomach. What I'd like to have is a light with which I might see what's inside of the heads of some of these Chicago workingmen. It sure must be something curious that makes a laboring man vote an old

ANENT PEOPLE, THINGS AND CONDITIONS

THE MAIN QUESTION.

Every day the leaders of The o. p's tell us that

The best thing for this country is . 'For voters to "stand pat."

But the o. p.'s bacen't told us yet, No fascinating tale,

Like that they told before, about The well "fooled" dinner pail. So we're waiting, pale and breathless,

To know what we will git From either ancient party, if . We will vote for it.

Sieverman isn't the only one who can our forth rounded phrases and polished cloquence. There aren't any angels in our good national secretary's report.

"What do I want to bother with an auditing committee for? Wonder why I let myself stand for it?" and a lefty sigh escaped McKee of Cadiz.

A cablegram of greeting from the comrades of Germany was received, with hearty applause.

Comrade Mills: "A man said he thought this was the noisiest place he ever saw. I told him to bear in mind the many who are sitting quietly and patiently through it all-and to go and do likewise."

Comrade Katayama says that, owing to the laws of Japan the little ladies of the Orient are not allowed in a room in which a political meeting is being held, but they can stay in an adjoining room with the door open, and this they some times do.

> In the winter its coal, In the summer its ice. If it wasn't for PROFITS . Wouldn't life be pice!

"I'll keep the floor all right," declared Comrade Carey, and then he proreaded to set the house into such a roar. of laughter and applause that one would have thought the whole proletaire had Commissary General's Office ... come into the Socialist movement.

Prof. Will, beneath his cultured exterior, embodies the determined spirit that his name-which is four-fifths of Chicago's motto-suggests. He has been deteeted trying to convert cockreaches to

Ah; but they're a smooth, suave lot, that New York delegation! Lee with his studious face, Spargo with his old country air, Herron's dulect voice. Han ford with a manner all his own, breezy yet easy. Sieverman and his persuasive eloquence, Atkinson's graceful way of yielding. Slobodin's tactful fashion of bringing the convention to business, and, as if all these were not enough to give tone to our metropolitan delegation, there's Wilshire.

It's a fine thing to have a Supreme .Court that is always at hand to regulate the universe. Wilshire.

MONEY SPENT BY THE BARREL.

The Late, But Not Lamented, Congress Dipped Its Hands Freely In the Public Funds.

(Special to the Appeal to Reason.) Washington, May 3 .- The appropriations for the Military and Naval establishment of the United States provided by the Congress just adjourned, involving the enormous amount of \$321. 930,298 is attracting much attention and opening the eyes of some people in the apitol. The people are astounded to find that they are now maintaining the most expensive military establishment on the face of the earth. While the sum mentioned, and given in detail in previous dispatches, includes the pension list, yet the statistics of the military budget of European countries also included their pension lists as well. The pension list is as much of a war

expense as the cost of guns. A man who enlists and goes to a far country to rape some girl and gets boloed into a cripple by an angry brother gets a pension, while the man who gets his bones broken stopping a runaway horse gets no pension and pays his own doctor bills to boot.

While the figures given above include all the so-called military and naval appropriations, yet they do NOT include one dollar of the expenses of the Military "administration" expenses. These

Office of Naval Intelligence 9,460 Extras ... Bureau of Equipment 13,840 Contingent Expenses 30,500 Pilot Chart (monthly 2.000 Nautical Almanae Office 22,240 Bureau Steam Engineering 20,780 Bureau of Construction and Re-Bureau of Ordinance..... 14.780 Bureau of Supplies and Accounts 45.800 Bureau of Medicine and Surgery 12.420 Extra Clerks

In addition to this, more than half a million dollars of war expenses are sinuggled into the Sundry Civil bill under the heading of the "Treasury Department." The detailed items of this class are as follows:

Bureau of Yards and Docks 10.780

Contingent Expenses Navy Dept. 44,000

37,900

Extra Items for Same

than is maintained by any of the great European monarchies.

It was but a few years ago that 25,-000 men were regarded as sufficient for all purposes. No troops were required save a few to police the frontiers and kill a few Indians when they balked at being robbed by Indian agents and trad-

But with the coming of great corpo-rations, the new feudalism, a new deal was necessary. Starving workmen must be kept in submission and shot if they objected. Foreign territory was needed for exploitation, and foreign peoples must be subjugated; the only republic in Asia must be crushed in order to make room for the grafter. In this warp and woof militarism was born in this country with its annual cost to industry of more than \$325,000,000 per

The military establishment to day is costing a hundred million dollars more per year than the actual expenses of the government for all purposes in 1886. The following table shows the total appropriations of the government for each vear since 1885. Militarism practically began with the Spanish war:

Appropriations,
Fis. year Gross less sinking Actual Fis. year Gross less sinking Actual-ending appro- fund and postal expendi-

Capitalism May Have the Upper Hand at Present-But a Socialist Convention Has Been in Session in Chicago for the Past Few Days, and There is Quite Likely to be a Change.

spenses are included in the Sundry Civil For instance, here are the expenses of the War Department "admin istration" which are included in the Sundry Civil bill and not in the regular-Army Appropriation bill and hence are not figured in the so-called "military

WAR DEPARTMENT ITEMS Office Secretary of War \$ 464,650 Adjutant General's Office... 125,640 Record and Pension Office Inspector General's Office. Judge Advocate General's Office 15,460 Signal Office6.560Quartermaster General's Office 159,340 433960 Surgeon General's Office Paymaster General's Office Office Chief of Ordinance 41,660 Extras for Draughtsmen, etc., 7 40,000 Office of Chief of Engineers 30,840 Extras for Draughtsmen, etc., 80,000 Bureau of Insular Affairs Contingent Expenses Stationery 25,000 Rents and Postage

\$1.976,906 Below are given the items of Naval xpenses included in the Sundry Civil bill and which are not reckoned among the so-called "naval expenses": NAVY DEPARTMENT.

Office Secretary of the Navy....\$ 51,880 Various "Extras" 24/360 Library Navy Department 3,980 Office of Naval Records...... 14,340 Publication of Records...... 10,500 Judge Advocate General's Office. 14,920 Extras same 4.740 Bureau of Navigation 50,560 Extras 11,580

TREASURY DEPARTMENT. Office Auditor for War Department\$399.080 Fxtra Items, Same 21.000 Office Auditor for Navy Department 118,180

So that in addition to the horde of uniformed assassins and rape fiends sent to the Insular possessions, appropriations for which are included under the regular military expense bills, a niob of department poker players are maintained in Washington at an annual expense of more than \$3,000,000 per year. Adding the Sundry Civil bill military appropriations to the regular war, naval and pension bills, the proposed expenses of the military establishment amounts to \$325,-197.575 per annum.

The entire National debt, less cash in the treasury, amounts to only \$925,000,-000, so that the annual expenses for the war shop should wipe out the entire national debt in less than three years.

The military bill is one-third the amount of the liquor bill.

The postal receipts for 1903 amounted to but \$134,444,185; yet Congress appropriates nearly three times that to support people who do nothing but strut around, get drunk, rape women; armed thugs ready to shoot down honest laborers who attempt to assert their rights in a strike.

It is astounding that nearly one-half of the total appropriations of the government, for all projects whatsoever, are for the purpose of carrying this gigantic load of militarism-heavier by millions young son.

. b893,231,615 747,210,231 584,181,472 .b674,981,022 519,626,443 461,931,389 .b710,159,862 545,519,669 479,447,539 .b730,338,575 559,705,523 479,437,539 .890,624,496 612,409,053 471,423,000 800,624,496 612,400,053 471,423,06 753,058,506 552,290,842 781,574,629 565,602,569 Including amount covered by pos-

tal revenues.

b For the year 1899, \$51,000,000 (estimated) is included to meet the requireb For the year 1-25, see the fequire-mated) is included to meet the fequire-ments of the sinking fund; for 1990, \$53, 990,000; for 1901, \$53,000,000, and for 1902, \$54,900,000. For the years prior to 1899 only the amounts actually expended on account of the sinking fund are included. All this has been accomplished in spite

of the efforts of the greatest, cleanest and most honored American soldier today-General Miles. And the money power has made his life å burden ever since he attempted to stem the tide. He was publicly executed and ostracised when he unmasked the Beef Trust for selling embalmed beef to the soldiers. He was again denounced by the Brewing Corporations when he objected to their opening snake holes in the camps. He was studiously insulted by the corporate tool of Adjutant General Corbin, who keeps Washington clubs guessing as to who pays his poker debts. He was finally kicked out of the War Department by the corporation lawyer, Elihu Root.

Militarism is now in the saddle and riding rough over flesh and blood. Even those who helped boost it into power are not spared. Not long ago, Congressman Littlefield wrote to the War Department endorsing some suggestions about the anti-canteen law, which he had framed and gotten passed through Congress Adjutant General Corbin promptly replied, urging Littlefield, in effect, to attend to his own business.

"'Dick' is a sort of an 'immediate demander,' '' says Mrs. O'Hare of her

LABOR CRUSHERS STILL AT WORK

Master Bakers Ship Bread From Milwaukee to Supply Their Trade - Baker's Strike Still in Progress.

Despite the fact that comparatively | because it would be unnecessary. Grofew journeymen bakers are on strike, the employers who have declared for the "open shop" are having difficulty in supplying their trade. Glaring advertisements in the newspaper, for bakers, are not producing the results the employers expected, and they have had to appeal to other cities to help them out of the trouble which they brought on themselves rather than pay a paltry \$1 a week advance in wages to a few

Yesterday morning about 35,000 loaves of bread were received here from Milwaukee to help out the local labor crushers. They may find it difficult to get a further supply from that city, however, for the bakers in a city that elected nine Socialists to the city council are likely to be alive to their class interests, and will not aid the bosses in an effort to defeat their union brothers.

The strike of machinists on the Santa Fe railroad system, which has been expected for some time, is now on in full force, and will be kept up until the management agrees to make a wage schedule with the International Asso ciation of Machinists, as nearly all other railroad systems in the country have done.

The one thing that puzzles the local machinists why the strike order should have been delayed by President James O'Connell until the management had time to make preparations. The company, as is well known, has been hiring scabs and keeping them in readiness at points along the system for several weeks, but in spite of this, O'Connell has delayed the strike order for some reason known only to himself.

The management of the Santa Fe has issued several statements on the controversy intended to mislead the general public. It declares that it is not in a fight against organized labor, but will not be used by the International Association of Machinists to force non-union men to join the organization. In other words, it wants the "open shop." Now, the facts are that the machin-

ists alid not ask for the exclusive employment of union men. What they did demand was that the company should cease its discrimination against unionists, as for several months the company has been dischaging men who have attended meetings of the union. It has employed spies who have dogged union machinists from the time they left the shops at night until they returned to them in the morning. It has had its spies and spotters working alongside of union men in the shops and reporting every man who dared to express an opinion that everything was not as lovely as the company would have it appear.

When a man was reported who had attended a union meetings or spoken in ists. favor of organization among his fellows, he was immediately discharged. This condition has gone on until the patience of the men has been taxed to the limit.

. It should also be understood that there has never been any signed schedule between the Santa Fe railroad management and the machinists in its employ. There has been no regulation of the apprentice system, or of the railroads. That is what the men are fighting for, and not to have the company-act an as organizer.

The fight has hardly got warm yet, but it will before long. Tom Wilson, who is to manage the strike for the men, fought the Union Pacific to a standstill, and won after a struggle lasting one year. Although several injunctions have been secured by the company, injunctions will not repair any locomotives. The machinists are only asking for fair living conditions, and they, will win.

Signs of General Prosperity. Reports from various cities through

out the country show that notwith standing the general prosperous conditions, which we hear so much about in the capitalistic press, about 50,000 workers celebrated May 2 by going on strike for increased wakes and im proved working conditions. This num ber does not include the workers in Colorado, who have been having prosperity shot into them by Governor Peabody for several months. Any one who thinks that "the interests of capital and labor are identical," or that "there are no class lines in this country,' might profit by studying the strike reports from different centers as printed in the newspapers. Still, it was a remarkably quiet May day, according to these same reports.

Grover Cleveland Explains. Grover Cleveland, in a speech Mon-

day night, at Princeton University, explained why he sent United States troops to Chicago during the A. R. U. strike in 1894. It would seem at this late date that an explanation was hardly necessary; besides, most of us knew the reason at the time the troops were sent. But Grover was careful not to give the real reason. If that strike had not been broken by Grover in 1894, the present strike of machinists on the Santa Fe would have been impossible

ver knows that, and so do the capitalist interests generally. Incidentally, it may be said that the number of working men who know it, too, is daily increasing.

In a corner, having an international conference were Comrades Katayama, delegate from Japan, Anielewski, Polish organizer; Woodbey, colored delegate from California, and Carl D. Thompson, all around heathen from everywhere. And the Jap and the native of Russia were not fighting, either, just having a heart to heart comradely talk.

Harry Spears, the new sergeant at irms, takes his honors easily, and the unaccustomed smile that plays over his battle searred features is good to see. Still, you'd better behave when Spears is looking.

Comrade Henry L. Drake of Tawas, Mich., writes as follows: "Debs wants a slegun. I suggest, 'America for the laboring man.'

RUSKIN UNIVERSITY

A cordial invitation is extended to the delegates of the National Socialist convention to visit Ruskin University at Glen Ellyn, twenty-two miles west of the city. Take the Garfield Park car on the Metropolitan Elevated anywhere on the loop. At Fifty-second street get round trip ticket-35 cents-on the Aurora electric and get off either at Ruskin Station or Glen Ellyn.

This institution, with 140 acres of land, including mineral and pure water. springs, and forty-acre lake, a \$100,000 building, sanitarium, suspender factory, betanical gardens, publishing house and bank, with a store and other business and industrial enterprises in process of development, furnishes complete preparatory, college and university courses, and provides employment to students sufficient to cover expenses of board and room rent. Complete technical and professional courses are given by the affiliated schools and colleges in Chicago by means of evening classes, and special rates of transportation are being secured for industrial students living at Glen Ellyn. Special ecurses in economies, industrial history and socialism are now being given by correspondence and in residence by A. M. Simons and May Wood Simons.

Delegates who can not come to Glen Ellyn are invited to call at the city office of the university, 1101 Ashland block, and receive information and printed matter concerning the institution. Those coming to Glea Effya will be entertained without expense during their visit. It will be worth your while to stay over a day or two, if necessary, to visit the only institution in America offering complete college and university courses and giving courses in sociology from the socialists' standpoint of view an't by social-

Fraternally yours, GEORGE MCA. MILLER,

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THIRD DAY OF THE CONVENTION.

cial will and social good. The real bureaucracy to fear is that which would make a few people the ungoverned and ungovernable authorities and dictators of the movement. There need be no fear of any kind of a bureaucracy so long as the party machinery remains in the hands and under the control of an alert and enlightened membership.

When these self-evident propositions become more generally recognized and accepted by Socialists everywhere there will be fewer locals disband after a short and precarious existence, and lapses in membership will become less frequent. It is an encouraging sign that the number of comrades giving their attention to this subject is increasing, and with a still



"The Light of Asia." yama who is Carrying the Light of Socialism in Japan.

greater consideration we can confidently expect a stronger and more effective organization with which to conduct the struggle with the rapidly combining forces of the capitalist enemy.

The National Constitution.

The present condition of the party organization is generally satisfactory; when the stage of its progress is con sidered. The form of organization is as yet practically new and difficulties have been presented as a consequence which, with a revision of the constitu tion and the development of the organization, should gradually disappear. The present constitution was a hastily pre--pared document and it was natural that it should be faulty in construction, although basically correct.

· My ideas upon the character that the organization should take have been expressed elsewhere as follows: "The Socialist party must be more than a mere political quachine; it must be so managed and controlled that the highest de gree of democracy consistent with efficiency at the directing force of So-cialist activity must be attained. More and more we must provide for a decentralization of authority and the concentration of the forces of agitation and education. The national headquarters



ald of Montana-a Big and Lorable Comrade, There's no Half Way Business About Him. He Hits from the Shoulder.

should be the nerve center of Socialist netivity, the clearing house through which the different state organizations can be kept in close touch and sympathy with each other, thus ensuring an objective point at which the organized, Socialist forces can converge and act unit-

The chief problem before us, then, as an organized body, is how to combine democracy in management, efficiency in action and economy in laber and expense, so that the best and most pernm-

nent results can be obtained. The existing political system requires that state autonomy m continue to be the basis of organization but its boundaries and limitations must be more definitely prescribed. There has been a tendency toward exclusiveness, to place the interests of a single state organization above these of the party at large, a tendency as injurious s the other extreme of concentrating authority over the membership in a central committee. One carries state autonomy e the extreme and makes toward an irchy; the other denies democracy and makes toward absolutism. Both are dan; gerous and can only result in dry rot. Our national organization must be fluid nough to invite or encourage neither one nor the other.

Under the present constitution there is anger from both. The national offimy become aware, through the ponization are, unknown to the

membership, either neglecting their du-ties or perverting their powers, to the injury of the party in that state or the entire country, and yet the national officers are powerless to act. Provision should be made for action in such cases, although such action should not be arbi trary or authoritative, but merely along the lines of suggestion, information or



Stitt Wilson, of California Has a Mental Suggestion that the .Chair Will Recognize Him.

investigation, leaving final action to the membership of the state itself."

On the other hand, there is no constitutional preventive against representatives or members of one state organization interfering with or usurping the duties or rights of other state organizations and their members, or the duties and rights of the national organization in organized states and territories. The activities of state officials should be confined to their own states where their responsibility lies, except when agreement is specifically made either with other state organizations or the national organization, as the case may be.

There should also be constitutional regulations to protect the national party, against the violation of the principles and platform of the Socialist party in any organized state or territory.

The qualifications for membership in the party should be made as uniform as possible in all states, so that all members may enjoy equal privileges. A system of regulation of transference of



Comrade Thos. J. Morgan of Illinois.

membership from one state to another

should also be adopted. In order to avoid the recurrence of having state organizations formed where geographical or other conditions are unfavorable to their effective or permanent existence, the membership in any unorganized state or territory should reach a certain number before the movement for a state organization can be initiated. Eagerness, to establish state organizations before conditions were ripe for them has resulted disastrously in several places through failure on the part of these organizations to properly maintain themselves when thrown upon their own resources. The national office can usually take better care of locals in unorganized states and territories until conditions make a state or territorial organization necessary and justifiable.

The National Committee.

The present form of the national committee elected from the various state organizations is objectionable and should be abolished. The principal objection lies in its fostering of factional divisions in the party. The national committee is supposed to represent the entire party and to act upon matters affeeting all the states, while at the same time its individual members are only responsible for their actions to the respective state organizations which elect them, so that the party has absolutely no jurisdiction or control over any or all of them. Experience has also already shown that it is impossible to devise a basis of representation upon the committee which will permit of equal represen tation from all the states. The size of the committee makes the method of transacting business cumbersome, exhausting and expensive.

As a substitute for this I would suggest that there be a national executive committee, to consist of seven or nine members, selected by referendum of the party at large, regardless of section,



Delegate from Ne Comrade Hyland, braska.

with each and all members subject to recall. This would give the entire party membership the choice of its adminis trative body and ensure representation to the locals in unorganized states and

territories which have now no voice in the councils of the party, although contributing financially to its support. The national secretary should be under the direct supervision of the national executive committee, but elected by referendum of the party membership. The acts of the committee upon all matters referred to it could be published regularly in a bulletin issued for that purpose and furnished to every party member.

The Referendum. The initiative and referendum invelves a principle too sacred and valuable to be used lightly. Recently two referendums were taken upon the same subject within thirty days of each other, and as a result there are now two contradictory clauses in the present national constitution. The provisions for initiating referendums should be changed to conform to the growth of the organization and propositions should be limited in length. A law should be in force and effect at least ninety days before another law upon the same subject could be initiated and submitted to a referendum. Organization and Agitation.

The work done by the national organizers during the past fifteen months has been productive of much good and seems to have given general satisfaction: The expense incurred in placing and keeping these organizers in the field has been greater than will probably be the case in the future, as the ground covered by them was mostly new .. The financial support given them has been encouraging and gratifying, although in a number of cases the comrades at various places did not appear to realize the great responsibility borne by the national headquarters for these organizers. The idea seemed to prevail that because the



Contrade Adams.

organizers traveled for the national organization there was no need of render ing any financial assistance. If the na tional office had unlimited resources at its command this belief might be warranted, but the contrary is true, so that this word upon the matter may not be amiss.

As the different state organizations develop they will be able to employ their own organizers, and the necessity for national organizers will become lessened. The present method of selecting national organizers and lecturers could be improved upon, however, by the requirement of certain qualifications upon the part of applicants, such as length of party service, special knowledge of Socialism, and the details of organization,

I take the liberty of proposing to the convention the creation of the office of general organizer. The activities of this official would not be restricted to any section and his services would be available at all times for the purpose of representing the national organization whenever occasion would require personal investigation and action. There has been need of such an official several times during the past year, and it is my opinion that sooner or later one will have to



Comrade E. T. Behrens, Delegate from S. dalia, Missouri-a Great Socialist Champion in his District.

be selected. The duties of this official would cover a wide field and his work could be of great value to the party.

Propositions will probably be made at this convention for the formation of the foreign-speaking workers into separate federations to be affiliated with the national organization. This is a matter which should receive your careful consideration, as it is necessary that the national party secure the active co-operation of the workers of all nationalities in the movement against capitalism. Whether it would be better to have federations as proposed, or to have these workers organized direct into locals and branches of the party is a new question which the convention will have to pass upon in some specific manner, so that a definite line of action can be pursued.

National Lecturers.

Until recently the condition of the party organization made it impossible to have very much system in the arranging of tours for party lecturers who had formerly usually traveled at high expense to the locals, and oftentimes at great inconvenience and hardship to the speakers themselves. To remedy this I



Comrade Geo. W. Bacon, Delegate from York, Pennsylvania.

structions from the national committee, to formulate a definite system of lecture work which would enable the party locals to engage capable lecturers at a nominal expense, while guaranteeing these leeturers sufficient remuneration for the labor and time expended.

While this work has been fairly suc cessful, yet it has been attended by difficulties only to be appreciated by those in the national office and into the details of which it is unnecessary to enter here. Some of these difficulties could be obviated by the adoption of definite rules to govern the routing of interstate speakers and which rules would preserve the integrity of the state organizations within their respective boundaries, while also facilitating the general arrangement of engagements with the locals.

This would prevent the confusion and unnecessary expense which have been caused by state organizations assuming the work of routing lecturers and organ izers when they were unable, for various reasons, to perform the work properly. The blame for this state of affairs has been mostly directed at the national office, when the facts are that in almost every ease the routing done by the latter has been more satisfactory in every



Comrade Wm. Ash of Colorado-He Looks After Comrade Southworth and Keeps Him from Getting Lost.

way. With the facilities now in use speakers and organizers can be routed from the national headquarters much more economically than otherwise. Especially is this true of those states in close proximity to the seat of the national headquarters.

The effort to establish a lecture system such as I have outlined caused the circulation of a report that I was attempting to form what was termed a "bureaueracy" at national headquarters for the purpose of victimizing certain speakers and driving them from the field. I take this opportunity, the first presented to me, to state that this report was entirely unwarranted, that I was not actuated by personal motives of any kind, that I had no other purpose than the co-ordination of the party forces upon a scale which would guarantee economy and better re sults in the future. Regardless of contrary opinions, a system for handling Socialist speakers must be perfected if we are to keep step with the forces which we recognize and proclaim to, be at work in society.

During the infancy of the organized movement when pieneer work was the rule and Socialists were widely scattered and isolated from each other, the question of control of speakers did not arise, except in well-organized sections



mrade Jonas 70 Years 10un Comrade is Just 70 Years 10un and It is Said He Enjoys Walk-Much That He New York. Walked All the Way From New York Just for Ex-ertisc.

of the country. But since the party has developed into a national organization the question has arisen and provoked discussion. This is a healthy sign and should be taken as an indication of growth. The question can only be settled in one way, and that way is the one in harmony with the law of organization and co-ordination. Those who assume to speak for the Socialist party should be prepared to accept the control of the party. If the Socialist party is to be held responsible for them, then they should be held responsible to the party: the local workers to the local organizations, the state workers to the state or ganizations, and the national workers to the national organization. The question of remuneraion is a minor one which will gradually adjust itself.

Supplies.

Changes in the form and quality of organizing and other supplies have been made from time to time and a normal price charged in order to bring them within easy reach of all state and local organizations. Various circumstances have prevented us from furnishing locals with sets of books for officials, although the forms for these books have been ready for some time. If ordered in large quantities for cash the books can be secured at a nominal cost, but so far the state of our finances would not warrant the incurrence of this expense. A set of books for state secretaries have also been devised and when put into use will go far toward systematizing the work of these officials.

Bulletins and Reports. The issuance of weekly bulletins and



Comrade G. Y Courtney, of Oak Park, Illinois.

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

Expenses of Delegates to National Conventions.

I would also suggest that means be provided for the payment direct through the national organization of the expenses of delegates to the national conventions. A general assessment of a nominal sum from each member for this specific purpose and levied before the convention would undoubtedly furnish a sufficient



urade Lew Button, of Chicago and Other Places. Comrade Button has Been. Identified with Progressire Labor Morements for Many Years.

amount to cover these expenses, thus ensuring representation from all the states. The basis of representation could be changed, but a more general attendance would be secured. The adoption of this proposition would place all aspirants for election as delegates in the different statés upon the same footing and eliminate the tendency to select delegates because of their ability to defray their own expenses to and from the conventions.

The Socialist Press.

The Socialist party press is gaining steadily, in numbers and influence and with its further development will become a most potent factor in shaping the destinies of the movement. Without doubt the general literary and spiritual quality of the press is improving and Socialists are rapidly realizing the urgent necessity for a press that can fittingly represent, the Socialist party. The practice of beginning the publication of local papers before the condition of the movement warrants their continuance has a

tendency to detract from the general effectiveness and stability of papers with established circulations, besides making for the dissipation of the limited resources of the comrades. It is much better to increase the usefulness of papers already in the field than to embark upon undertakings which have little certainty of prolonged existence.

The sentiment for an official organ to be published by the national organiza-



Comrade Slobodin, of New York makes a Kick on Spargo's Pipe of Trouble.

tion may justify me in stating my views in opposition to such a proposition. Past experience in this direction should be ample warning against its adoption. I believe also that the existence of an independent press, free of party control, except in localities where published, is one of the strongest safeguards toward proteeting and preserving the party's integrity that we have today. Such a press provides a sure medium for the expression of individual opinion, thus guaranteeing free speech and criticism and preventing the creation of the censorship which has hitherto, almost invariably grown out of the placing of official orgaus in the hands of party officials. In this field, at least, we can afford to have competition, and the survival of the most fit will depend upon the increased knowledge of Socialism and the intellectual development of the Socialists themselves.

Conclusion. .

I have not considered it necessary to repeat what has already been included in my last annual report. A summary of the financial condition of the national office is herewith appended. If the showing therein made seems unfavorable, the comrades will bear in mind that the expense recently incurred by assisting the party in Colorado and in the Milwaukee nunicipal campaign has been especially heavy. Economy will be exercised during the next two months with the expectation that the national campaign will be entered upon free of debt.

I take pleasure in again expressing my appreciation of the co-operation rendered me in my work as your national secretary by the assistants in the national office, Comrades W. E. Clark, Chas. R. Marfin and James Oneal. They have worked capably and faithfully for the party's interests, and this slight recognition, although inadequate to the proportion of their services, is the least that is due them. I cordially acknowledge also the courtesy rendered toward the national office by the national committee and quorum, the party press, the national organizers and lecturers, and the com-

rades generally throughout the country. To you, the delegates to the most representative Socialist convention that has ever met on this continent, I convey my congratulations upon the progress manfested by your presence here today. The further advancement of the Socialist cause in America is conditional upon the character of your deliberations and the actions arising from them. Beginning a new epoch in the movement's history. with the social forces that make for change working in complete harmony with the Socialist philosophy, with the opportunities for hastening the encoming social revolution presenting themselves on every side, we should give to the task assigned us the best thought and devo tion of which we are capable, deeming nothing less than that worthy of the



Arkansas

suse baving for its realization the emancipation of the working class of the world and the ultimate freedom and happiness of all mankind. Fraternally submitted,

WILLIAM MAILLY. National Secretary. Chicago, Ill., May 1, 1904.

Following the reading of the national ecretary's report, the financial statement was read by the national secretary.

At the conclusion of the reading of the secretary's report and financial statement Delegate Richardson assumed the chair and after the applause which greeted the reading of the report had subsided, recognized Delegate Berger of Wisconsin, who moved that the report of the secretary be received and referred to the proper committee. The motion having been duly seconded it was put and carried unanimously, and so ordered by the chairman.

At the request of the chairman the secretary then read the following cablegram which was sent in reply to the message received from Germany:

"Executive Committee, Social Democracy of Germany, Berlin. Socialists of the United States of America return fraternal greetings of German comrades, wishing them ever greater victories over

the common enemy of the working class." The reading of the cablegram evoked great applause, at the conclusion of which the chairman called up the report of the local quorum.

Comrade Reynolds (Ind.), senior member of the local quorum, then read the report of that body.

On motion of Delegate Nagle (Ky)., duly seconded, the report was received and filed:

The Chairman: . The next order of business is the report of the committee on platform. Is the platform committee ready to report?

Delegate Wilkins (Cal.): Mr. Chairman, the platform committee will meet again at 5:30 this afternoon and endeavor to complete their report so as to have it ready for the evening session.



of and His Bike

The Chairman: Then you report progress?

Delegate Wilkins: We report prog-The Chairman: The next order of business is the report of the committee

on municipal program. Is the committee ready to report? A Delegate: . They are in ses s anow. The Chairman: That committee being in session they are, of course, unable

to report at present. The next order of business is the report of the committee on resolutions. Is the resolutions committee ready to report? Delegate Spargo (N. Y.): We are

ready to make a report, Mr. Chairman. Delegate Spargo then came to the platform and made the following verbal report: Delegate Spargo: The committee on

resolutions has prepared only a partial report. We thought it better to present only a partial report rather than incur the risk of any considerable delay this afternoon, and hence the committee will request permission to present the remainder of its report at a subsequent time: We, as a committee, decided that tions, consisted primarily in this: We were to consider each resolution upon its merits. If they were not written in English we were to try and do that part of the work. If we thought that the did not properly come within the sphere of the jurisdiction of our committee, we would refer them to the committee to which they properly belonged, and we decided that upon all such resolutions as we considered, we would report the same to this convention, whether or not we, as a committee, favored that resolution. In some cases we have had resolutions in which the writers have evidently said the very things they wanted not to say, and have forgotten to say the very things they wanted to say, and by a species of clairvoyance the committee has undertaken to fill the void and to say for the framers of the resolutions what the framers of the resolutions started out to say, and what they forgot to say. (Laughter and applause.) We have had resolutions consisting of "whereases" and "therefore be it resolved" without any resolution at the end, and we had to apply, of course, the resolution at the end. (Laughter.)

referred to the committee on constitution. There was, for instance, ? resolution from the state of New Jersey, and from the state of Connecticut, providing that the cost of the national convention so far as delegates' expenses go, should be made a national charge. We have a similar resolution from New Jersey, but we thought that since it involved in itself a change in the constitution it would be idle for our committee to bother with it and that it would be idie for us to trouble the convention with the burden of rejecting it, and so we politely sent it over to the constitutional committee and told them we didn't want that and they were very welcome to it.

A number of resolutions have been

We have two resolutions from the delegation from the state of New Jersey.

We thought that we could not present information, personal privileges, and all us. It the New Jersey delegation had little regard for the committee, the committee and some regard for the convention, so we have taken the trouble and liberty of trying to say what the delegation from New Jersey wanted to say, except that we have also suggested an important amendment to their resolution. They moved first:

"Whereas, it is the practice of some lecturers and organizers to engage with organizations of the Socialist party at an indefinite compensation, dependent upon their success in collecting funds for selling literature, or else engaging without understanding as to compensation;

"Whereas, under such conditions the ability of a comrade to remain in the field depends upon circumstances other than usefulness in the propagation of clean cut Socialism; therefore be it

"Resolved, That this convention declare itself opposed to speculative methods of compensating lecturers and organizers and in favor of the payment of a definite, predetermined salary or fee."

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

Resolution No. 2.

! Wherens, Exorbitant salaries fees have sometimes been paid to speakers and organizers for their services,

"Whereas Such practices are altogether unwarranted and unjust in a pro-

"Therefore be it resolved, that this body declares itself opposed to paying speakers or other workers employed by the party exorbitant fees or salaries I lacing them above the standard of the working class the party tepresents; and

"We recommend that as far as posrible locals of the Socialist Party should engage their speakers and organizers through the National or State organization, thus discouraging abuses arising from the unsatisfactory methods at present pursued,"

I ought to say that in presenting the resolution in this form we do so after having amended the resolution in the committee, because in its original form the delegation from New Jersey proposed that the wages of our lecturers and other workers should be based upon the average rate of wages of the party membership. Now, your committee thought that since we had not an option upon Mr. Carroll D. Wright, since perhaps we were not quite willing yet to expose to the world the average rate of wages of the membership of the Socialist Party, it was better to amend the resolution in that direction. (Laughter and applause.) We report favorably upon the resolution in its amended form.

Local San Francisco submits this reso-

"Resolved, by the Socialist Party of America in convention assembled, that the Socialist Party condemns all propagenda organizations not connected with the Socialist Party, doing Social-1st propaganda, and that no member of the Socialist Party be a member of any organization, not affiliated with the So cialist Party, if said organization is do-Ing Socialist propaganda and being a member of any organization as before mentioned is sufficient cause for expulsion from the Socialist Party." (Loud applause.)

Your committee reports unfavorably. (Loud applause.)

Russo Japanese War.

Resolution submitted by Delegate Hochn of Missouri:

"Whereas, the conflicting commercial interests of the ruling classes in Russia and Japan have induced the governments of those countries to bring about war between the Russian and Japanese

. Whereas, the working people of Russin and Japan have no interest in waging this campaign of bloody warfare;

"Be it resolved that this convention of the Socialist Party of America sends greeting of fraternity and solidarity to the working people of Russia and Japan, and condemus the Russo-Japanese war as a crime against progress and civiligation.

"And be it further resolved that we appeal to the wage workers of Russia and Japan to join hands with the International Socialist movement in its stringgle for world peace." (Loud applause.) Your committee reports favorably. (Laughter and loud applause.)

Here is the resolution adopted by the State Central Committee of the Socialist Party of California. It deals with matters local to San Francisco, and came before us merely as a request that the statement be read before the convention on account of the information which it contains. It is not, in the ordinary sense of the word, a resolution presented to the deliberation of this body. It is a statement containing information which they desired read to the convention. In view of the fact that it has been deeided to print these resolutions, on behalf of the committee I spare you the rain of listening to that statement. (Applause.) I thank you.

Delegate Slobodin of New York moved that the nomination for President and Nice-President be deferred, and that such nominations be set down for Thursday, afternoon session, and that the present order of business be reconsidered.

Delegate White of Massachusetts here presented to the Chair a written notice of a desire to make a motion changing Rules 7 and 8 of the order of business to proceed to the nomination of Presi dent and Vice-President on Thursday, May 5, at 1 p. m. This motion, and the amendments submitted by other delethe technicalities of parliamentary laws were availed of by the delegates who desired early action in regard to the

From all parts of the hall came requests from the delegates for recognition by the Chair to be heard upon the matter, and it was with the greatest difficulty that Chairman Richardson could control the convention, and persuade it. to conduct the business before it in an orderly manner.

The original motion was amended to provide for the nomination of its standard bearets on Wednesday afternoon, instead of Thursday. This suggestion was met with equal opposition, and a third amendment was proposed—that Wednesday night be substituted.

The advocates of the regular order of business prevalled, both in numbers and noise, and after a somewhat violent wrangle, all motions and amendments relating to the special order of business for the nomination of President and Vice-President were defeated.

The report of the Committee on Platform was then called for, and Mr. Berger, on behalf of the committee, announced that they were not yet ready to report, and Delegate Miller announced that the Committee on Trades Unions was ready to make its report, and moved that it be received. The motion was seconded, and the question being put, was carried.

The Chairman: Before that committee renders its report I have a telegram here which I desire to read. It is as follows: 'President of the National Socialist Convention, Brand's Hall:

"Reno, Nevada, Socialist Local sends greetings, and favors Debs for President. A. A. Hibbard, Secretary." (Applause.)

Delegate Hayes then came to the plat form and read the following report of the Trades Union Committee:

RESOLUTIONS.

The trade and labor union movement is the natural result of the capitalist system of production and necessary to resist the encroachments of capitalism. It is an effort to protect the class interests of labor under the capitalist system. However, this industrial struggle can only lessen the exploitation, but does not abolish it. The exploitation of labor will only cease when the working class take possession of the means of production and distribution, and establish their right to the full product of their labor. To fully earry out these meas ures the working class must consciously become the dominant political power. The organization of the workers will not be complete until they unite on the political as well as the industrial field on the lines of the class struggle.

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

In accordance with the decisions of the International Socialist Congresses in in Brussels, Zurich and London, this convention reaffirms the declarations that the trade and labor unions are a necessity in the struggle to aid in emancipating the working class, and we consider it the duty of all wage werkers to affiliate with this movement.

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

(Signed by the Committee.)

Delegate Hayes: I wish to add that the committee has adopted a supplementary report, which reads as follows;

Supplementary Report.

Resolved, That we declare our unalterable opposition to the introduction of the vicious open shop system in governmental institutions, national, state, or municipal, and in industrial establishments generally.

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

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

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

Resolved, This vicious work can only be prevented by united political action of labor on the lines of the class strug-

Resolved, That we call upon the wage workers to join the Socialist party with a view to overthrowing the political condition that makes it possible for the capitalist class to use the political machinery of the country as a weapon against the working class.

(Signed) Max Hayes, Chairman; Dan A. White, Adam L. Nagle, John Collins, Jacob Hunger, James F. Carey, Frank A. Sieverman, Guy E. Miller,

Secretary Following the applause which greeted gates, precipitated a discussion in which the reading of the committee's report, Roberts' Rules of Order, questions of Comrade Jonas moved that the report be

sent to the printer before final action was taken by the convention. The motion was seconded.

Delegate Spence moved as an amendment to Comrade Jonas' motion, that be eligible to membership in the party. the report proper of the committee be received and printed with the other re-Management. ports and that the supplementary report, consisting of the resolutions, be referred to the committee on resolutions. The motion did not receive a second. After considerable discussion on the floor, Comrade Lee stated that inasmuch as the motion of Comrade Spence had failed for want of a second, that he desired to National Committee. renew the motion and accordingly he

ferred to the committee on resolutions. After quite a lengthy debate on this motion, which had received many seconds, the question was put on the amendment, and it was carried by the follow-

moved that the report proper of the

committee be received and printed, and

that the supplementary report be re-

ing vote: 71 in favor, 55 opposed. The question was then put on the original motion, as amended, that the first part of the report be sent to the printer and the second half referred to the committee on resolutions, and the viva voce vote leaving the chair in doubt he requested a rising vote, which was accordingly taken, the result being that 75 voted in favor of the motion and 45 opposed it, and the chairman declared the

The Chairman: The committee on trades unions will present the printer

color, creed or occupation, who subscribes to the platform and declaration of principles of the party, and is of unobjectionable personal character, shall

ARTICLE III.

The affairs of the Socialist Party shall be administered by a National Committee, its officers and Executive Committee, the party conventions, and the general votes of the party.

ARTICLE IV.

Section 1. Each organized state or territory shall be represented on the National Committee by one member and by an additional member for every one thousand members or major fraction thereof, in good standing in the party. For the purpose of determining the representation to which each state or territory is entitled, the National Secretar shall compute at the beginning of each year the average dues paying membership of such state or territory for

the preceding year. . Sec. 2. The member of this com mittee shall be elected by referendum vote of the membership of the states or territories which they respectively represent. Their term of office shall not be more than two years.

Sec. 3. The National Committee shall meet in regular session once a year in all even numbered years when

shall supervise and direct the work of the national secretary, organize unor ganized states and territories, received semi-annual reports from the state committees, receive and pass upon the reports of the national secretary, and transact all current business of the national office, except such as are by this constitution or by the rules of the national committee expressly reserved for the national committee or the general

vote of the party. Sec. 3. The executive committee shall adopt its own rules of procedure not inconsistent with this constitution or with the rules of the national committee.

Sec. 4. The executive committee shall transmit copies of the minutes of its meetings to all members of the national committee, and all its acts and resolutions shall be subject to the revision of the national committee.

ARTICLE VII.

National Secretary.

Section 1: The national secretary shall be elected by the national com mittee; his term of office shall be one year. The national secretary shall receive as compensation the sum of fifteen hundred dollars annually.

Sec. 2. The national secretary shall have charge of all affairs of the national office subject to the directions of the executive committee and the national committee. He shall receive the reports' of the state organizations and of local no national conventions of the party organizations in unorganized states and with the first part of their report, and shall take place. Special meetings shall territories. He shall supervise the ac-

ARTICLE IX. The Literature Bureau

Section 1. The National Committee the party a department for the dessemination of Socialist literature.

Sec. 2. The Literature Bureau shall keep for sale to the local organizations of the party and others a stock of So- platforms shall conform thereto. cialist books, pamphlets and other literature, and shall have the right, with the approval of the committee, to publish works on theoretical Socialism or for the purposes of Socialist propaganda, but jurisdiction of the members residing this clause shall not be construed as authorizing the bureau to publish any peri- the sole control of all matters pertaining

Bureau shall go into the general funds of the party treasury.

ARTICLE X.

Conventions.

Section 1. The regular national conventions of the party shall be held in all years in which elections for president and vice president of the United States are to be held.

Sec. 2. Special conventions of the party may be held at any time if decided upon by a general vote of the party membership.

Sec. 3. The dates and places of holding such regular or special conventions shall be fixed by the National Committee.

Sec. 4. The basis of representation in any national convention shall be by states, each state and territory being entitle! to one delegate at large, and one additional delegate for every two hundred members in good standing.

ARTICLE XI. Referendum.

Section 1. Motions to amend any part of this constitution, as well as any other motions or resolutions to be voted upon by the entire membership of the party, shall be submitted by the National Secretary to a referendum of the party membership, upon the request of five state or territorial organizations, or any smaller number of such organizations having a membership of at least two thousand in the aggregate.

Sec. 2. Whenever a request for a referendum shall have been made as above provided, the National Secretary shall forthwith cause the same to be published in the party-press, and shall allow such question to stand open for forty-five days, within which time amendments may be offered thereto in the same manner in which an original request for a referendum is to be made, and at the close of the said period of forty-five days, the original motion submitted to referendum, together with all and any amendments which might have been offered, shall be submitted to the vote of the party meribers, and such vote shall close forty-five days thereafter.

Sec. 3. All propositions or other matters submitted for the referendum of the party shall be presented without preamble or comment.

ARTICLE XII. State Organizations.

Section 1. The formation of all state or territorial or the reorganization of state or territorial organizations which may have elapsed, shall be under the direction of the Executive Committee, and in conformity with the rules of the National Committee. Sec. 2. No state or territory may be

organized unless it has at least ten locals of being honest.

with an aggregate membership of not less than one hundred, but this provision shall not affect the rights of states shall also maintain in the headquarters of and territories organized prior to the

adoption of this constitution. Sec. 3. The platform of the Socialist party shall be the supreme declaration of the party, and all state and municipal

Sec. 4. In states and territories in which there is one central organization affiliated with the party, the state or territorial organization shall have the sole within their respective territories, and to the propaganda, organization and Sec. 3. The profits of the Literature financial affairs within such state or territory, and the National Committee and sub-committees or officers thereof shall have no right to interfere in such matters without the consent of the respectivestate or territorial organizations.

Sec. 5. The State Committees shall make monthly reports to the National Secretary concerning their membership, financial condition and general standing of the party.

Sec. 6. The State Committees shall pay to the National Committee every month a sum equal to five cents for every, member in good standing within their respective territories.

Sec. 7. All state organizations shall provide in their constitutions for the initiative, referendum and imperative man-

ARTICLE XIII. Headquarters.

.The location of the headquarters of the party shall be determined by the National Committee.

ARTICLE XIV. Amendments.

This constitution may be amended by a national convention or by a referendum of the party in the manner above provided.

Comrade Webster moved that the report be read section by section and those not objected to considered adopted. Comrade Stedman moved as a substi-

tute that the report be printed and that the rules be suspended and the convention adjourn until tomorrow at 10 o'clock. After considerable discussion among the delegates the motion to adjourn was

put to vote and lost. The previous question being then put it was lost and on motion of Comrade Burns the further consideration of the report of committee on constitution was deferred until this morning to enable same to be printed. The report of the press committee was

then called for and read by Comrade Simons (Ill.) chairman of the commit-

HARK, COMRADES.

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B..... Contraction of the section of the se

the committee on resolutions with the be called at the request of a majority counts of the national office, and the second part of their report, in accordance with this motion, or they will be hanged without the benefit of the elergy. (Laughter.)

On motion of Delegate Nagel, of Kentucky, the convention then adjourned to reconvene at 7:30 this evening. Adjourned to 7:30 p. m.

NIGHT SESSION.

At the evening session through a misunderstanding as to the hour to which the convention had adjourned a number of delegates assembled at 7 o'clock. On learning that the hour to which adjournment had been taken the meeting was adjourned until 7:30, at which time Chairman Richardson called the convention to order. .

Delegate Sieverman then moved that debates be limited to one speaker on each side, which motion being duly seconded, was carried.

The chairman then called up the report of the committee on constitution, which was read by Chairman Hilquit. The report in full follows: NATIONAL CONSTITUTION OF THE

ARTICLE I. Name. The name of this organization shall

be the Socialist Party, except in states where a different name has or may become a legal requirement.

SOCIALIST PARTY.

ARTICLE II. Membership.

Every person, resident of the United States, of the age of 18 years and upward, without distinction of sex, race,

of the members of the committee. The dates and places of such meetings shall ture bureau and such other departments be determined by the National Commit-

SOCIETY AND LABOR. LIKE THE DIVISION?

ABOR

Sec. 4. Expenses of the National Committeemen in attending meetings shall be paid from the national treas-

National Committee, all its business shall be transacted by correspondence. Sec. 6. The National Committee shall adopt its own rules of procedure not inconsistent with the provisions of

this constitution.

mittee.

Sec. 5. Between the sessions of the

ARTICLE V. Duties and Powers of National Committee.

Section 1. The duties of this committee shall be to represent the party in all national and international affairs; to call national nominating conventions and spécial conventions decided upon by referendum of the party; to make reports to national conventions; to receive and pass upon all reports and actions of the executive com-

Sec. 2. The National Committee shall neither publish nor designate any official organ. ARTICLE VI.

Executive Committee.

Section 1. Executive Committee of the National Committee shall be composed of seven members to be elected by the Nationala Committee, from the membership of the party.

in connection with the national office a lecture bureau for the purpose of ar-

Socialism only.

tions of the party.

as may hereafter be established in connection with the national office. Sec. 3. The national secretary shall issue to all party organizations in such way as the executive committee may direct, monthly bulletins, a report on the

work of the lecture bureau, the litera-

financial affairs of the party, a summary of the condition and the membership of the several state and territorial organizations of the principal business transacted by his office, and such other matters pertaining to the organization and activity of the party, as may be of general interest to the membership. Such bulletins shall not contain editorial comment. Sec. 4. The national secretary shall

be empowered to secure such help as may be necessary for the proper trans-action of the business of his office. Sec. 5. The national secretary may be removed from office at any time by a jority vote of the members of the na-

national committee. ARTICLE VIII. The Lecture Bureau. Section 1. There shall be maintained

ranging tours for lecturers on theoretical

Sec. 2. The lecture bureau shall have no connection with the work of organization, and it shall have the right to make arrangements for the lecturers under its auspices with all state or local organiza-

Sec. 3. The national committee shall establish a uniform rate of compensa Sec. 2. The executive committee shall tion for all lecturers and organizers meet at least ome in three months. It working under its auspices.