

FOURTH DAY OF THE CONVENTION

Much Important Work Accomplished—Constitution Adopted with many Changes. "The Official Organ" Proposition Overwhelmingly Voted Down.

Now she is going. Some one kicked off the governor belt, tied down the safety valve (that had been spluttering with suppressed oratory until this time), and with Comrade Sieverman on deck, the throttle was pulled wide open and greater speed was made in almost half hour than had been made in any entire previous day.

After all, the work of the previous days has been by no means so empty as it appeared. The committees were all hard at work and the results so far as submitted show that they have done good work.

In the matter of constitution there has been a general feeling that the power of the central organization must be strengthened and nearly every change that has been made from old form of organization has been in this direction.

It is generally felt by the delegates that in the struggle that is now drawing so close upon us there will be need of much executive work and that those who must use the party machinery should not be trammelled by empty forms of democracy which are only empty forms, and conflicting subordinate authority.

The next work will be upon the platform, and here again it is fortunate that time has been "wasted," for that wasting has worn off many rough points and brought the delegates into a better understanding of each other and the merits of the questions at issue until it now looks as if this great struggle to which all have been looking forward will simmer down to a calm, considerate discussion in which the whole matter will be reasoned out rather than fought out.

MORNING SESSION.

Chairman Richardson called the convention to order at 9 o'clock, but owing to the smallness of the attendance a recess was taken to 9:20, at which time a chairman for the day was elected.

The following nominations for Chairman were made: Sieverman, New York; Mills, Kansas; Morgan, Illinois; Smith, Oklahoma; Barnes, Pennsylvania; Heath, Wisconsin.

Delegates Barnes and Heath declined, and Delegate Sieverman was elected. For Vice-Chairman, Delegates Morgan, Illinois, and Mills, Kansas, were nominated. Mills declined, and Morgan was unanimously elected.

The committees on Credentials, Platform, State and Municipal Program, and Resolutions being called on, had no reports to make; likewise the Secretary announced that he had no further report. REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON CONSTITUTION.

The draft of the report of the Committee on Constitution having been printed in the Appeal, and being in the hands of the members, the proposed constitution was then taken up for consideration.

Delegate Robinson of Kentucky moved that the Constitution be read, section by section, and when no objection was made the section be considered adopted, and the reading proceeded with. Carried.

Article 1 was adopted as originally reported by the committee. Article 2 was read, as follows:

"Every person, resident of the United States, of the age of 18 years and upward, without distinction of sex, race, color, creed or occupation, who subscribes to the platform and declaration of principles of the party, and is of unobjectionable personal character, shall be eligible to membership in the party."

Delegate Carr, of Illinois, moved to adopt the article. Seconded. Delegate Oswald, of New York, objected on the ground that under the wording of the article it would be impossible to exclude any person whose occupation was office holding, and moved to strike out the word "occupation."

Delegate Richardson (Cal.): "That difficulty can easily be met by a proviso to the effect that anyone holding an office to which he has been elected or appointed by a capitalist party shall not be qualified to be a member of the party."

Delegate Mills, of the Committee: "The real difficulty that the committee had before it, was not on the proposition as to occupation. The word 'occupation' has a distinct meaning. It means the method by which a man earns his livelihood. Now, the question has been raised whether a man who is a farmer or merchant or blacksmith or employer of labor shall be eligible. That is a question that is involved. If we are going to determine that occupation means any line of occupation in which a man earns his living, then that wants to be stricken out. If, however, membership is not to rest upon the line of the trade in which a man is earning his living, then it ought to remain. My judgment is that the Socialist party ought to continue to do what it has always done, so far as I am informed: Refuse to determine the means and methods by which a man must earn his living before he shall be admitted to membership in the party."

Delegate Taft (Ill.): "I favor striking out the word 'occupation.' My reason is, first, that it is wholly unnecessary. No political party or organized body finds it necessary to make such a provision, and it seems to me that our position is stronger if we do not call attention to a fact that there are differences between occupations. Personally, I stand in opposition that the Socialist party is a working class party, although there are many members in it and will continue to be who are not workmen. But I am of the opinion that retaining this word 'occupation' will be construed, and properly and naturally construed, as a bid, not merely to bring in persons who are not workmen—which of course is all right—but it is a movement taking us away from having a tendency to take us away from our position as a working class party. I think it is totally unnecessary. I therefore favor the amendment."

Delegate Gibbs (Mass.) spoke in favor of his amendment to strike out the words relating to personal character. In the course of his remarks he said: "I sincerely hope that part will be stricken out. I think I may say that I have a fairly decent moral character myself, and I think that question ought not to enter into our minds in considering relationship with the party. I do not believe that there is any danger whatever that the Socialist party will become commonly called a party of immoral persons, but I believe this leaves the door open for a whole lot of personal prejudices and personal idiosyncracies. That question has already come up before this convention. It is not a danger of the future; it is already here. I recall one case, and I sincerely hope that that part of the resolution will be stricken out. I believe there is so much that is good in the worst of us and so much that is bad in the best of us that it will not do for any of us to talk about the rest of us." (Applause.)

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Delegate Ufert, New Jersey, moved as a substitute for the whole that "every person, resident of the United States, of the age of 18 years and upward, without distinction of sex, race, color or creed, who has severed his connection with every other political party and who subscribes to the principles of the Socialist party shall be eligible to membership." Seconded.

The discussion was continued at great length, being participated in by Wilson, Mass.; Waldhorst, Ala.; Hillquit, of the committee; Wilson, Cal.; Cogswell, Kans.; Cozian, Pa.; Keown, Mass.; Jonas, N. Y.

Delegate Mills (Kan.): "I am very sure there are no delegates here that are not in favor of the rule we have just adopted, that in order to become a member of the Socialist party, the applicant must withdraw from all connection with any other political party. That was adopted practically by a unanimous vote. Now, this new clause was first considered in an effort to secure agreement on the clause which we have already adopted, and comes next before us not as a part of the clause on which we have voted, but as a separate proposition. I can see no good reason why the clause now before the convention should be adopted. All that we can reasonably ask for has already been provided for. All that this clause will provide will be a means of making trouble, and further, of bringing us into positions where, at the very hour when we may need most to act, we will have tied our own hands. Think for a moment of a few conditions which are not at all impracticable. We are in a legislative body; there are a dozen Socialist members; they constitute the representatives of the Socialist party. In the midst of discussion a man who has been elected as a Democrat renounces his allegiance to the Democratic party, denies that he shall any longer in any way whatsoever have any connection whatsoever with the party that elected him. Must he first resign and go home to be elected over again? Or shall we, while we are acting under the capitalist state, take such advantage of the capitalist organization under which we are acting as will enable us to the greatest effect to fight the battles of the working class. (Applause.) Again, a judge is on the bench. A case directly involving the rights of the Socialist party under the legal requirements which we have already established, comes up. The judge on the bench hears the case, becomes interested, convinced, and joins the party or offers to join. Must he resign the vantage ground which he already holds for service to the Socialist party and place himself where he cannot serve before he can become a member with us? Let me ask you a question: May a man be a good and regular member of the Socialist party who wears an old rusty badge on his coat? No. Again, as to positions held by political appointment. The comrades in Chicago know—I presume it is equally true in New York, although I do not know—that rarely is there a man who is a motorman or a conductor on a city street car who does not hold his place on the recommendation of a ward boss or an alderman or a mayor. Shall we tie our hands so that no man can help us until he shall first sacrifice his ability to stay alive and then serve us while he starves? We have already covered that when we say that when we have demanded that a man shall cease to be a Democrat or Republican or belong to any other organization in order to join ours. If we will stand to the end, a unit all the time, and having made that provision, we are safe." (Applause.)

Delegate Mailly (Neb.): "I hope the delegates to this convention will not allow themselves to be swayed or carried off their feet by a flood of reactionary sentiment. (Applause.) The time has come when we have got to take a stand on this question. The time has come when we must differentiate ourselves from capitalist office holders and Socialist office holders. It is no argument to say that because a man is a motorman and is forced by compulsion to appeal to a ward boss to get his job that we should keep him out of the Socialist party. We have had experience in this matter in the east, in Rochester, New York and Syracuse, N. Y. In Syracuse our Socialist party had a vote of 2,500, I believe. The candidate for Mayor was the Socialist Labor ticket, I think, got 2,500 votes, and after election he was appointed fire commissioner, which



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Delegate Hillquit, of the committee, said: "I have heard enough of this. This is the sort of talk that is causing trouble in the movement. Leave that substitute out, leave that matter out, and you will have more trouble than you have ever had before. It is because there is no specific law of the party affecting the case that we have trouble everywhere. Take Comrade Gridley, of Indiana, against whom I could not vote for seating in this convention, not for any personal reason, but because I hate to sit in a Socialist convention with any one holding a position, whether with large or small remuneration, in the Socialist party representing the working class of the world, does not need to yield one jot of our position. We are gaining strength everywhere. Look at Milwaukee, Massachusetts, Montana—look everywhere; we are making an advance along a straight line. We do not need to yield; we do not need to divert ourselves one inch or one jot from our position. We can succeed without yielding anything. The movement is ours if we hold it to, but let us turn aside and allow ourselves to be swayed by any other consideration but that of devotion to the principles of the Socialist movement, and that moment we encounter confusion and invite disintegration, and that is what we must avoid. We must take our position, we must hold it, no matter what individual may be hurt by it; we must hold it against all comers, and holding that position, we can go on from Milwaukee to Chicago, from Chicago to New York; from New York to San Francisco, and capture the powers of government in this country without regard to the Democratic or Republican or Independent or Citizens' party, and by virtue alone of the class-conscious ballots of the Socialist workmen." (Applause.)

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The amendment was seconded, and the Chair having stated the motion, Delegate Barnes continued:

"It is not the time for us to waver, in my opinion, but to emphasize our declaration of separation entire and complete from all other political parties. (Applause.) I will read again this proposition I have submitted. Out of the experience of the past in Pennsylvania we present this proposition. We want to say that during the anthracite coal strikes when thousands of miners turned their eyes toward the Socialistic propaganda and found comfort in Socialistic philosophy they sent shivers down the spinal columns of the Democratic and Republican parties, and the minute that they feared the rise of the proletariat they began to offer specious arguments to the working class, and to put them on school boards, and make them petty officers. What for? Because they loved them more, or because they feared us greater? They tried in this insidious manner to undermine our party, to create confusion and enervate our movement. What was it for? It was done simply to confuse and defeat the objects of the Socialist movement, and it has to a considerable extent served the purpose that they have in view. I submit that this is the strongest declaration, the most clean-cut and comprehensive and the least possible to misunderstand, and I want to read it again, so that you may become acquainted with the phraseology (reading the amendment). We don't want any cabinet positions by grace of the appointment of the President. We want no members of our party to occupy positions honorary or remunerative, because they don't want Socialists, because they are of the working class, but they want Socialists to gain votes. We will find enough of the working class of America outside places of political preferment to carry our grand motto to triumphant success." (Applause.)

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Delegate Mills (Kan.): "I am very sure there are no delegates here that are not in favor of the rule we have just adopted, that in order to become a member of the Socialist party, the applicant must withdraw from all connection with any other political party. That was adopted practically by a unanimous vote. Now, this new clause was first considered in an effort to secure agreement on the clause which we have already adopted, and comes next before us not as a part of the clause on which we have voted, but as a separate proposition. I can see no good reason why the clause now before the convention should be adopted. All that we can reasonably ask for has already been provided for. All that this clause will provide will be a means of making trouble, and further, of bringing us into positions where, at the very hour when we may need most to act, we will have tied our own hands. Think for a moment of a few conditions which are not at all impracticable. We are in a legislative body; there are a dozen Socialist members; they constitute the representatives of the Socialist party. In the midst of discussion a man who has been elected as a Democrat renounces his allegiance to the Democratic party, denies that he shall any longer in any way whatsoever have any connection whatsoever with the party that elected him. Must he first resign and go home to be elected over again? Or shall we, while we are acting under the capitalist state, take such advantage of the capitalist organization under which we are acting as will enable us to the greatest effect to fight the battles of the working class. (Applause.) Again, a judge is on the bench. A case directly involving the rights of the Socialist party under the legal requirements which we have already established, comes up. The judge on the bench hears the case, becomes interested, convinced, and joins the party or offers to join. Must he resign the vantage ground which he already holds for service to the Socialist party and place himself where he cannot serve before he can become a member with us? Let me ask you a question: May a man be a good and regular member of the Socialist party who wears an old rusty badge on his coat? No. Again, as to positions held by political appointment. The comrades in Chicago know—I presume it is equally true in New York, although I do not know—that rarely is there a man who is a motorman or a conductor on a city street car who does not hold his place on the recommendation of a ward boss or an alderman or a mayor. Shall we tie our hands so that no man can help us until he shall first sacrifice his ability to stay alive and then serve us while he starves? We have already covered that when we say that when we have demanded that a man shall cease to be a Democrat or Republican or belong to any other organization in order to join ours. If we will stand to the end, a unit all the time, and having made that provision, we are safe." (Applause.)

Delegate Mailly (Neb.): "I hope the delegates to this convention will not allow themselves to be swayed or carried off their feet by a flood of reactionary sentiment. (Applause.) The time has come when we have got to take a stand on this question. The time has come when we must differentiate ourselves from capitalist office holders and Socialist office holders. It is no argument to say that because a man is a motorman and is forced by compulsion to appeal to a ward boss to get his job that we should keep him out of the Socialist party. We have had experience in this matter in the east, in Rochester, New York and Syracuse, N. Y. In Syracuse our Socialist party had a vote of 2,500, I believe. The candidate for Mayor was the Socialist Labor ticket, I think, got 2,500 votes, and after election he was appointed fire commissioner, which

would come under the police commissioner. And what happened to the movement? We cannot poll 300 votes in Syracuse to-day. He was expelled from the party, as he should have been, and the party has never recovered from the shock. Now, this is a general rule; you cannot cite instances. Every general rule must affect some individuals, and you cannot cite individual cases as an excuse for not establishing a general rule. We have got to take our stand one way or the other. We have got to announce to the world that we have no affiliation, direct or indirect, with any capitalist party or any one holding a position, by virtue of a capitalist party anywhere. (Applause.)

Delegate Hillquit, of the committee, said: "I have heard enough of this. This is the sort of talk that is causing trouble in the movement. Leave that substitute out, leave that matter out, and you will have more trouble than you have ever had before. It is because there is no specific law of the party affecting the case that we have trouble everywhere. Take Comrade Gridley, of Indiana, against whom I could not vote for seating in this convention, not for any personal reason, but because I hate to sit in a Socialist convention with any one holding a position, whether with large or small remuneration, in the Socialist party representing the working class of the world, does not need to yield one jot of our position. We are gaining strength everywhere. Look at Milwaukee, Massachusetts, Montana—look everywhere; we are making an advance along a straight line. We do not need to yield; we do not need to divert ourselves one inch or one jot from our position. We can succeed without yielding anything. The movement is ours if we hold it to, but let us turn aside and allow ourselves to be swayed by any other consideration but that of devotion to the principles of the Socialist movement, and that moment we encounter confusion and invite disintegration, and that is what we must avoid. We must take our position, we must hold it, no matter what individual may be hurt by it; we must hold it against all comers, and holding that position, we can go on from Milwaukee to Chicago, from Chicago to New York; from New York to San Francisco, and capture the powers of government in this country without regard to the Democratic or Republican or Independent or Citizens' party, and by virtue alone of the class-conscious ballots of the Socialist workmen." (Applause.)

Delegate Simons (Ill.): "I want to ask the committee in order to get a little information on this, as to whether they have a proviso for judges of election; whether they will be permitted, although they are appointive officers?"

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Delegate Hillquit, of the Committee: "My construction is that I think they would not be barred from accepting. Whoever judges of election are to be appointed giving representation to the Socialist party it is by statute, and not by grace, or the assistance of a political party."

Delegate Hillquit, of the Committee: submit the following as a substitute for that under consideration at the present time, and then desire to speak upon the amendment: "Any person occupying a position, honorary or remunerative, by the gift of any other party (civil service positions excepted) shall not be eligible to membership in the Socialist party."

The amendment was seconded, and the Chair having stated the motion, Delegate Barnes continued:

"It is not the time for us to waver, in my opinion, but to emphasize our declaration of separation entire and complete from all other political parties. (Applause.) I will read again this proposition I have submitted. Out of the experience of the past in Pennsylvania we present this proposition. We want to say that during the anthracite coal strikes when thousands of miners turned their eyes toward the Socialistic propaganda and found comfort in Socialistic philosophy they sent shivers down the spinal columns of the Democratic and Republican parties, and the minute that they feared the rise of the proletariat they began to offer specious arguments to the working class, and to put them on school boards, and make them petty officers. What for? Because they loved them more, or because they feared us greater? They tried in this insidious manner to undermine our party, to create confusion and enervate our movement. What was it for? It was done simply to confuse and defeat the objects of the Socialist movement, and it has to a considerable extent served the purpose that they have in view. I submit that this is the strongest declaration, the most clean-cut and comprehensive and the least possible to misunderstand, and I want to read it again, so that you may become acquainted with the phraseology (reading the amendment). We don't want any cabinet positions by grace of the appointment of the President. We want no members of our party to occupy positions honorary or remunerative, because they don't want Socialists, because they are of the working class, but

**DAILY APPEAL TO REASON.**

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

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CIRCULATION STATEMENT.  
Sunday, May 1, 26,000  
Monday, May 2, 28,500  
Tuesday, May 3, 29,000  
Wednesday, May 4, 29,500

Today is the fifth day of the convention, and there is little probability that the work will be finished by to-night. In case the convention continues its work over until Friday, the last edition of the Daily Appeal will be held until Friday morning or afternoon, as the case may be.

**HOT CHILDRERS**  
By E. N. Richardson.

There is always room at the top, but the fellows that are on top now seem to have pulled the ladder up after them.  
You are a wage worker. What good will the city ownership of electric lights do you?  
An exploited working class presupposes an ignorant working class. Educate the workers and they will soon demand their rights, and get them.  
You can't establish socialism on the installment plan.  
The Chicago Chronicle devotes more space to Socialism and Socialists than any other capitalist paper in the city. It never has anything good to say about Socialism, but it at least keeps the subject before the people, and that is worth a good deal.

Peabody doesn't care who makes the laws as long as he is allowed to interpret them.  
Everybody has a hobby; some have two.  
The Chicago Chronicle opposes, abuses and misrepresents Socialists and Socialism. This should be evidence enough for the trade union workers of Chicago that their interests lie with the Socialist party.  
The German speaking comrades were not the only delegates who cheered when the Brewers' Union sent congratulations.  
Wonder why Hearst doesn't jump onto the paper trust?  
Carey still wants to go home.  
First Delegate—"I say we can leave it to the good sense of the committee."  
Second Delegate—"Let's see, are you on that committee?"  
National Secretary Mailley says in his report that the literary and spiritual qualities of the Socialist press have been improving. True, quite true. We've noticed it ourselves.  
"Will Comrade Simons read that resolution again?"  
"Once more."  
Dalton must like to hear the sound of Simons' voice.  
"Simons is so earnest he's funny," one delegate was heard to remark.  
Mills thinks it should not be necessary for a man to be half starved before he can be allowed to join the Socialist party.  
The rank and file may not always be right but they get right.  
The line between Parrisism and Gompersism is very faint.  
The way a man makes his living has a good deal to do with the way he does his thinking.  
Oh, no, we mustn't discuss politics in our unions, but our leaders can do so in the "headquarters" of the boss.  
Even the capitalists are slaves to the system.  
Let us fight it out, but when we have fought it out, let us stand by the majority of this convention.  
There can be no real justice under capitalism.  
I saw a man this morning who was very drunk. He was well dressed and wore a diamond in his shirt front. After making several attempts to walk he gave it up and fell sprawling on the floor. Did anyone call the police? Oh, no, the man was well dressed, I told you. He had money. They don't arrest well dressed men with money, except on rare occasions. This man was picked up and carefully stowed away. Police courts are for working men.

**ANENT PEOPLE, THINGS AND CONDITIONS**

Socialism is just common sense put into practice.  
The whole program of Socialism is the only thing that can or will do the farmer any good. That's why the farmer Socialist stands for the whole cheese—he isn't interested in publicly owned street cars or gas.  
We all know about the expose of "The Spies in the Unions." What we want now is an expose of the seats in the unions.  
If I have a right to vote as I please, I have a right to work as I please.  
Mighty funny unionism that bars me from protesting in my union against politics and politicians that threaten to take the bread out of the mouths of my wife and little ones.  
I stand for anything that will give us the co-operative commonwealth.  
We all want the same thing—we only differ in the way to get it.  
Get together. Stand together. Work together. Vote together. And then we may enjoy this old world together.  
John Brisben Walker declares Judge Parker is a creature of the trust makers. Well, who of the old party candidates are not?  
An old fellow down in New York, a life long democrat, committed suicide because his only son voted the republican ticket. That's a sample of the prejudice that is enslaving the world.  
Chicago has a bread maker's strike. Bread is being shipped in from other cities by the train load. Bakers are also being imported. The bread comes in freight cars, the bakers in smoking cars. Both are commodities.  
There is no law compelling a man to act the fool because his father may have been one.  
The man who says there is a job for every man who wants one doesn't dare come to Chicago and say it above a whisper when the police are not looking.  
"We want and must have a platform which means what it says," declares President Roosevelt. Does Teddy mean that former republican platforms have not meant what they said?  
CONVENTION WHIMS.

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ONLY SMOKE.  
I love my pipe as you love your grog; I hate your chewing as you hate my smoke; I hear with your "quid," but you like a dog snarl at my pipe—do you see the joke?  
THE PENCIL-FRIEND.  
Mr. Chairman and comrades, I strongly feel that our reputations we should defend. Add tell the pencil-friend of the Appeal. That to neither regions he should descend.

PAKERS OF KANSAS.  
Delegate Parks, of the lovely hair, frightened us all by a mighty roar; With splendid courage he beat the air And well-nigh broke the convention floor.

HILLQUIT'S "DOUBLE."  
Delegate Hillquit with the chat, Welcomed Katayama with zest; Then we were left in blank despair— We could not tell chairman from guest!

WOMEN INSIDE THE FENCE.  
Let them sit inside with the men, Husbands and wives as well as wives to be; Put sweethearts side by side, and then There are preists to marry—and take the fee!

JERRY'S WENT TO MEXICO.  
To recuperate his stocks—

FROM KANSAS.  
Things ain't slow in Kansas; Things is stirrin' there; Though not in the same old way They used to rip and tear.

THE BLUE SKY IS PEACEFULLY CLEAR;  
The air hath a silence of bliss,  
Broken only by bees  
In the flower-blown trees;  
What' season more dear,  
Or more charming than this.  
—M. Josephine, Conger.

MAY TIME.  
The green earth is throbbing with life;  
Laden with perfume is every spray.  
And blossoms are shaken  
By birds that awaken  
The heart from its frigid life  
Into its May.

WHEN THE MISTS HAVE ROLLED IN SPLENDOR  
From the summit of the hills,  
And the capitalist system, with its  
Death damp and its chills  
Is driven down the hatchway,  
To seek the underground,  
Then the freed voice of the freedman  
Will be heard the world around.  
—J. C.

EVERY MOTHER'S SON AND DAUGHTER OF THEM ARE SOCIALIST AGITATORS ALL RIGHT.  
They 'used to call Mills the Cicero of Chicago. There is nothing short about Comrade Mills' voice, at least.  
But they can't stop smoking.  
Fair: "The comrade from Maryland has talked already. He has talked too much: we will listen to him now, aber nit."  
"Don't try to reduce the services of the National Secretary to a material basis," pleads Comrade Mailley.  
And still the female delegates wait.  
Carey is a natural born jollier.

WHAT'S THE MATTER WITH FLOATEN? He voted both ways on an important amendment.  
Still Wilson may not be as ingetive as he appears; nobody knows what he is doing in the way of thought vibrations.  
When Comrade Mills speaks, he mounts a chair—not to be heard; the audience always hears him—but to be seen.  
Snyder from Oklahoma is keeping peculiarly quiet.  
Katayama says "Sometimes we can make this much noise in Japan."  
Ever try to pay house rent and Chicago gas bills, and support a family on \$18 a week?  
Seiverman laid the question of personal privilege on the table so hard that its teeth chattered.  
The mallet talks when Seiverman is annexed to the handle.  
Ever vote both ways?  
No, \$1,500 a year isn't as big in Chicago as it is in some other places.  
Berger doesn't believe in exploiting our own people, at least.  
The Constitution was somewhat strained, but it got through.  
But a man won't buy many automobiles on \$1,200 a year.  
"Hear the roaring of the mills." Listen now:  
How the sound the big doom fills—What a row!

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**THE FAMOUS 4X5 MERGER DECISION.**

The Merger decision of the Supreme Court in the Northern Securities case has many funny sides to those who have read the dissecting justices' opinions.  
In the first place to understand properly the joke we must never lose sight of the fundamental cause of the merger: viz., over-production of railroads. There were too many roads in the Northwest and unless they combined there would be a scramble for freight, a cutting of prices, general demoralization and bankruptcy. We must remember that this terror of rat-cutting was the cause of the merger, and that there exists today the very same necessity for combination that there did when the merger was formed. The Supreme Court's decision cannot alter that condition in the least. Either a new method of combination must be arranged or the roads will soon be fighting again like Kilkenny cats and the fight will continue till the death—death meaning the absorption of the dead by the living. As a matter of fact, when we remember that the fight is between Morgan on the one side and Rockefeller on the other hand and that neither one of these giants would dare engage in any serious encounter one with the other for fear the fall of the vanquished would bring down the whole financial firmament, we can see how absurd it is even to conceive of any real fight starting up. Men do not commit suicide, financial or physical, at the order of Congress, or even of a 5 x 4 Supreme Court.  
The fact of the matter is that there are more than enough roads in the west to do the business, and this must result either in a suicidal cutting of rates or a combination, and whether it takes the temporary form of a "gentlemen's agreement"—we say temporary, for such agreements never last long—or whether it takes the form of a permanent holding company, such as would have been the Northern Securities Company had it been allowed to live, is of no great moment.  
Just now it looks to us that inasmuch as the Securities Company must part with the control of either the Northern Pacific Railway or the Great Northern Railway because it was formed to take over competing and parallel roads, that the simplest way out of the difficulty would be for the Union Pacific Railway to issue bonds and take over all the securities now held by the Securities Company. The Union Pacific Railway Company has been in existence for years, and no one could allege that it had been formed to effect the combination, and as the Supreme Court seems to base its decision largely upon what the intent of the incorporators of the company was at the time of the incorporation the purchase of the assets of the Northern Securities Company by the Union Pacific would be legal from that point of view. The Union Pacific already owns one fifth of the Northern Securities Company. Why should it not own the whole issue? However, we make no charge for this advice to Rockefeller, Morgan & Co., so they are at liberty to disregard it.  
A similar view is held by our old friend Walter S. Logan, President of the National Bar Association, a man—considering the position he holds, a corporation lawyer—who is probably the greatest radical we know. He talks the talk of a Socialist when it comes to denouncing wealth, but when it comes to suggesting a remedy Logan is as great a child as Hearst.  
Logan says that the decision will cause a re-adjustment of political lines, but when he adds that after all it amounts to nothing because the law can be so easily evaded we do not grasp his logic. Logan says:  
"But the law does not go far enough. If Morgan and Rockefeller adopt one of the several ways that are open for evasion of the law the people will have no remedy. Any trust company, for instance, that has been in existence for some time and that was organized for general business, could buy the assets of the Northern Securities Company at a receiver's sale, and that method, it seems to me, will be the one adopted as being most simple. The Erie Railroad could also, I presume, buy it if its charter is broad enough to permit of such investments. But there would be no doubt about such a company as the Union Trust Company, for instance, having the power."  
If this, then, is the true state of the case, and the vaunted decision simply means an auction of the Northern Securities Company to some Trust Company, to what end has been all this rejoicing of the Hearst journals, and why has it been necessary for Attorney-Gen-

eral Knox to hasten to announce that he and Roosevelt were not going to "run amuck?" One would think auctions were dangerous. The great advance in the price of the Northern Securities stock after the decision does not seem to indicate any great fear of either auction or amucks.—Wilshire's Magazine.

**TO CHANGE REPRESENTATION.**  
A proposed amendment to the national constitution of the Socialist party, will be presented by the 16th, 17th and 18th assembly districts of Kings county, state of New York, as follows:  
Article X—Representation.  
Section 1. The basis of representation in any national convention shall be by states, and each state shall be entitled to one delegate-at-large, and one additional delegate for every one hundred members in good standing.  
Sec. 2. The expenses of delegates to all national conventions shall be paid by the national organization, and shall include transportation by the most direct route, maintenance, and a daily wage of two dollars for the actual time consumed in travel and attendance in the convention.  
Sec. 3. The national secretary is directed to increase the price to state secretaries of dues stamps from five cents to six cents, and to set aside such increased sum for the purpose of meeting the expenses to be incurred under section 2 of this article.  
Sec. 4. The national secretary may, by majority vote of the national quorum, increase to seven cents the charge for dues stamps to state secretaries, if such action shall, by such national quorum be deemed necessary to comply with the provisions of section 2 of this article.  
Sec. 5. It shall be the duty of the national secretary to forward to each state secretary, at least thirty days before the date set for the national convention, the amount of transportation and estimated hotel bills. And within thirty days after adjournment of convention wages as per section 2 of this article.  
Sec. 6. On receipt of moneys mentioned, and on the issuance of credentials to delegates elected, the state secretary shall transmit to each of such delegates the amounts provided for in section 2.  
Sec. 7. All portions of the national constitution in conflict with this article or any section thereof, are hereby repealed.

I had thought Gaylord of Wisconsin as gentle as a lamb (not Lamb of Michigan.) But when aroused he exhibits a voice with volume enough to awaken the slumbering proletariat of seven surrounding counties.  
Who are those two men sitting isolated with knitted brows, tense lips, strained posture, peering into each others' eyes as they speak in inaudible tones? Oh, it's merely Mahlon Barnes and Max Hayes settling the trade union problem.  
Every man has a tender spot—mostly in the vicinity of his pocket book.  
It is easier to touch a man's heart than his pocket.  
Carey's excuse for being humorous: "I laugh not because I like to laugh, but because I want to live long enough to collect what is coming to me and my class."

On the subject of "Our Editors," Comrade Titus, of the Seattle Socialist, gave the audience a good idea of a few of the many troubles that the Socialist editor has to contend with.

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This institution, with 140 acres of land, including mineral and pure water springs, and forty-acre lake, a \$100,000 building, sanitarium, suspender factory, botanical 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 Elyn. Special courses in economics, industrial history and socialism are now being given by correspondence and in residence by A. M. Simons and May Wood Simons.  
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President.

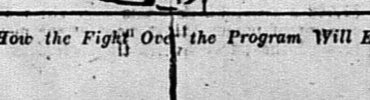
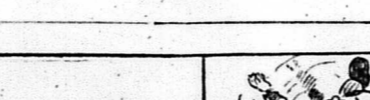
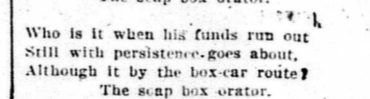
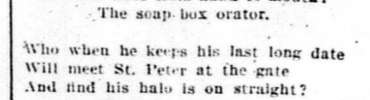
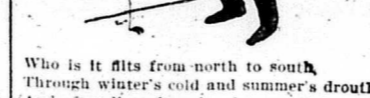
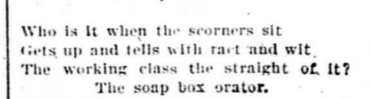
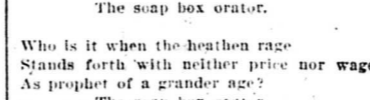
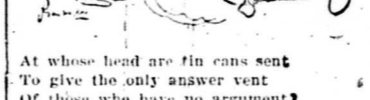
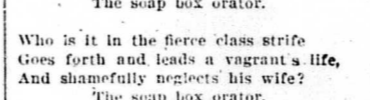
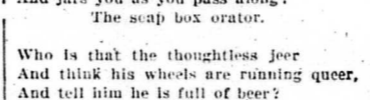
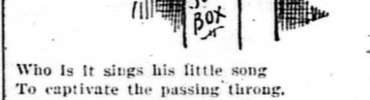
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3345 South State Street  
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9 P. M.  
Twelve o'clock Hot Lunch will be served.  
ADMISSION FREE  
GOOD SPEAKING  
Take South State Elevated to 33rd Station, or State St. Surface Line

**THE SOAP BOX ORATOR**

Who is it slings his little song To expatiate the passing throng,  
And jars you as you pass along?  
The soap box orator.  
Who is that thoughtless jeer And tink his wheels are running queer,  
And tell him he is full of beer?  
The soap box orator.  
Who is it in the fierce class strife Goes forth and leads a vagrant life,  
And shamefully neglects his wife?  
The soap box orator.  
Who is it when the heathen rage Stands forth with neither price nor wage,  
As prophet of a grander age?  
The soap box orator.  
Who is it when the scorners sit Gets up and tells with tact and wit,  
The working class the straight of it?  
The soap box orator.  
Who when he keeps his last long date Will meet St. Peter at the gate  
And find his halo is on straight?  
The soap box orator.  
Who is it when his funds run out Still with persistence goes about,  
Although it fits by the box car route?  
The soap box orator.



**OFFICIALLY WHITEWASHED**

The Tragedy of the Battleship Missouri and the President's Telegram.  
(Special to the Appeal to Reason.)  
Washington, May 4.—The cat is gradually getting out of the bag as to the truth about the famous telegram sent to the Naval Court-martial trying Commander Cowles, whose ship, the Missouri, mysteriously rammed the Illinois some months ago. The Court-martial was ostentatiously ordered to try Cowles, who is brother-in-law to President Roosevelt. It was widely advertised in the trust newspapers that Teddy was indeed a bold and brave man who would not hesitate to punish his own brother-in-law who went wrong.  
In the midst of the Court-martial the Army and Navy Journal charged that a telegram was sent from Washington to a member of the Court-martial, asking it to go easy with the President's brother-in-law. This raised a furor in the camp. Secretary of the Navy Moody and Secretary to the President ob talked the matter over with Mr. Roosevelt—each put out "denials." Loch lovedly announced that no such telegram was sent out from the White House, and Moody announced that no such telegram was sent out from the Navy Department.  
With these denials as a text, the placard papers denounced the Army and Navy Journal, and praised the President for refusing to call off the Court-martial on his brother-in-law.  
At any rate, the Court-martial liberally and enthusiastically whitewashed Cowles.  
Now it has become an open secret in Navy circles that such a telegram was enthusiastically whitewashed.  
Now it has become an open secret in Navy circles that such a telegram was actually sent, but not directly from the White House or the Navy Department. It was sent by Senator Lodge, after a consultation with the President, and addressed to Commander Davis, a member of the Court, and brother-in-law to Mr. Lodge.  
Senator Lodge is commonly regarded as the alter ego of the President, and has again and again been used to give utterance to wisdom that would not look dignified coming direct. So anything of this sort coming from Senator Lodge is equivalent to coming direct from the President, and the Court-martial responded with whitewash in liberal quantities.  
Since then came the terrible accident to the Missouri, in which the turret was blown up, and everybody in it killed. Only the heroism of an unknown gunner saved the whole ship. A new Court-martial of Cowles and a new telegram may result.  
No; thank you, I don't care for any bread.  
Anyone who doubted that John Spargo could be eloquent should have listened to his ringing voice charged with inspiration, as he rallied to the defense of the Socialist press. One could catch something of the spirit of the struggling revolutionary editor, overburdened, over-taxed, misunderstood, sometimes half starved, as he battles with a world in his educating mission.  
Ben Hanford rather objected to Toastmaster Morgan referring to him as "the next number." He insisted that he had never had any number but that as long as there is life there is hope he thought he might possibly yet be able to break into jail. There is one thing sure, Comrade Hanford is not a back number.

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**National Convention Social and Dance**<

# THIRD DAY OF THE CONVENTION.

Continued from Page 1.

Executive Committee, as it stands here, has too much power and it should be made subject to the National Committee, which represents the membership.



Comrade Lund, of Washington, Keeps Company with Comrade Titus.

Now, Comrade Titus is opposed to the centralization of power; I am, too. Those who think that by my report I favored a centralization of power are mistaken. The fact is that during the past year, since the selection of the ones whose terms expire at this convention, the actual work of a national office has been supervised and controlled by the quorum, and the very fact that behind the quorum was the National Committee, who were liable to change the rules or acts which they adopted, unconsciously made the quorum more particular about its actions.

Now we want to provide against that. We don't want to invite any more of that kind of business, and while I am not altogether satisfied with the report of this committee I accept it at present, but we must provide for the organization of our party machinery in such a way as to insure democracy and efficiency at the same time, and that is why I am willing to accept the report of the committee because I am certain that its powers which are becoming more and more limited with the growth of the organization.

The chairman then announced that the hour for adjournment had arrived and further discussion of the question before the house would be taken up at the beginning of the afternoon session. The floor was then given to Delegate Dobbie, who announced that immediately after adjournment if the delegates would go to the north side of the building they would find seats arranged there and a photographer who would take a group photograph of the delegates.

On motion the recess was then taken until 1:30 o'clock p. m.

### AFTERNOON SESSION.

Chairman Siverson called the convention to order at 1:30 o'clock sharp, and requested the reading clerk to read to the convention the points at which the delegate had arrived previous to the morning adjournment. The Secretary then read Section 1 of Article 5, of the National Constitution, and upon the question being put, the same was declared adopted.

Section 2 of Article 5 was then read by the Secretary, as follows: "Section 2. The National Committee shall neither publish nor designate any official organ."

The adoption of the section as read was opposed, and precipitated a spirited debate among the delegates. Delegate Toole, speaking in opposition to the section, said:

"The question here presented in this resolution although I slightly a different form, that we had up last night for discussion; the question here is not shall we publish an official organ, but shall we be bound for four years not to publish an official organ. If we pass this section we will find ourselves for four years, Comrades, that we shall not publish an official organ. I say that we should have the authority to publish an official organ as a club to hold over the heads of the powerful papers in this country. I want to call your attention to the fact that the Appeal to Reason has failed to publish the report of the Press Committee which was brought in last night, and which was against it. There is nothing in the Appeal to Reason's report of what occurred last night, and that is why we should have something to hold over a paper like this. (Applause.) I don't want the national organization to have anything to do with Wayland's paper, or anybody else's paper, but I do say that the National Organization ought to have the power, if it sees fit to do so, to publish a paper of its own, and I say that this does not mean that we shall publish an official organ, but that it reserves to us the power to do so, and that we should have something to hold over a paper like this. (Applause.) Therefore, Mr. Chair-

man and Comrades, I hope that the convention will vote down this section." (Applause.)

Delegate Phelan (Ill.): "The Comrade seems to overlook the language of this clause. It does not prevent the organization from publishing anything it sees fit at any time, but simply specifies that the National Committee shall not publish it. I think that we should adopt this as reported back by the committee."

Delegate Rose (Miss.): "Mr. Chairman: I wish to say that there is a great deal being said in denunciation and condemnation against newspaper men by men who know nothing about newspapers. Now, I know nothing about the Appeal to Reason; I haven't been in its office since I came here to this convention; but I am a newspaper publisher, and I know that at the time we closed this meeting last night it was late for the Appeal to Reason to get the matter in shape for the printer so that it could be published this morning. I want to say further that if we can get some of these men who know nothing about newspapers, but who seem to believe that they could get out a newspaper in five minutes, if we could get hold of them, we are in favor of having them publish the papers for the party, and we will resign our positions. I submit that these denunciations that are being made here, and denunciations that are being made here, are not right, and some consideration should be had of the matter before we condemn a paper or any set of papers. The Appeal to Reason, if it does not come out tomorrow morning and give the proceedings of the convention then, why then it is time to condemn it."

Delegate White (Mass.): "It does not seem that the question for discussion here is the Appeal to Reason or any other paper. It seems to me that the question which should be discussed is whether the National Committee should have the right to publish a paper if they so desire. The gentleman on the other side, in my opinion, has absolutely stated it. It is another danger that we should avoid, unless we want a repetition of De Leonism again. I believe that if there is any one thing that has kept this man De Leon before the Socialist movement in this country it is the publication of that paper called 'The People,' and it is within the possibility that if you give that right to a committee that we would have a repetition of that again."

Delegate Vestling (New York): "Mr. Chairman and Comrades: I think this is only a repetition of what we said last night and I believe that the overwhelming sentiment then was that we cannot financially afford an official organ nor do we want to do so. I think that in the future if you want an official organ you all know that it will only take you three months to have a referendum, and therefore I move you that the provision be adopted."

Delegate Toole: "I want to repeat again what I stated, Mr. Chairman, that I do not see why the National Committee should be bound in this matter. I want to say that while I have nothing personal against the Appeal to Reason, there is no organization, the National Committee not excepted, that has the power that this paper has. I know in my own town that this paper has more influence than any other organization in the Socialist Party, and I believe that it needs a competitor."

The question was then put on the adoption of Section 2 of Article 5, as reported by the committee, and the same was carried, and the article was declared adopted by an almost unanimous vote.

The question was then put on the adoption of Section 2 of Article 5, as reported by the committee, and the same was carried, and the article was declared adopted by an almost unanimous vote.

Chairman Hillquit then read Section 1 of Article 6, as follows:

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

Chairman Hillquit: "I am just informed by my colleagues of the committee that they have agreed upon an addition to be made to this section. We desire to add the following:

"The members of the committee shall not reside within the city in which the headquarters are located."

A number of amendments were offered to this section, one of them by Comrade Carr (Illinois) being offered as a substitute for the whole and reading as follows:

Section 1. The Executive Committee of the National Committee shall be composed of seven members to be elected by the National Committee from the membership of the party. Delegate Carr's amendment brought on a lively discussion among the delegates, who seemed about evenly divided on the proposition.

Delegate Smith (Illinois), speaking in opposition to Delegate Carr's amendment, said:

"I am opposed to that amendment because it will make the work of that committee almost impracticable. We ought to have a sub-committee or a representative body in that sense, inasmuch as the National Committee is to meet only once in four years, and it would be better and far safer for the largest body to elect that Executive Committee in National Convention. Since the National Committee is to meet but once in four years it means that the business that will come before that Executive Committee will be of such importance that it would be safer to leave it to seven men selected from the rank and file of the membership of our party. I submit that should we decide in favor of this amendment it would be the easiest thing possible for dissensions to creep in, as every time that these seven men would not want to toe the mark as laid down by the National Committee they would immediately start a war and it would result in dividing the party into factions. If therefore an amendment to the amendment and in favor of the original question."

Delegate Stelman (Illinois): "I believe some amendment should be made so that upon the request of three members of the committee they would have a right to bring their action by referendum to the National Committee and there have their actions reviewed."

of the National Committee had already been elected by referendum vote and that, therefore, they should not be given the privilege of selecting any one except these members who have been thus selected. He was, therefore, in favor of Delegate Carr's substitute amendment as being the only proper solution of the matter or the general vote of the party."

Delegate Thams (N. D.): "In article 5 section 1, you already have defined the duties of the national committee, and you have said it is their duty to represent the party in national and international affairs. Now, you propose to take away the right of the national committee to elect their executive committee who will represent them in national affairs to a very great extent; you don't give the national committee any right to annul the election of the members of the executive committee. In other words, the report made by the committee that will be independent to a very large extent of the national committee, but still you make the national committee responsible for that executive committee. Now, as a member of the national committee I protest against that; it is not fair. If we are responsible then, give us the right to elect them and give us the right to compel them to quit if they don't do as we want them to, and as they should." (Applause.)

Delegate Mills (Kas.): "I wish to speak for the position of the committee and I think the only words that need to be spoken are to be sure that the position of the committee is understood. The effort that is in hand in this matter of the organization of the executive committee is simply to provide an effective machine for doing the work of the administration of the affairs of the Socialist party. Now, there are three alternatives we could pass: First, that this executive committee shall be elected by this convention. Then immediately the committee elected by the convention is turned over to the national committee whose members are elected by states. There is a further provision that members of this committee, as it now stands, under the report made by the constitution committee, that they shall be subject to removal by the members of the national committee. Does this convention want to place the members of the national committee in a position where, acting under the constitution, they may be called very soon to put out of office a man or a company of men elected by this convention? Do you wish to place them where they will be responsible for the actions of the executive committee over whom they have no control. Now, again, if the executive committee is to be elected by a referendum then it ought to be subject to removal only by a referendum. How can you make the members of the national committee responsible for the actions of an executive body, and then make that executive body only answerable in its tenure of control to an entirely different group? The election by states is simply a renewal of the old local quorum proposition except that it has this one advantage: It makes it an executive committee instead of the quorum or of a larger committee. Now, in contradistinction to all this here is what the committee have done: If you will read carefully through their report you will discover that in the administration of the affairs of the national secretary alone is made responsible for the employment of his office help and for their discharge and he alone will be responsible to the executive committee. No member of the executive committee will have any voice in the national headquarters through any subordinate. The only way the members of the executive committee can reach the central office is through the recognized administrative chief of that office, but this chief is made responsible not only for his own acts but also for those of the employees who assist him. He is responsible to the executive committee and the executive committee in turn is answerable to the whole national committee of the country. You thus have the most complete machine for the administration of the central office, with no possible complications of authority in the administration of affairs. (Applause.)

The various amendments before the house were then put to vote and lost. The question was then put upon the original section as returned by the committee together with the addition accepted to that section, and the same was adopted.

Section 2 of article 6 was then read by Chairman Hillquit as follows:

Section 2. The Executive Committee shall meet at least once in three months. It shall supervise and direct the work of the National Secretary, organize unorganized states and territories, receive semi-annual reports from the State Committees, receive and pass upon the reports of the National Secretary, and transmit all current business of the National Office, except such as are by this constitution reserved to the National Committee expressly reserved for the National Committee.

On motion duly seconded and carried the section was declared adopted as read.

Chairman Hillquit then read section 3 of article 6, which is as follows:

Section 3. The Executive Committee shall adopt its own rules of procedure not inconsistent with this constitution or with the rules of the National Committee.

On motion duly seconded and carried, the section was declared adopted.

Chairman Hillquit then read section 4 of article 6, which is as follows:

Section 4. The Executive Committee shall transmit reports of its activities and actings to all members of the National Committee, and all its acts and resolutions shall be subject to the revision of the National Committee.

On motion duly seconded and carried, the section was declared adopted.

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mittee, to read the same. It is as follows:

The affairs of the Socialist Party shall be administered by a National Committee, to be elected by referendum vote at the party conventions, and the general votes of the party.

The question being put the article was carried and the chair ordered its adoption.

The chairman of the committee thereupon read article 7 of the report, as follows:

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

Delegate Young (Md.): "I move to strike out the words 'fifteen hundred' and substitute 'twelve hundred,' and I desire to speak on the subject."

In the resolution which has been presented to this body, and which I believe will be adopted, it is resolved that this body declares itself opposed to paying speakers or other workers employed by the party exorbitant fees or salaries, placing them above the standard of the working class the party represents. The national chairman may have duties added from time to time, but at such times he has the privilege of employing more assistants. Comrades of Maryland during the hot summer as well as during the chilly winter receive for their pay \$1 to \$1.50. The teachers of Maryland receive \$50 to \$75 per month, with nothing to vary the monotony of their duties, no rest for their weary brains, and receive therefor the sum of three or four hundred dollars a year. From the comrades among this class the money is diverted which pays the salaries of our officers, and I think \$1,200 is certainly sufficient to recompense the national secretary for the work that he does, inasmuch as the salary received by the members of the party is so much below that."

Delegate Dalton (Ill.): "According to the reasoning of the last speaker, if the wages were to fall to \$113 a year we should also reduce the compensation of our officers in accordance therewith. If this convention had the settling of the wages received by the workers he speaks of, the chances are we would raise it above \$1,200-\$1,500 a year, Comrade Chairman and delegates, is not too much to pay to the national secretary of the party. The work he has to perform, the work for which he is to be fitted, is certainly worth \$1,500 a year."

"I am certainly not in favor of this association establishing a lower rate of pay. Fifteen hundred dollars appears to me to be a reasonable medium between the exorbitant salaries of some of the labor fakirs and the starvation wages that some Socialists would like to give to the men who work for them."

Delegate Menton, of Michigan, spoke in favor of the amendment making the salary \$1,200, and Delegate Kerrigan, of Texas, offered the following substitute motion:

"Moved, that the report of the committee be amended as follows: Article VII - Section 1. The National Secretary shall be elected by referendum vote of the party. His term of office shall be one year; his compensation, beginning June 1, 1904, shall be \$125 per calendar month, and he shall be entitled to the sum of \$2,500, payable to the National Committee in case of delinquency."

That first National Secretary be elected by the National Committee to hold office for one year at a compensation of \$75 per calendar month and he shall be entitled to the sum of \$2,500, payable to the National Committee in case of delinquency. And his duty shall be to assist in supplementing the work of the National Secretary, and be under the direction and take his instructions for his work from the National Secretary, in case of death, or disability of the National Secretary, he shall fill the office until there is an election of a National Secretary by the National Committee."

Delegate Berger, of Wisconsin, spoke in favor of making the salary of the secretary \$1,500, and was followed by Delegate Webster, of Ohio, opposing the granting of the larger amount.

Delegate Knowles, of South Dakota, opposed Mr. Kerrigan's substitute and an extended discussion followed, in which delegates Miller, Titus, Spurgis and others, when the previous question was called and defeated, and Secretary Maily was recognized by the chair.

Delegate Maily: "Mr. Chairman, I am very sorry to see that the tendency on the part of the delegates is to degrade the position of National Secretary to a material basis, to a question of how much it is worth in so much money. Now, the position of national secretary is worth nothing to me; it is not the salary was \$1,000; I was getting more than that when I was elected. I am perfectly satisfied with the decision of this convention, whatever it may be. I do not hold the office because I get \$1,000 a year, and I would not seek it if you increased my salary. You can do what you please on the question, but do not degrade it to the point of talking about a man getting so much for serving you. That is what I object to."

Delegate Hillquit, chairman of the committee, briefly explained the reason that actuated the committee in fixing that amount, and deprecated the fact that the matter had taken a somewhat personal trend. He stated that if the committee could be assured that the office would be filled during the next four years by its present incumbent the necessity of increasing the salary might not arise; but the mere fact that it might be necessary to secure a man to fill the place now held by Secretary Maily made it advisable in the minds of the committee to place the salary at a sufficiently high amount to justify offering the position to a man competent to perform its duties.

Delegate Lamb, of Wisconsin, stated that he could not go to the people in the local Socialist organization of his locality and justify to them the action of this convention in making the salary \$1,500 a year, which is four times the amount of money that most of the members of the party were themselves carrying—and was more than he himself with the assistance of two men and two women could earn in a year from the working of his farm. "I can't ask those men to pay that sort of a salary," he said, "and I am pleased also to believe there are dozens of members of the Socialist party who can do that business creditably and well and keep everything up to date and in good order, who are working today for \$40 to \$50 a month. I believe that, and believing that, I favor the amendment and am opposed to the report."

Delegate Brand, of Missouri, said in part, "I am really sorry to have sat here this afternoon and heard what I will call bitter personalities injected into the debate upon this question. And before this is settled, or even after, I would like to ask Comrade Titus, what did he mean when he said 'Don't do like the labor unions are doing about their trade union movement in this country? I see a number of them who have been leading spirits in that movement for years and years, and I don't see any of them nor have I ever seen any of them living on fat salaries—and perhaps some of them have smaller and cheaper salaries than the gentleman himself. In conclusion, Mr. Chairman, that I want to say that an expression of that kind is born in hatred or lack of conception of the labor movement and Socialistic principles."

The previous question was then called for and carried, and by the rule the subject was open for discussion by two delegates, one for and one against.

Delegate Spargo, of New York, spoke against the substitute motion and in favor of the \$1,500 salary, and was opposed in the debate by Delegate Gozation, who spoke in favor of the substitute motion.

During this debate a dozen delegates tried to secure the recognition of the Chair upon points of order, questions of privilege, appeals from the decision of the Chair, etc., but the Chair sternly held to the rule which he had adopted from the beginning of the session, presided over by him, and stated that he would not permit anybody under the guise of a question of personal privilege to secure the floor for further remarks on the question so long as there were others desiring to speak who had not yet been heard upon the subject under discussion. Delegate Toole appealed from the decision of the Chair after many futile attempts to secure recognition on points of order, and after the rulings of the Chair on the preceding day as authority. The Chair refused to be bound by the rulings of the Chairman of yesterday, and stated that the Chairman was guilty of many things that the present Chairman would not be guilty of, and doubtless he would not work both ways. "And doubtless I will do many things that he would not be guilty of doing." He further stated, "I am interpreting the law as I understand the law to be. Every delegate in so far as it is possible shall be heard, and the delegate from Maryland has been heard—and is frequently heard," and the delegate from Pennsylvania was permitted to continue his argument against the \$1,500 salary proposition.

Secretary Maily attempted to secure recognition of the Chair at this point, as did also Delegate Titus, of Washington. But the Chair would recognize neither of them until after the close of the debate upon the substitute motion—both having already been heard upon the question.

The question then came up upon the adoption of the substitute motion offered by Delegate Kerrigan, which was lost; then reverted to the amendment offered by Delegate Young, of Maryland, which was also lost, by a vote of 74 to 65. Whereupon the original recommendation as submitted by the committee was adopted by the convention.

After the adoption of this section of the report Secretary Maily obtained the floor and addressed the convention as follows:

"Moved, that the report of the committee be amended as follows: Article VII - Section 1. The National Secretary shall be elected by referendum vote of the party. His term of office shall be one year; his compensation, beginning June 1, 1904, shall be \$125 per calendar month, and he shall be entitled to the sum of \$2,500, payable to the National Committee in case of delinquency."

That first National Secretary be elected by the National Committee to hold office for one year at a compensation of \$75 per calendar month and he shall be entitled to the sum of \$2,500, payable to the National Committee in case of delinquency. And his duty shall be to assist in supplementing the work of the National Secretary, and be under the direction and take his instructions for his work from the National Secretary, in case of death, or disability of the National Secretary, he shall fill the office until there is an election of a National Secretary by the National Committee."

On motion duly seconded and carried, the section was declared adopted.

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John Smith, who may succeed me, or of John Brown. It is a question of whether you are going to have men who can do your work, and whether you are going to pay them so they can keep in physical and mental condition to do the work. You want to put your officials in a position where they will be able to give themselves to the movement; where they will be free from economic worry and economic care; where they won't be wondering whether they can pay the butcher bill, or the house rent, or the insurance, or anything of the kind. That is what you have got to protect yourselves against. You have got to enable your officials to live decently.

"This is all I have to say. I did not vote on the proposition, because it would be taken personally. If I had been allowed to make this statement before the vote was taken I would have voted for the \$1,500 a year, although I have had absolutely nothing to do with that proposition being in the constitution."

Delegate Toole (Wash.): "I wish to say, as a matter of personal privilege, first I protest against the insinuation of the Chair that I wished to take advantage of personal privilege to make a speech which I had no right to make. The Chair had no right to make that insinuation against a delegate on this floor. In the second place, I wish to answer two questions asked by the Comrade from St. Louis, with respect to the high salaries paid to labor fakirs. I did not suppose there was a labor fakir on this floor. (Applause.) In the third place, I wish to say, as a matter of personal privilege, that any suggestion that I am talking against William Maily is the furthest possible from the truth. There is no man on the floor who regards William Maily with higher friendship, respect, loyalty, than the delegate from Washington. (Applause.) William Maily knows that, and I regret that we were not allowed by the Chair in a parliamentary way to make these answers of personal privilege before the vote was taken. We might, except for that ruling, have changed the decision of Mr. Maily in reference to his resignation, which has just been presented. It is a misfortune to the party William Maily should resign." (Applause.)

The Chairman: "Before this incident is closed I want to say for the information of the delegates that so long as I am chairman I shall enforce parliamentary procedure in conformity to the rules of order that we have adopted—and that method will be pursued without the slightest regard to whom it strikes and whom it does not. I do not need to say to you that I have listened to the speeches in which the personality of our national secretary has been discussed with a great deal more disfavor and disgust than perhaps any other delegate on the floor. There is not a sincere friend, a better well-wisher, or one self-sacrificing secretary than your humble servant who sits in the chair. But he does not sit in the chair as a friend and well-wisher of Secretary Maily. He sits to enforce rules of order, and he will recognize no friend for any reason while he occupies this seat. I recognize that it would be a calamity for Delegate Maily to be permitted to carry out his intention, and there are men sitting on this floor that owe him and this convention an apology for daring to insinuate that he was on a level of a salary seeking labor fakir. Secretary Maily is not called upon to resign because of anything the chair did. Delegate Maily was called upon to do what he has done or intends doing because his self-respect makes it necessary. What is the next subject before the house?"

Section 2 of article 7 was read by the chairman of the committee, as follows:

The National Secretary shall have charge of all the business 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 all local organizations in unorganized states and territories. He shall supervise the accounts of the National Office, and be responsible for the maintenance of the literary bureau and such other departments as may hereafter be established in conformity with the constitution.

On motion adopted as read.

Section 3 was read, and on motion adopted as read. It is as follows:

The National Secretary shall issue to all party organizations in such way as the Comrade Secretary may deem desirable, bulletins, a report on the financial affairs of the party, a summary of the condition and the membership of the several state and territorial organizations, and a summary of the business transacted by his office, and such other matters pertaining to the organization and activity of the party as are of general interest to the membership. Such bulletins shall not contain editorial comment.

Section 4 was read as follows:

The National Secretary shall be empowered to secure such help as may be necessary for the proper conduct of the business of his office.

Moved to adopt the recommendation of the committee. Seconded. Carried.

The convention then adopted Section 5, as follows:

The National Secretary and members of the Executive Committee may be removed from office at any time by a majority vote of the members of the National Committee. Section 1 of Article 8 was read:

There shall be maintained in connection with the National Office a lecture bureau for the purpose of arranging tours for lecturers to give lectures on Socialism in various parts of the country. Some discussion ensued as to the meaning of the term "theoretical Socialism only." It was explained that the intention was to confine lecturers to an exposition of the principles of Socialism and prohibit them from going into local factional questions.

Delegate Berger moved an amendment to substitute the words "for the propagation of Socialism," Substitute adopted.

Section 2 was read, as follows:

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 organizations of the country."

Motion to adopt as read.

Delegate Berger moved to amend by striking out the words "or local" organizations.

The question being put on Delegate Berger's amendment, the section as originally recurring to the section as originally reported back by the committee, a vote was taken and the same was declared adopted.

Section 3 of the article was then read, as follows:

The National Committee shall establish a uniform rate of compensation for all lecturers and organizers working under its auspices.

On motion the section was adopted as read.

Section 1 of Article 9 was then read and declared adopted as reported back by the committee.

Section 2 of Article 9 was next called up and read, as follows:

Section 2. The literature bureau shall keep for sale to the local organizations of the party and others a stock of Socialist book pamphlets and other literature and shall have the right, with the approval of the committee, to publish works on theoretical Socialism, but this clause shall not be construed as authorizing the bureau to publish any periodicals.

Section 3 of Article 9 moved to amend the section by striking out the word "theoretical," and the question being put, the motion prevailed.

The question was then put on the adoption of the section as amended, and it was carried.

Section 3 of article 9 was then read and upon motion duly seconded adopted as read.

Section 1 of article 10 was next read and adopted upon motion duly seconded.

Section 2, article 10, being then read the question was put and the same was adopted as also was section 3 of the same article.

Section 4, article 10, was next taken up. It reads as follows:

The basis of representation in any national convention shall be by states, each state and territory being entitled to one delegate at large and one additional delegate for every 200 members in good standing.

Delegate Dalton, (Ill.) moved that the section be amended by striking out the figures "200" and inserting the figures 1,000. Motion seconded.

Delegate Berger moved to amend the section by adding as its conclusion the following: "But in every case the delegate shall be a resident of the state which he or she represents."

Delegate Hillquit: "I wish to state for the benefit of Comrade Berger that the committee has decided it advisable to add the following: that no delegate shall be considered eligible unless he is a resident of the state from which the credential is presented."

The Chairman: "If there is no objection this addition will be embodied in the committee's report."

Delegate Langworthy: "I move to amend the amendment by striking out the figures '200' and inserting the figures '100.' We are represented here on the basis of 100 and if we were to be represented on the basis of 1,000 some states we wish not to have had any delegates from those states in this convention."

The motion was seconded and the previous question was called for. The question was then put on the amendments before the house and they were both defeated. Whereupon a vote was taken on the section as originally reported back by the committee together with the addition embodied therein as announced by Chairman Hillquit of the committee, and the same was thereupon adopted.

Delegate Gibbs moved that the following be inserted in article 10 as section 5. "Section 5. The national committee shall provide a special fund for the payment of expenses of the delegates in attending the national convention."

The motion was seconded.

Delegate Maily: "I want to offer as a substitute for that amendment the following: 'The railroad fare of the delegates going to and coming from the convention shall be paid from the national treasury and such expenses shall be raised by a per capita assessment on the entire membership.'"

The motion was seconded.

Delegate Gibbs: "I accept that amendment."

In answer to insistent calls for the question the secretary at the request of the chairman then read the pending question, being the amendment offered by Delegate Maily and accepted by Delegate Gibbs, and after some little discussion the question was taken on the amendment and it was carried and adopted as section 5 of article 10.

Section 1 of article 11 was next taken up and read and Delegate Toole of Maryland moved to amend it so as to read that action should be taken "Upon the request of five states or territorial organizations or of ten local organizations, and to eliminate the remaining portion of the section reading as follows: 'Or any smaller number of such organizations having a membership of at least 2,000 in the aggregate.'"

Delegate Webster (Ohio) moved that the section be amended to read "twenty locals" instead of "five states." Both motions were seconded.

The question was then put on the amendment offered by Delegate Webster, Delegate Toole having withdrawn his amendment, and Delegate Webster's amendment giving authority to twenty locals was carried.

their respective territories, and the sole control of all matters pertaining to the propaganda, organization and financial matters within such state or territory. Their activity shall be confined to their respective organizations, and the national committee and sub-committees or officers thereof shall have no right to interfere in such matters without the consent of the respective state or territorial organizations." Adopted.

LAST NIGHT'S SESSION.

The report of the Press Committee being unfinished, business was taken up. Chairman Simons being in charge. The monthly bulletin being included in the constitution, was passed. The establishment of a Socialist press bureau by the National Committee was recommended. It was stated that the matter might be arranged so as to be self-supporting.

PRESS COMMITTEE REPORT.

A resolution was presented at Tuesday night's session by the Press Committee from Local San Francisco and other urging the Convention to provide for a party organ daily or weekly. After a heated discussion the resolution was voted down by an overwhelming majority.

MEANING OF "TELLURIDE," COLO.

Denver, Colo., May 3.—Perhaps your many readers would like to know the meaning of the name of an infamous town in our "many-colored" State, called "Telluride." Well, it is said to have originated in a playful remark to Senator Henry M. Teller, of this State; namely: "Teller-you-ride," and he has been doing it ever since, as "Telluride," commonly known as Telluride, like most capitalists and he should keep on riding until "capitalism" gives place to Socialism.

"TO HELL WITH HABEAS CORPUS."

"Let them try to pass our sentries, and we'll turn them into fertilizers," says General Bell of Colorado; "to hell with habeas corpus, I'll give them post-mortems instead."

This is an interview that comes from Colorado, an American state, and the words are from an officer of that state. It seems incredible. We can hardly believe that, here in America, in the dawn of the Twentieth Century, such words could fall from the lips of an American citizen—much less an officer of an American commonwealth.

Perhaps when General Bell was a private citizen, and before he became a politician and a state officer in Colorado, he thought as much of the institutions of his country as did any man.

Colorado gives us a valuable lesson. She is showing us what might be. She is showing us what can very easily happen, and her example should teach us to be constantly on guard. She is showing us the danger that lurks in shoulder-straps.

RUSSO-JAPANESE WAR.

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

Resolved, That this convention of the Socialist party of America sends greetings of fraternity and solidarity to the working people of Russia and Japan, and condemns the Russo-Japanese war as a crime against progress and civilization.

Resolved, That we appeal to the wage workers of Russia and Japan to join hands with the International Socialist movement in its struggle for world-peace.

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 declares itself opposed to speculative methods of compensating lecturers and organizers, and in favor of the payment of a definite predetermined salary or fee.

A SYMPATHETIC LOCKOUT IS DECLARED.

Stone and Lime Dealers Organize and Strike Blow at Teamsters for Asking Higher Wages.

Another strike of workmen was met with a lockout in Chicago yesterday. Were evidence needed to show that employers are alive to their interests and are fully aware of the power of combination, it was furnished in the lockout of members of the Stone, Lime and Cement Teamsters' Union.

The teamsters demanded an increase in wages from \$2.25 to \$2.50 a day. They work ten hours a day and because of the nature of their employment there are several months in the winter season that they do not work at all.

Two large firms, the Artesian Lime Company and the Union Lime Company, were singled out as offering the best advantages to make a successful fight against. Those firms have to depend on teamsters entirely for the distribution of their products, while most of the other concerns have railroad facilities in addition to teamsters.

As soon as the teamsters called a strike in the two plants the other employers in the same line of business who

been the least ready of all unions in the city to recognize the truth of that statement, for they have repeatedly refused to assist another section of workers in trouble with their masters. The lockout may prove a valuable lesson to them.

Machinists' Strike Likely.

A strike of all the union machinists in the city is likely to be called next week. The men have voted solidly for an increase in wages and a reduction of the hours of labor to fifty a week.

Accordingly they have proposed to submit the question to arbitration. The machinists, however, declare that they did not vote for arbitration. They voted for more wages and shorter hours and they are ready to fight for it if necessary.

Now let us see just how much there

plant of the Allis-Chalmers company, known throughout the country as a firm that likes to fight unions. A meeting between representatives of that firm and the various unions will be held this afternoon, and unless the demands of the men are acceded to there will be something doing at the works Monday morning.

President O'Connell of the International Association of Machinists will be in Chicago tomorrow to take up the local situation but his presence is not likely to have much effect. The men are determined to stand by what they voted for and will not be turned aside by O'Connell or anyone else.

Shoe Workers Firm.

Several of the shoe manufacturers in the city who have locked out their help in a fight for the "open shop" have offered to return the union stamp to the Boot and Shoe Workers' Union. Florshaim & Co. offered to return the union stamp yesterday as the firm said it was no use to it.

Demand Shorter Workday.

Blacksmiths, boilermakers, machinists,

TOUGH, BUT HE DID IT

Gave Up \$23.00 Treasure Trove, Though Mother Needed It For Rent.

The Tenderloin police station was all agog last night over the case of "Jakey" Weisman, the newsboy. Policeman Hefferman was on post at Fourteenth street when he noticed a ragged boy sitting on a bench in Union Square, apparently lost in thought.

"Here, Mister Cop," said a husky voice, "this thing don't belong to me." Hefferman recognized the speaker as the newsboy on the bench. The boy gave the policeman a chateleine bag containing a number of greenbacks and trudged up Broadway with the big policeman in silence.

"Wish I hadn't found dat money," he said in a doubtful tone. He repeated the remark at the police station when Sergeant Boettler asked him where he found the bag, and he burst out crying.

"What's the matter?" asked the Sergeant, kindly. "Wish I hadn't ever seen dat green stuff," sobbed the boy. "I lives wid me mudder down on de east side, an' we's poor an' can't pay de rent an' dey're goin' ter trun mudder out."

"I shouldn't like to think what I'd have done if I'd been in this kid's shoes." They finally got it out of Jakey that he lived at 193 Stanton street with his mother, of whom he was the sole support.

"Say kid," said the Sergeant, "you go home and tell your mother what you found and what you did with it, and why you did it. She'll be a great deal prouder of that than of \$23."

Willie—What is graft, pa? Pa—When you get the best of the other fellow it's business; when the other fellow gets the best of you it's graft.

HARK, COMRADES.

"GAA PAA," the only Norwegian Socialist paper in the U. S. that never has fought nor never will fight for other than the doctrines of the Socialist Commonwealth, needs and is worthy of your support; 50 cents a year, weekly. Being published at the Appeal office, it is of course imbued with the same fervor and enthusiasm.

CHARLES H. KERR & CO., 56 FIFTH AVENUE, Chicago, Ill.

THE MAN WITH THE DOUGH.

(With apologies to Edwin Markham.) Crowded by the weight of centuries, Add gages round for more. The greenness of ages in his face, And on his back the broadcloth of the world, What made him dead to laboring man's despair?

Time's tragedy is in that heartless brute; Through this dread soul humanity betrayed, Flundered, profaned, and disheartened. Cries protest to the judges of the courts, A protest answered by injunctions.

How will you ever anti-fat this shape; Train it again to human form; Give back the honest looking and the light; Rebuild in it the honor and the man; Make right its immemorial debaucheries; Perfidious swindles, immedicable licentiousness?

How will you ever anti-fat this shape; Train it again to human form; Give back the honest looking and the light; Rebuild in it the honor and the man; Make right its immemorial debaucheries; Perfidious swindles, immedicable licentiousness?

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LEON E. BEALS, Pasadena, Cal.

American Pauperism

This book is full to the brim with incriminating evidence against capitalism. Perhaps you do not know the extent of poverty in this country. Perhaps your friend who has a \$12 a week job now thinks prosperity is everywhere. In either case this book is the most valuable one you can get on the subject. It has some of the best statistics on the subject of poverty obtainable. Excellent material for everyone who speaks or argues on Socialism.



had never had an association before at once met and organized. They did not discuss the illegality of the sympathetic strike which worries the employer so much, but they at once took steps to declare a sympathetic lockout.

Resolved, That we appeal to the wage workers of Russia and Japan to join hands with the International Socialist movement in its struggle for world-peace.

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 or selling literature, or else engaging without understanding as to compensation; and

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

and case workers employed on the Illinois Central railroad system are preparing demands for a shorter workday. At present the ten-hour day prevails but the men are working as a unit to establish nine hours.

That appears a plausible argument unless one knows exactly what the employers are doing to prevent the men from bringing about those conditions.

Now, there is a good lesson in the incident that should not be overlooked by the workers. Were they as class-conscious as the employers their union would be much more effective in securing improved conditions.

The newly-formed association known as the Association of Manufacturers and Dealers in Building Material has set the unions an example that they should profit by and recognize the truth of what the Socialists are daily preaching, namely, that the interests of one is the concern of all.

SOLDIERS SHOT INDISCRIMINATELY. Pueblo, Colo., May 4.—During the past 24 hours no murders or assaults have been committed in Colorado either by the militia or hired assassins, but there is no certainty that the calm will prevail long.

BANQUET CRUMBS.

About 900 comrades attended the banquet Sunday evening at the convention hall.

To the Busy Man

Most men recognize that Socialism is the burning question of the day, and they would like to know something of its aims and objects. The following offer is for the busy man who wants to read up on Socialism but wants something short and to the point: For the next 30 days the following five 10-cent books will be sent postpaid to any address in the U. S. or Canada for 25c.

- Principles and Program of Socialism by Carl D. Thompson.
Introduction to Socialism by N. A. Richardson.
What to Do and How to Do It by G. W. Woodbey.
The Political Economy of Jesus by A. W. Ricker.
Finnegan Stories by E. N. Richardson.

APPEAL TO REASON, Girard, Kansas.

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