

# THE SOCIALIST PARTY

## OFFICIAL BULLETIN

Issued Monthly by the National Committee at the National Headquarters, 269 Dearborn St., Chicago, Ill.

Number 5

CHICAGO, JANUARY, 1905

Monthly

### Annual Report of the National Secretary of the Socialist Party

From January 1, 1904, to December 31, 1904

Chicago, Ill., Jan. 15, 1905.

To the National Committee, Socialist Party:

Comrades—Herewith is submitted my report as National Secretary, covering the period from Jan. 1, 1904, to Dec. 31, 1904, inclusive:

**State and Territorial Organizations.**  
There are now thirty-seven state and territorial organizations affiliated with the national party. These are Alabama, Arizona, Arkansas, California, Colorado, Connecticut, Florida, Idaho, Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Kentucky, Kansas, Louisiana, Maine, Massachusetts, Michigan, Minnesota, Missouri, Montana, Nebraska, New Hampshire, New Jersey, New York, North Dakota, Oklahoma, Ohio, Oregon, Pennsylvania, South Dakota, Texas, Rhode Island, Vermont, Washington, Wisconsin, West Virginia and Wyoming. Louisiana, Rhode Island and Wyoming were chartered during the year.

**Local Organizations.**  
Fifty-nine new locals were chartered direct by the national office in unorganized states and territories, distributed as follows: Georgia, 6; Indian Territory, 15; Maryland, 5; Mississippi, 3; New Mexico, 1; Nevada, 1; North Carolina, 1; Rhode Island, 2; South Carolina, 2; Tennessee, 11; Utah, 10; Virginia, 1; Wyoming, 1. The locals chartered in Rhode Island and Wyoming have since been merged into the state organizations formed in these states.

During the quarter ending December 31 dues were paid to the national office by locals in the following states: Georgia, 5; Indian Territory, 9; Maryland, 4; Mississippi, 2; Nevada, 1; New Mexico, 2; North Carolina, 1; Tennessee, 12; Utah, 10; Virginia, 3. Total, 49.

**Financial.**  
The total receipts of the national office from all sources were \$32,743.40, with expenditures of \$32,686.91, leaving a balance of \$56.49. Table A, accompanying this report, gives an itemized statement of the total receipts and expenditures. Vouchers, bills and statements covering same are on file.

Table B, "Dues," shows the receipts for dues from organized and unorganized states and balances due the national office from various state organizations.

Table C, "Lecturers and Organizers," shows the accounts of those working under the direction of the national office, including amounts collected by each, amounts paid to them by the national office, and all expenses, together with the number of states visited, days in the field, towns visited, meetings held, miles traveled and locals organized.

**Dues.**  
The receipts show that \$12,827.94 was for national dues, of which amount \$12,087.64 came from state and territorial organizations, and \$740.30 from locals and members at large in unorganized states and territories.

The average payment for each month was, therefore, upon 20,146 members in the organized states and territorial and 616 members in the remainder, or an average of 20,763 members for each month of the year. The average payment per month during 1903 was upon 15,975 members.

The following table shows the number of members for whom dues were paid during the respective months of the year:

January	19,049
February	24,646
March	21,546
April	22,282
May	18,900
June	18,366
July	19,529
August	18,069
September	18,713
October	26,863
November	18,261
December	25,752

At no time did these figures represent the actual membership of the national organization. The reason for this can be found in the failure of a number of state organizations to remit to the national office the amounts received by them from locals for dues. During 1903 a number of state organizations incurred indebtedness for due stamps furnished them on credit by the national office, and this indebtedness was to some extent disposed of during the past year, although a total balance of \$886.58 still remains due the national office. Early in 1904 the credit system regarding due stamps was abolished, but nevertheless several state organizations failed to purchase due stamps and retained the national dues received from locals, evidently using the money for other purposes.

These conditions make it not only difficult but impossible to arrive at a correct estimate of the actual party membership, which should show for the year 1904 a much larger increase than the National Secretary is able to report. The actual number of members is probably not less than 25,000.

**Supplies.**  
The amount of official supplies secured was as follows: 70,000 membership applications; 20,000 membership due cards; 4,500 charter applications; 1,000 local and state charters; 200,000 due stamps; 4,100 mailing tubes; 40,000 Why Socialists Pay Dues; 20,000 How to Organize Socialist Locals; 10,000 Socialist Methods; 10,000 How to Conduct Socialist Locals; 20,000 national constitutions; 4,000 blank resignations; 198 sets of books for locals; 400 gold plated buttons; 25,405 celluloid party buttons; 5,000 how to Arrange Socialist Meetings; 100 cash books for state secretaries. Total, 414,703. Cost, \$1,272.77.

**Campaign Literature.**  
Campaign literature to the amount of 6,676,326 pieces was secured and distributed, as follows:  
English: Platforms, 605,000; Mission of the Working Class, 513,000; Which Party Should Workingmen Support, 500,000; Do You Know What Socialism Means, 500,000; Who Is Responsible for Anarchy in Colorado, 270,000; Eye Openers, 1,000,000; Debs and Hanford Pluggers, 1,428,000; Socialism and the Working Class, 50,000; Speeches of Acceptance, 20,000; What Workingmen's Votes Can Do, 15,000; Debs and Hanford stickers, 528,000; Unionism and Socialism, 15,150; Labor War in Colorado, 6,900; American Movement, 1,300; Reply to John Mitchell, 900; Debs and Hanford show cards, 81,500. In other languages: Platforms, 210,000; Mission of the Working Class, 222,000; Which Party Should Workingmen Support, 222,000; Jewish, Polish and Bohemian booklets, 15,000. Debs and Hanford buttons, 200,000; lithographs, 50,000; advertising posters and handbills for speakers, 157,100; medallions, 1,676; campaign fund calls, lists, advertising circulars, leaflets, order blanks, etc., 68,800. Cost, \$8,184.58.

**General Printing.**  
Miscellaneous printing covering the following items was secured: 3,000 annual reports; 3,000 negro resolutions; 61,000 platforms; 1,500 delegates' credentials, etc.; 3,000 state secretary report blanks; 3,000 circulars to local secretaries; 61,000 referendum ballots; 1,500 report to international congress; 1,917 national convention proceedings; 90,000 monthly bulletins; 10,700 miscellaneous circulars, etc. Total, 184,617. Cost, \$2,035.26.

**Salaries.**

Wm. Maily	\$1,118.31
W. E. Clark	858.00
Chas. R. Martin	840.00
James Oneal	775.00
W. L. Oswald	173.00
Robert Saitiel	430.00
E. B. Ault	269.00
Total	\$4,533.31

**Quorum Meetings.**  
The amount expended for quorum meetings was distributed as follows:  
B. Berlyn \$ 69.50  
Victor L. Berger 108.50  
S. M. Reynolds 153.96  
Chas. G. Towner 96.95  
John M. Work 81.20  
Expense 4.15  
Total \$514.26

**Old Indebtedness.**  
On Jan. 1, 1903, an indebtedness of \$1,828.23 was upon the office, of which amount \$1,685.90 was discharged during 1903. During the past year the entire indebtedness was disposed of by the payment of \$141.33 to Chas. H. Vail and \$1 to A. S. Edwards.

**Office Equipment.**  
Permanent office fixtures were purchased during the year as follows:  
One filing rack \$ 11.40  
One map cabinet 121.85  
Two filing cabinets 16.00  
One Oliver typewriter 97.50  
Miscellaneous 27.65  
Total \$273.80

**Miscellaneous.**  
The principal items of expense under the head of "Miscellaneous" were as follows:  
Insurance \$ 10.00  
J. Oneal, railroad fare Terre Haute to Omaha 19.50  
Moving national headquarters to Chicago 189.05  
Stenographic report of national committee proceedings 352.55  
Campaign supplies 162.08  
Advertisements 139.85  
Translations 50.00  
Delegate to international congress, Algernon Lee account 105.04  
National convention expenses 42.10  
W. L. Oswald, railroad fare 23.00  
Wm. Maily, trip Terre Haute, Ind. 11.20  
G. Mahler, debt S. D. party 25.00  
Mixed accounts 69.92  
Total \$1,198.99

After February 1st address all official communications and make remittances to J. Mahlon Barnes, National Secretary, 269 Dearborn St., Chicago, Ill.

**Liabilities January 1, 1905.**

Kerwin Bros.	\$ 739.56
Pettibone & Co.	25.65
H. G. Adair	85.25
John F. Higgins	183.55
Peabody & Co., office rent	90.00
F. Klein & Co.	75.00
Chas. Kerr & Co.	2.56
United States Press Clipping Bureau	20.00
Eagle Lithograph Co.	81.25
Judson Emblem Co.	30.75
M. Fry & Co.	7.30
Algernon Lee, expense delegate international congress	43.65
Quorum meeting Dec. 14—Chas. G. Towner	\$13.50
John M. Work	27.80
S. M. Reynolds	15.00
Organizers—	
E. E. Carr	\$12.39
J. W. Carroll	45.00
Wm. A. Toole	.66
M. W. Wilkins	67.29
Total	125.34

**Assets January 1, 1905.**

Indebtedness of states and locals for dues, due stamps and supplies	\$1,147.88
Office furniture and fixtures	\$647.25
Less 25 per cent for wear and tear	161.81
Literature in stock	485.44
Official party supplies, stationery, due stamps, typewriter and mimeograph supplies	532.96
Cash on hand	423.06
	56.49
Total	\$2,645.83
Total liabilities	\$1,566.16
Balance	\$1,079.67

**Lecturers and Organizers.**  
Table C shows that \$17,483.40 was expended for national lecturers and organizers, of which amount \$4,881.38 was borne by the national office direct and \$12,602.02 by the states visited. The total number of days spent in the field was 2,315 and 1,832 meetings were addressed. If the number of new locals organized appear small it must be remembered that during the campaign the efforts of the organizers were expended mostly in addressing litigation meetings.

In addition to those tabulated, lecture tours were arranged for George D. Heron, A. M. and May Wood Simons and Franklin and Marion Wentworth, for which no expense was incurred by the national office.

In the case of E. E. Carr and Thomas H. Lucas for work in Wisconsin in September and October the expense upon the national office was unusually heavy on account of no provision being made for local support by the state committee.

The accounts of J. H. Brower, Max S. Hayes, Wm. Maily, F. E. Speds, A. M. Simons, John M. Work and part of those of John M. Ray and James F. Carey were for special work done in the Milwaukee municipal campaign, amounting to a total of \$456.51, toward which the Wisconsin state committee contributed \$200.

The amounts credited to Comrades Debs and Hanford as having been remitted to the national office (viz., \$802.26 and \$330 respectively) were applied upon the expense for advertising material. In addition to this Comrade Debs remitted \$260, covering various amounts handed him by comrades for the campaign fund. The sum of \$911.94 credited Comrade Hanford as salary includes his hotel and all incidental expenses.

**The National Campaign.**  
As the weekly press bulletins and official monthly bulletin gave full reports of the work of the national office during the national campaign it is unnecessary to repeat it here in detail. The various tables appended show the amounts collected and expended, literature handled, etc.

A word may be said, however, about the national candidates. It would be difficult to give a report of the work performed by Comrades Debs and Hanford which would be comprehensive enough to enable the party members to fully understand, and therefore appreciate, how much both these comrades contributed to the success of the campaign. Traveling over a stretch of territory which extended from ocean to ocean, within a limited period, and under exceptionally trying and exhausting conditions, they demonstrated themselves capable of meeting every emergency and of being equal to the occasion which called forth their election and demanded their services. Their patience, thoughtfulness and foresight made the management of their tours comparatively easy and a source of inspiration to the national office.

The work of all the other national speakers was also highly satisfactory and effective, judging from the reports received from the places visited.

Acknowledgment is also due Comrades Debs and Hanford, Ernest Untermyer, A. M. Simons, Silvio Origo, J. Barkowsky and others for valuable services rendered the national office in translating and preparing campaign literature.

**Where the Speakers Worked.**  
The following schedule shows the states visited by national speakers and organizers throughout the year:  
**ALABAMA**—Bigelow, McKee, Debs, Ray, Towner.  
**ARKANSAS**—Bigelow, Hanford, Debs, Ray.

(Continued on second page.)

### ANNUAL ELECTION

#### National Committee Elects National Executive Committee and National Secretary for Ensuing Year

**Call for Election.**  
Chicago, Jan. 1, 1905.  
To the National Committee, Socialist Party.

Comrades: In accordance with instructions, I hereby call for the election of a National Executive Committee and a National Secretary, in conformity with the following provisions of the national constitution:

**Executive Committee.**  
Section 1, Article VI.—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; but no more than three members of the said committee shall be elected from one state. The term of office of the members of the Executive Committee shall be one year.

**National Secretary.**  
Section 1, Article VII.—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.

Each member of the National Committee is entitled to vote for not more than seven names for the Executive Committee and not more than one name for National Secretary. Votes should be registered upon the enclosed form for balloting and reach the national office not later than January 22nd, 1905. In filling out ballot, ink should be used.

Only those candidates receiving a majority of the votes cast shall be declared elected; a rebalot will be taken on all candidates failing of election on the first ballot and receiving at least ten per cent of the votes cast; providing the full quota of officials is not elected. There are now thirty-six members on the National Committee, with two vacancies, Nebraska and Wyoming. Any candidate for the Executive Committee and National Secretary must therefore receive at least nineteen votes before he can be declared elected, and in the event of a rebalot any candidate receiving less than four votes on the first ballot will be dropped. Should either or both of the two vacancies on the National Committee be filled before January 22, this would make the total number of the National Committeemen thirty-seven or thirty-eight, and any candidate will have to receive twenty votes before being elected, and not less than four votes on the first ballot in the event that such be necessary.

**List of Candidates for National Executive Committee.**  
The following comrades have accepted the nomination for the National Executive Committee (the names are alphabetically arranged):

- Robert Bandlow, Cleveland, Ohio.
- Victor L. Berger, Milwaukee, Wis.
- B. Berlyn, Chicago, Ill.
- George Bigelow, Lincoln, Neb.
- Charles Erb, Detroit, Mich.
- A. H. Floaten, Denver, Colo.
- Winfield R. Gaylord, Milwaukee, Wis.
- George H. Goebel, Newark, N. J.
- Frederick Heath, Milwaukee, Wis.
- John Kerrigan, Dallas, Tex.
- Clayton J. Lamb, Dryden, Mich.
- Guy H. Lockwood, Kalamazoo, Mich.
- William Maily, Chicago, Ill.
- Thomas J. Morgan, Chicago, Ill.
- John M. Ray, Murfreesboro, Tenn.
- S. M. Reynolds, Terre Haute, Ind.
- Emil Seidel, Milwaukee, Wis.
- A. M. Simons, Chicago, Ill.
- May Wood Simons, Chicago, Ill.
- John W. Slayton, New Castle, Pa.
- Henry L. Slobodin, New York.
- Seymour Stedman, Chicago, Ill.
- Alfred Swing, Cincinnati, Ohio.
- Carl D. Thompson, Minneapolis, Minn.
- Charles G. Towner, Newport, Ky.
- George H. Turner, Kansas City, Mo.
- Ernest Untermyer, Chicago, Ill.
- John M. Work, Des Moines, Iowa.

**For National Secretary.**  
The following comrades have accepted the nomination for National Secretary: J. Mahlon Barnes, Philadelphia, Pa. Winfield R. Gaylord, Milwaukee, Wis. Edgar B. Helfenstein, Los Angeles, Cal. Thomas E. Will, Wichita, Kan. John C. Chase, Franklin H. Wentworth and M. W. Wilkins declined the nomination for National Secretary since the report issued December 24.

No announcement of the vote will be made until after the close of the balloting on January 22.

Fraternally submitted,  
**WILLIAM MAILLY,**  
National Secretary.

**REPORT OF ELECTIONS.**  
Chicago, Ill., Jan. 23, 1905.

To the National Committee, Socialist Party.  
Comrades: I hereby report the election of a National Executive Committee and National Secretary by the National Committee to have resulted as follows:

After February 1st address all official communications and make remittances to J. Mahlon Barnes, National Secretary, 269 Dearborn St., Chicago, Ill.

**Vote by states:**

- By Barnette (Arizona)—Berger, Floaten, Goebel, Maily, Morgan, A. M. Simons, Work.
- By Lowry (Arkansas)—Berlyn, Kerrigan, Maily, Reynolds, Slobodin, Towner, Work.
- By Richardson (California)—Berger, Berlyn, Kerrigan, A. M. Simons, Slobodin, Work, Untermyer.
- By Floaten (Colorado)—Heath, Maily, Seidel, A. M. Simons, Reynolds, Slayton, Untermyer.
- By White (Connecticut)—Slobodin, Berlyn, Reynolds, Bandlow, Berger, Work, Maily.
- By Healey (Florida)—Maily, A. M. Simons, Kerrigan, Berger, Slayton, Slobodin, Towner.
- By Carter (Idaho)—Berger, Berlyn, Gaylord, Goebel, Floaten, Work, Maily.
- By Berlyn (Illinois)—Bandlow, Heath, Reynolds, Maily, Slobodin, Towner, Work.
- By Reynolds (Indiana)—Work, Berlyn, Towner, Maily, Heath, Slobodin, Berger.
- By Work (Iowa)—Bandlow, Berger, Berlyn, Kerrigan, Maily, Reynolds, Towner.
- By Towner (Kentucky)—Bandlow, Berlyn, Maily, Reynolds, Slobodin, Swing, Work.
- By McAllister (Kansas)—Berger, Bigelow, Floaten, Kerrigan, Maily, Swing, Thompson.
- By Putnam (Louisiana)—Berger, Goebel, Kerrigan, Lockwood, Maily, M. W. Simons, Untermyer.
- By Fox (Maine)—Berlyn, Maily, Gaylord, Slobodin, Reynolds, Work, Bandlow.
- By Chase (Massachusetts)—Maily, Berlyn, Slobodin, Reynolds, Towner, Bandlow, Kerrigan.
- By Lamb (Michigan)—Morgan, Gaylord, Erb, Maily, Heath, Stedman, Lockwood.
- By Holman (Minnesota)—Berger, Reynolds, Work, Stedman, Untermyer, Thompson, Lockwood.
- By Hoehn (Missouri)—Work, Maily, Berger, Morgan, Floaten, Bandlow, Stedman.
- By McHugh (Montana)—Maily, Floaten, M. W. Simons, Untermyer, Work, Kerrigan, Slobodin.
- By Ray (Nebraska)—Bandlow, Berlyn, Lamb, M. W. Simons, Maily, Slayton, Slobodin.
- By O'Neil (New Hampshire)—Goebel, Maily, Kerrigan, M. W. Simons, Berger, A. M. Simons, Swing.
- By Ufert (New Jersey)—Berger, Berlyn, Goebel, Maily, Stedman, Towner, Work.
- By Hillquit (New York)—Bandlow, Berger, Berlyn, Maily, Reynolds, Slobodin, Work.
- By Lampman (North Dakota)—Berger, Floaten, Lockwood, M. W. Simons, Thompson, Untermyer, Work.
- By Masehke (Oklahoma)—Berger, A. M. Simons, Maily, Untermyer, Reynolds, Work, Bandlow.
- By Bandlow (Ohio)—Berlyn, Maily, Reynolds, Slobodin, Swing, Towner, Bandlow.
- By Ramp (Oregon)—Maily, Towner, Berlyn, A. M. Simons, Bandlow, Work, Reynolds.
- By Barnes (Pennsylvania)—Slayton, Maily, Berger, Slobodin, Berlyn, Reynolds, Work.
- By Lovett (South Dakota)—Berger, Lockwood, A. M. Simons, Thompson, Turner, Untermyer, Work.
- By Kerrigan (Texas)—Heath, Turner, M. W. Simons, Stedman, Berlyn, Ray, Slobodin.
- By Floyd (Rhode Island)—Berger, Reynolds, Work, Maily, Floaten, Slayton, Berlyn.
- By Arvidson (Vermont)—A. M. Simons, Berlyn, Maily, Slayton, Slobodin, Bandlow, Kerrigan.
- By Berger (Wisconsin)—Stedman, Work, Thompson, A. M. Simons, Morgan, Heath.
- By Zimmerman (West Virginia)—Maily, Untermyer, M. W. Simons, Goebel, Berger, Reynolds, Work.
- By Hastings (Wyoming)—Maily, Berger, M. W. Simons, Untermyer, Goebel, Kerrigan, Work.

Total number of votes cast, 35. Necessary to a choice, 18. Not voting, Andrus of Alabama, 1.  
Berger (Wisconsin) voted for those he nominated, one of whom was Holman of Minnesota, who had declined and was, therefore, not a candidate.  
The National Committee, by a vote of 19 to 23, decided that the vote of W. E. Trautman, additional committeeman for Ohio, be not counted in the pending election.  
The total number of votes received by each candidate was, therefore, as follows: Robert Bandlow, 13; Victor L. Berger, 21; B. Berlyn, 18; Geo. E. Bigelow, 1; Chas. Erb, 1; A. H. Floaten, 7; W. R. Gaylord, 3; Geo. H. Goebel, 7; Fredk. Heath, 6; John Kerrigan, 11; C. J. Lamb, 1; Guy H. Lockwood, 5; William Maily, 29; Thos. J. Morgan, 4; John M. Ray, 1; S. M. Reynolds, 16; E. Seidel,



# THE SOCIALIST PARTY OFFICIAL BULLETIN

1; A. M. Simons, 10; M. W. Simons, 8; J. W. Slayton, 6; H. L. Slobodin, 16; Seymour Stedman, 6; Alfred J. Swing, 4; Carl D. Thompson, 5; Chas. G. Towner, 9; Geo. H. Turner, 2; Ernest Untermann, 10; John M. Work, 23.

Victor L. Berger, Wisconsin; Bernard Berlyn, Illinois; William Mally, Illinois, and John M. Work, Iowa, having received a majority of the votes cast, are, therefore, elected to serve as members of the National Executive Committee for the ensuing year.

Another ballot is necessary in order to elect the three other members of the committee. The following having not received ten per cent of the total number of votes cast, are not eligible for the second ballot and their names are, therefore, dropped:

George E. Bigelow, Charles Erb, W. R. Gaylord, C. J. Lamb, J. M. Ray, E. Seidel and G. H. Turner.

## For Second Ballot.

The remaining candidates to be voted for on the second ballot are:

Robert Bandlow, Ohio; A. H. Floaten, Colorado; George H. Goebel, New Jersey; Frederic Heath, Wisconsin; John Kerrigan; Texas; Guy H. Lockwood, Michigan; Thomas J. Morgan, Illinois; S. M. Reynolds, Terre Haute, Ind.; A. M. Simons, Illinois; May Wood Simons, Illinois; J. W. Slayton, Pennsylvania; H. L. Slobodin, New York; Seymour Stedman, Illinois; Alfred J. Swing, Ohio; Carl D. Thompson, Minnesota; Charles G. Towner, Kentucky; Ernest Untermann, Illinois.

National Committee members will use enclosed ballot and vote for three. Vote will close February 6th, which admits of fourteen days from date for voting.

## Election of National Secretary.

For J. Mahlon Barnes—Lowry, Arkansas; White, Connecticut; Healey, Florida; Carter, Idaho; Berlyn, Illinois; Reynolds, Indiana; Work, Iowa; Towner, Kentucky; Fox, Maine; Chase, Massachusetts; Hoehn, Missouri; McHugh, Montana; Ray, Nebraska; O'Neil, New Hampshire; Hillquit, New York; Maschke, Oklahoma; Bandlow, Ohio; Kerrigan, Texas; Floyd, Rhode Island; Arvidson, Vermont; Berger, Wisconsin; Hastings, Wyoming. Total, 22.

For Winfield R. Gaylord—Floaten, Colorado; Putnam, Louisiana; Lovett, South Dakota; Zimmerman, West Virginia; Lampman, North Dakota; Holman, Minnesota; Ufert, New Jersey. Total, 7.

For Edgar B. Helfenstein—Richardson, California. Total, 1.

For Thomas E. Will—Lamb, Michigan; McAllister, Kansas; Barnette, Arizona. Total, 3.

Not Voting—Andrus, Alabama; Barnes, Pennsylvania.

Ramp, Oregon, voted for Jack London, who had declined and was not a candidate.

Total number of votes cast, 34. Necessary to a choice, 18.

J. Mahlon Barnes, Philadelphia, Pa., having received a majority of the votes cast, is therefore elected National Secretary of the Socialist Party for the ensuing year.

Ufert of New Jersey, in casting his vote, wrote:

"I wish you would make note of the fact in your report that the state constitution of the Socialist Party of New Jersey gives the state committee power to instruct the national committeeman how he shall vote and this power has been exercised on this vote. My choice for National Secretary had been J. Mahlon Barnes, and this was changed by our state committee, which instructed me to vote for Winfield R. Gaylord."

Comrade Barnes has been notified of his election, and requested to appear to take charge of the national office on Feb. 1st, when the term of the present National Secretary expires.

Fraternally submitted,

WILLIAM MALLY,  
National Secretary.

## ANNUAL REPORT OF THE NATIONAL SECRETARY OF THE SOCIALIST PARTY

(Continued from first page)

ARIZONA—Goebel, McKee.  
CALIFORNIA—Brown, Goebel, Debs, Hanford, McKee.  
COLORADO—Carey, Slayton, Goebel, Spargo, Debs.  
CONNECTICUT—Saltiel, Carey, Hanford, Wilkins, Debs.  
DELAWARE—Goebel, Cohen, Wilkins, Hanford.  
FLORIDA—Gaylord.  
GEORGIA—Towner, Debs, Gaylord.  
ILLINOIS—Saltiel, Carey, Brown, Hanford, Spargo, Wentworth, Goebel, Petriella, Debs.  
INDIANA—Carey, Ray, Saltiel, Goebel, Brown, Wilkins, Breckon, Debs, Carr, Hanford, Miller, Petriella, Hunt, Brown.  
INDIAN TERRITORY—  
IDAHO—Wilkins, Debs, Spargo, Goebel.

IOWA—Carey, Wilkins, Bigelow, Hanford, Spargo, Goebel, Debs.

KANSAS—Carey, Bigelow, Goebel, Hanford, Debs, Work, Petriella.

KENTUCKY—Carey, Saltiel, McKee, Towner, Debs, Wentworth, Spargo, Hanford, Gaylord.

LOUISIANA—Bigelow, Ray, McKee.

MAINE—Hanford, Debs, Carey.

MARYLAND—Saltiel, Pergler, Toole, Wilkins, Debs, Brown, Hanford, Spargo, Hazlett.

MASSACHUSETTS—Carey, Saltiel, Hanford, Wilkins, Debs.

MICHIGAN—Ray, Hanford, Pergler, Wentworth, Debs.

MINNESOTA—Carey, Hanford, Spargo, Debs.

MISSOURI—Carey, Saltiel, Bigelow, Goebel, Hanford, Debs, Work, Wentworth, Petriella.

MISSISSIPPI—Bigelow, McKee.

MONTANA—Wilkins, Brown, Spargo, Hanford, Debs.

NEBRASKA—Carey, Slayton, Wil-

kins, Bigelow, Brown, Goebel, Spargo, Work, Debs.

NEW HAMPSHIRE—Chase, Carey, Hanford, Debs.

NEW JERSEY—Carey, Goebel, Saltiel, Hanford, Wilkins, Pergler, Wentworth, Debs, Origo.

NEW YORK—Carey, Origo, Saltiel, Debs, Hanford, Wilkins, Pergler, Wentworth, Brown, White.

NEW MEXICO—Carey, Goebel, Debs, NEVADA—Goebel, McKee.

NORTH DAKOTA—Bigelow, Spargo.

NORTH CAROLINA—Towner.

OHIO—Carey, Pergler, Saltiel, Goebel, Brown, Wilkins, Debs, Spargo, Wentworth, White, Hazlett, Petriella.

OKLAHOMA—Bigelow.

OREGON—Brown, Wilkins, Goebel, Debs, Hanford.

PENNSYLVANIA—Carey, Goebel, Origo, Brown, Saltiel, Pergler, Wilkins, Debs, Spargo, Hanford, Wentworth, White, Hazlett, Petriella.

RHODE ISLAND—Chase, Saltiel, Hanford, Debs, Carey.

SOUTH CAROLINA—Towner.

SOUTH DAKOTA—Brown, Bigelow.

TENNESSEE—Carey, Bigelow, McKee, Towner, Hanford, Ray, Debs, Gaylord.

TEXAS—Bigelow, Hanford, McKee.

UTAH—Spargo, Goebel, McKee, Debs.

VERMONT—Carey, Hanford, Petriella.

VIRGINIA—Toole, Towner, Brown.

WASHINGTON—Brown, Wilkins, Goebel, Debs, Hanford.

WEST VIRGINIA—Wilkins, Pergler, White, Hazlett, Hanford, Spargo, Wentworth, Carroll, Debs.

WISCONSIN—Ray, Work, Brower, Seids, Hayes, Strickland, Simons, Mally, Carey, Pergler, Lucas, Hanford, Spargo, Wentworth, Brown, Debs.

WYOMING—Wilkins, Goebel, Spargo.

## National Party Referendums.

The mandate of the party membership was called for through four national referendums during 1904, which resulted as follows:

"A"—Resolved, That after Article 10 another article be added to be known as Article 11, to read:

"In all conventions, committees or other deliberations of the Socialist Party of America, one vote for one member present shall be the rule, and proxies shall not be used or permitted nor plural voting allowed."

Adopted: Yes, 4,299; no, 2,034.

"B"—On changing location of national headquarters: Chicago, 5,867; Indianapolis, 1,182; Washington, 506.

"C"—For adoption of the national platform adopted by the Chicago national convention: Yes, 5,776; No, 549.

For adoption of the trade union resolution adopted by the Chicago national convention: Yes, 4,908; no, 1,189.

"D"—On adoption of national constitution, adopted by the Chicago national convention:

Article.	Section.	Yes.	No.
I	1	5,057	33
II	1	5,014	72
II	2	4,713	325
II	3	5,021	46
II	4	4,870	218
III	1	5,007	59
IV	1	5,011	73
IV	2	5,034	50
IV	3	5,020	67
IV	4	5,003	43
IV	5	5,041	23
IV	6	5,028	49
V	1	5,039	37
V	2	4,762	306
VI	1	4,873	100
VI	2	5,017	59
VI	3	5,031	73
VI	4	4,616	79
VI	5	4,740	56
VII	1	4,224	816
VII	2	5,001	91
VII	3	5,011	48
VII	4	4,925	132
VII	5	4,902	156
VIII	1	5,018	70
VIII	2	4,994	75
VIII	3	4,993	107
IX	1	5,003	65
IX	2	5,005	81
IX	3	5,014	55
X	1	5,038	34
X	2	5,033	35
X	3	4,933	110
X	4	4,978	82
X	5	4,960	88
X	6	4,963	97
XI	1	5,002	61
XI	2	4,912	41
XI	3	4,986	93
XI	4	4,880	170
XI	5	4,981	73
XI	6	4,967	75
XI	7	5,017	45
XI	8	5,008	43
XI	9	4,923	26
XI	10	4,893	194
XI	11	4,635	428
XI	12	4,959	103
XI	13	4,804	222

Adopted: Yes, 14,366; no, 12,855. Not voting, 4.

Motion No. 11, by Caldwell of Ohio:

"I move that the whole question of moving headquarters be referred to the national convention to be held May 1 at Chicago, believing that the question can be fully discussed by the membership and that the delegates will come to the convention instructed how to vote." Defeated: Yes, 7-31; no, 18-101. Not voting, 5.

Motion No. 12, by Berger of Wisconsin:

"Any state or territorial organization indebted to the national committee on May 1 next for due stamps received and sold to locals shall not be entitled to delegates in the national convention." Adopted: Yes, 15-69; no, 5-43. Not voting, 9.

Motion No. 13, by suggestion of National Secretary:

"Shall the members of the national committee from the states of Illinois, Iowa, Indiana, Kentucky and Wisconsin continue to act as the national quorum until such time as an executive committee is elected in accordance with the revised constitution to be submitted to a referendum of the party membership?" Adopted: Yes, 23; no, 2. Not voting, 7.

Motion No. 14, by Lowry of Arkansas:

"I move that Comrade Debs be routed through the southern states, making as many cities as possible." Adopted: Yes, 17; no, 7. Not voting, 8.

Motion No. 15, by Caldwell of Ohio:

"That the Utah state committee be granted a charter at once." Defeated: Yes, 3; no, 18. Not voting, 12.

Motion No. 16, by Lowry of Arkansas:

"That the complaint filed against the National Secretary on account of the alleged action of Comrade Clark, about Oct. 26, 1903, regarding election of national committeeman from Missouri (he being a member of a local in the state), said complaint being made by Comrade George H. Turner, be dismissed." Adopted: Yes, 24; no, 6. Not voting, 5.

Motion No. 17, by Lowry of Arkansas:

"That no portion of the record of any meeting of the quorum or executive committee shall be changed, altered or expunged." Adopted: Yes, 26; no, 3. Not voting, 6.

Motion No. 18, by Andrus of Alabama:

"The Utah state committee having complied with the national constitution I move that the charter be granted the state organization of Utah." Sent out Dec. 27. Vote closes Jan. 26, 1905.

## Socialist Plate Matter.

At the solicitation of New Jersey comrades, who had undertaken to supply Socialist plate matter for newspapers, the national convention of May 1-6 voted the enterprise over to the national office. The New Jersey comrades turned over the correspondence they had received, with a list of fifty-one publishers they reported as agreeing to take the service. A notice was sent to each publisher explaining the change of management and asking for confirmation of order if they desired plates issued under editorial supervision of the national office. Twenty-four responded favorably. Through circulars and letters to locals twenty more takers were secured. Since election the number added has been offset by those previously secured going out of business. As it will require one hundred regular takers to put the service into operation there seems little chance of securing success in the near future, unless the local comrades interest themselves in the enterprise, which can be

April 28 would seem to me to have been wiser had it been a meeting of the national committee. I therefore move to substitute in this motion the words 'national committee' for the words 'national quorum.'" Defeated: Yes, 8-26; no, 20-137.

Motion No. 5, by Mills of Kansas:

"I move that in addition to the committee for revision as proposed by the quorum meeting, that the National Secretary be instructed to ask through the Socialist press for such suggestions for constitutional amendments as any of the comrades may wish to offer, all such suggestions and arguments to be limited to one hundred words from any particular comrade in behalf of or in opposition to any particular comment and without the names of those making the suggestions in order that each suggestion may be considered by the comrades solely on its merits and without prejudice for or against. Comrades may also submit questions for discussion without submitting any proposed action regarding the same. The Secretary shall furnish all such suggestions and the arguments for the same to the Socialist press. And it shall be the duty of this committee appointed by the quorum to classify and arrange for the use of the convention all amendments so proposed and to summarize the arguments offered both for and against such proposals." Adopted: Yes, 17-83; no, 11-80. Not voting, 3.

Motion No. 6, by Turner of Missouri:

"That all nominations made by the national committee for national headquarters be submitted to a referendum vote of the party membership." Adopted: Yes, 16-103; no, 11-54. Not voting, 2.

Motion No. 7, by Reynolds of Indiana:

"That the national headquarters of the Socialist Party be removed from Omaha to Indianapolis, Ind." Defeated: Yes, 1-4; no, 25-158. Not voting, 3.

Motion No. 8, by White of Connecticut:

"I move to add the following to the call for national convention drawn up by the national quorum: 'Every delegate attending the convention shall be required to present his due card as evidence that he is a member in good standing of the Socialist Party.'" Adopted: Yes, 22-137; no, 6-26. Not voting, 2.

Motion No. 9, by Floaten of Colorado:

"I move that the National Secretary shall have power to declare any motion out of order if it conflicts with the rules and regulations of the party, provided that if one-sixth of the members of the national committee appeal the motion shall be submitted." Adopted: Yes, 20-117; no, 6-32. Not voting, 4.

Motion No. 10, by Floaten of Colorado:

"I move that no speaker or organizer shall be considered eligible to appointment by the national organization unless he or she shall be recommended by a majority of the members of some state committee in good standing. Any rule conflicting with this rule is hereby repealed." Defeated: Yes, 14-36; no, 12-85. Not voting, 4.

Motion No. 11, by Caldwell of Ohio:

"I move that the whole question of moving headquarters be referred to the national convention to be held May 1 at Chicago, believing that the question can be fully discussed by the membership and that the delegates will come to the convention instructed how to vote." Defeated: Yes, 7-31; no, 18-101. Not voting, 5.

Motion No. 12, by Berger of Wisconsin:

"Any state or territorial organization indebted to the national committee on May 1 next for due stamps received and sold to locals shall not be entitled to delegates in the national convention." Adopted: Yes, 15-69; no, 5-43. Not voting, 9.

Motion No. 13, by suggestion of National Secretary:

"Shall the members of the national committee from the states of Illinois, Iowa, Indiana, Kentucky and Wisconsin continue to act as the national quorum until such time as an executive committee is elected in accordance with the revised constitution to be submitted to a referendum of the party membership?" Adopted: Yes, 23; no, 2. Not voting, 7.

Motion No. 14, by Lowry of Arkansas:

"I move that Comrade Debs be routed through the southern states, making as many cities as possible." Adopted: Yes, 17; no, 7. Not voting, 8.

Motion No. 15, by Caldwell of Ohio:

"That the Utah state committee be granted a charter at once." Defeated: Yes, 3; no, 18. Not voting, 12.

Motion No. 16, by Lowry of Arkansas:

"That the complaint filed against the National Secretary on account of the alleged action of Comrade Clark, about Oct. 26, 1903, regarding election of national committeeman from Missouri (he being a member of a local in the state), said complaint being made by Comrade George H. Turner, be dismissed." Adopted: Yes, 24; no, 6. Not voting, 5.

Motion No. 17, by Lowry of Arkansas:

"That no portion of the record of any meeting of the quorum or executive committee shall be changed, altered or expunged." Adopted: Yes, 26; no, 3. Not voting, 6.

Motion No. 18, by Andrus of Alabama:

"The Utah state committee having complied with the national constitution I move that the charter be granted the state organization of Utah." Sent out Dec. 27. Vote closes Jan. 26, 1905.

## Socialist Plate Matter.

At the solicitation of New Jersey comrades, who had undertaken to supply Socialist plate matter for newspapers, the national convention of May 1-6 voted the enterprise over to the national office. The New Jersey comrades turned over the correspondence they had received, with a list of fifty-one publishers they reported as agreeing to take the service. A notice was sent to each publisher explaining the change of management and asking for confirmation of order if they desired plates issued under editorial supervision of the national office. Twenty-four responded favorably. Through circulars and letters to locals twenty more takers were secured. Since election the number added has been offset by those previously secured going out of business. As it will require one hundred regular takers to put the service into operation there seems little chance of securing success in the near future, unless the local comrades interest themselves in the enterprise, which can be

made a valuable method of extending the Socialist propaganda.

## Suggestions.

I respectfully submit the following suggestions concerning various matters with which the National Secretary is called upon to deal from time to time, and which affect to a considerable extent the standing and efficiency of the national office:

## The Dues System.

The absence of any constitutional provisions or rules designating a specific method for the payment of dues by state organizations, how long a state organization shall fail to pay dues before being adjudged in arrears, and the course for the national committee or National Secretary to pursue in such cases, should be amended as speedily as possible. At present a state committee can withhold the money collected from the members for national dues for an indefinite period and retain membership in the party and representation on the national committee on an equal basis with states remitting regularly, and the National Secretary or national committee has no authority for action in such cases. In an organization like the Socialist Party the payment of dues is the only evidence of membership, and this is recognized and provided for by the local and state organizations by rules requiring a limitation of the period of non-payment of dues by individuals and locals. It is only just that the national organization should adopt similar rules applying to the state organizations claiming membership in the national party.

As pointed out under the heading of "Dues" in this report, the national office did not at any time during the past year receive the dues intended for it by those who had paid these dues. In a number of cases the money was retained by the state committees, although these state committees had no authority for such action, and apparently were unaware that they were committing a breach of trust in doing so. The only excuse that can be presented for such conduct is the one of "state exigency," which implies in itself a belief that the necessities of a single state are superior to that of the national movement, when the fact is that the national organization has proportionately a much larger unorganized territory to attend to than any single state can possibly have, and for this reason a proportionately larger amount of money is needed. It is not possible that within the next few years there will be more than seven or eight states, if that many, which will be able to carry on unaided an extensive and thorough agitation within their respective boundaries, and the remainder of the states, even should their revenue be doubled, will have to depend more or less upon the assistance rendered them by the national headquarters. Reference to Table B will show that eleven states paid less than \$100 each national dues last year, and six states less than \$200 each, an amount equal to that received for state dues. This makes the responsibility of the better organized states all the greater, for the national office must depend upon these states for its principal revenue in order to extend the work in the weaker states, and if the stronger states do not co-operate in this, then the national movement must suffer accordingly. There is no good reason why the national organization should be crippled in this manner, unless it is intended that the movement be confined to a few states instead of covering all of them.

At the same time it must be conceded that rules, however stringent, cannot affect a radical remedy for this condition of things so long as the party members themselves are satisfied to have their affairs conducted in a slipshod and reckless manner, or to depend entirely upon a committee to do things for them. This looseness or indifference causes more disasters in the party than any other thing. Today only a minority of the state secretaries ever submit financial reports at regular intervals to their locals, and even then few of these reports are complete. A simple statement of receipts and expenditures is not a financial report. The assets and liabilities should also be given and the reports sent out monthly to the locals. When this is not done the members have only themselves to blame when they learn their state organization is heavily in debt or that their finances have been misused or misapplied.

The locals should also insist upon full reports of state committee or executive committee meetings being made after each meeting, as is done in the case of National Committee or National Quorum meetings. There is no better way to prevent abuse of power or violation of trust than insistence of publicity in all the official affairs of the party. Whatever expense is incurred in following this method is comparatively small and is eventually more than repaid in greater confidence in the party and increased knowledge of party affairs among the members.

## Method of Electing National Officials.

In my report to the national convention held at Chicago last May I called attention to the fact that under the present system of representation on the National Committee the locals in unorganized states and territories have no voice in the councils of the party, although contributing financially to its support. This fact is strikingly illustrated in the case of the election of the National Executive Committee and National Secretary by the National Committee. Notwithstanding that \$740.30 in dues came from members of locals in unorganized states during the year, these members are practically disfranchised and have to accept as officers those whom the representatives of other states choose to elect. In some instances a number of the organized states do not pay as much in a year as a number of states without representation on the National Committee. The only way by which the members in unorganized states can secure the party franchise and actually participate in the party government is to have the National Executive Committee and National Secretary elected by referendum of the party.

## After February 1st address all official communications and make remittances to J. Mahlon Barnes, National Secretary, 289 Dearborn St., Chicago, Ill.

ty. It is inconsistent in a democratic organization like the Socialist Party to have its chief executive officers elected by a committee when the whole party membership should very properly participate.

## Organization.

The missionary work done by national organizers during the past two years has opened up territory which now provides good material for definite organization. Hereafter long interstate tours covering many states will not be needed nor advisable (except in time of national campaigns or under other unusual conditions), but instead the territory requiring most attention could be divided into districts and organizers appointed to work only in these districts, in conjunction with the state organizations, where these exist. The state organizations able to sustain organizers all the year around are the exception rather than the rule, but two or three state organizations could agree to share the responsibility with the national office for one good organizer to work steadily in these states.

For example, districts could be formed in this wise: Missouri and Kansas; Arkansas, Oklahoma and Indian Territory; Texas and Louisiana; Tennessee, Alabama and Mississippi; Georgia and Florida; the two Carolinas and Virginia; West Virginia and Maryland; Montana and Idaho; Colorado and Utah; Nebraska and Wyoming; North and South Dakota; Iowa and Minnesota; Vermont, Maine and New Hampshire; Massachusetts, Rhode Island and Connecticut, and so on. Organizers could be engaged for a stated period, say for three or six months, their work confined to their respective districts, any deficit for their expenses to be met by the states interested and, if necessary, the national office. A capable organizer could well be employed for an indefinite period and the increased value from his work would eventually meet his expenses. When the organization had grown to the extent where each state could afford to employ its own organizer, it could do so.

It is not assumed that this plan is perfect, but I believe it would be an improvement over the present condition, when some state organizations try to keep organizers in the field, entailing great hardship, while other states are unable to have organizers under any circumstances.

The work done by the foreign speaking agitators was so successful and conducted at such a comparatively small cost that efforts should be made to continue it to the greatest possible extent. This is the more imperative in view of the large number of immigrants continually arriving and rapidly becoming citizens. In this respect the immigration question assumes its most important aspect for Socialists, and we must be prepared to meet it with all the forces of education and organization at our command.

## The Literature Bureau.

During the campaign the work of the literature bureau was necessarily confined almost entirely to the handling of campaign literature. Since the campaign lack of sufficient finances has prevented the bureau from being equipped with a stock which would enable an extensive and profitable distribution of literature to be initiated. This is a department which merits special attention and would undoubtedly repay the party in many ways for the money needed to be invested to place it on an effective footing. While the best standard Socialist works should be made a specialty, yet there is nothing to prevent the department from supplying any sort of books required by purchasers. The chief object would be in furnishing the best Socialist literature for the benefit of the party membership, making this the feature, and through this enabling the members to secure works of value for educational purposes. With efficient management, and with the facilities which the national office now possesses, the bureau should become a successful factor in strengthening the party organization.

## The National Organization.

The national office is now organized in a way which makes its possibilities for effective work for the movement almost unlimited. There is still much to be done, but the results achieved demonstrate what can be accomplished if the national office receives the support it deserves.











The National Committee

Annual Apportionment of Membership in National Committee—Referendum on Utah Charter—Special Circular. Second Circular.

APPORTIONMENT OF MEMBERSHIP ON THE NATIONAL COMMITTEE. First Circular.

Chicago, Ill., Jan. 5, 1905. To the National Committee and State Secretaries Socialist Party of America:

Comrades—The following report of the representation to which each organized state and territory is entitled on the National Committee, is submitted in accordance with Section 1 Article 4, of the National Constitution, to wit: "Each organized state or territory shall be represented on the National Committee by one member and by an additional member for every one thousand members or major fraction thereof in good standing in the party. For the purpose of determining the representation to which each state or territory may be entitled, the National Secretary shall compute at the beginning of each year the average dues-paying membership of such state or territory for the preceding year."

State	Dues paid during 1904.	Average membership 1904.	Members on National Com.
Alabama	59.50	99	1
Arizona	141.00	235	1
Arkansas	94.00	156	1
California	939.60	1,566	3
Colorado	357.03	595	2
Connecticut	229.00	382	1
Florida	130.00	216	1
Idaho	218.25	364	1
Illinois	1,115.00	1,851	3
Indiana	372.00	620	2
Iowa	300.00	500	1
Kansas	382.45	637	2
Kentucky	132.00	220	1
Louisiana	75.50	125	1
Maine	102.50	171	1
Massachusetts	660.95	1,101	2
Michigan	275.00	458	1
Minnesota	500.00	833	2
Missouri	465.00	775	2
Montana	258.35	430	1
Nebraska	150.00	250	1
New Hampshire	59.80	99	1
New Jersey	450.25	750	2
New York	1,074.65	1,791	3
North Dakota	79.90	133	1
Ohio	805.00	1,341	2
Oklahoma	86.75	145	1
Oregon	289.55	482	1
Pennsylvania	643.10	1,071	2
Rhode Island	30.00	100	1
South Dakota	76.20	127	1
Texas	190.40	317	1
Vermont	17.80	30	1
Washington	688.10	1,146	2
West Virginia	59.00	98	1
Wisconsin	390.10	650	2
Wyoming	20.90	68	1

Total 54  
Rhode Island, West Virginia and Wyoming began to pay dues as organized states in June, February and July, respectively. The amounts credited to each state are for remittances received for actual dues, and does not include payments on indebtedness due from 1903.

Section 2, Article 4, of the National Constitution provides:

"The members of this committee shall be elected by referendum vote of and from the membership of the states or territories which they respectively represent. Their term of office shall not be more than two years. The members of the National Committee shall be subject to removal by referendum vote of their respective states."

The state committees of states entitled to additional members on the National Committee, namely, California 2, Colorado 1, Illinois 2, Indiana 1, Kansas, 1, Massachusetts 1, Minnesota 1, Missouri 1, New Jersey 1, New York 2, Ohio 1, Pennsylvania 1, Washington 1, Wisconsin 1, should proceed to the election of these members by referendum vote, and upon election the names of the additional members should be reported promptly to the National Secretary.

Second Circular.

Chicago, Jan. 14, 1905. To the National Committee, Socialist Party.

Comrades: With reference to the above subject the following matters are submitted for your consideration:

Iowa.

Iowa is entitled to two members on the National Committee instead of one, as previously reported, its membership being 501 on a payment of \$300.60 during 1904. The additional 60 cents was remitted direct to the national office by a member-at-large in Iowa, and, while credit was given the state committee at the time, the amount was overlooked in making the apportionment.

Ohio.

Notice has been received from the Ohio State committee that its additional member on the National Committee has been elected. The election took place before the apportionment was made by the National Secretary. The question now is, shall the vote of the additional member be counted on the pending election for National Executive Committee and National Secretary, since none of the other states have elected their additional members? The National Secretary calls for a vote on the question so that he can be

After February 1st address all official communications and make remittances to J. Mahlon Barnes, National Secretary, 269 Dearborn St., Chicago, Ill.

guided accordingly. Vote will close Jan. 22. Committeemen will use enclosed card in voting (Ref. 1, Motion 1, 1905). Committeemen in far western states can telegraph their votes so that same can be received in time.

Wisconsin.

The Wisconsin State Secretary questions the apportionment of membership for that state for 1904, given in the report of Jan. 7, and claims that the state should be credited with over 1,200 members instead of 650. Action on the part of the National Committee may be necessary at this time in order to cover similar questions which may arise in the future.

The national constitution states: "Each organized state or territory shall be represented on the National Committee by one member, and by an additional member for every 1,000 members or major fraction thereof, in good standing in the party. For the purpose of determining the representation to which each state or territory may be entitled the National Secretary shall compute at the beginning of each year the average dues-paying membership of such state or territory for the preceding year."

The total amount of dues received from the Wisconsin State Committee during 1904 was \$390.10, which covered the months of December, 1903, and January, February, March, April, May and June, 1904. On Jan. 2, 1905, a remittance of \$133.10 was received in payment of dues for July and August. The months of September, October, November and December are yet unpaid for. The claim is that Wisconsin should receive credit for the amount remitted in payment of the first eight months, the average membership of which would be over 1,200.

The constitution provides that, "The National Secretary shall compute at the beginning of each year the average dues-paying membership of each state or territory for the preceding year"—not for a fraction of the year, but for the year, and the apportionment for Wisconsin was arrived at on the same basis as the other states, viz., by computing the average payment for the twelve months of the year. The remittance received on Jan. 2, 1905, was not included because it would be unfair to other states, which might, under such construction, also require that their remittance in January of the new year be included in the apportionment for the previous year, whereas the constitution requires that the computation be made at the beginning of each year.

It may be said that the membership of all states is usually estimated by the amount of stamps purchased from the national office during each month. As the Wisconsin State Committee does not purchase due stamps from the national office, the membership of that state is known only by the amounts forwarded by the State Secretary for specific months. If the remittance for July and August had been received at the national office in December, then this would have been included in the receipts for 1904.

Even should the membership claimed by Wisconsin be acceded them, the membership of two on the National Committee would remain the same as already apportioned. Fraternally submitted,

WILLIAM MAILLY, National Secretary.

Third Circular.

Chicago, Ill., Jan. 16, 1904. To the National Committee, Socialist Party.

Comrades: The following letter has been received from State Secretary Thomas of Wisconsin relative to the apportionment of membership for that state and which my second circular of the 14th inst. reported upon:

"On a careful examination of the national constitution I really cannot see the slightest ground for the system of reckoning dues-paying members which you have adopted in your recent bulletin. The national constitution says: 'For the purpose of determining the representation to which each state or territory may be entitled the National Secretary shall compute at the beginning of each year the average dues-paying membership of each state or territory for the preceding year.'"

"This seems to me very clear. It surely cannot mean that the Secretary shall compute dues-paying membership of the whole year and divide by twelve the membership of the few months paid for. The average should be struck from the number of members paid for in months actually paid up. We will, of course, pay also for the other months for which we owe."

"On the average of the eight months paid for last year our membership would be 1,204. This, of course, would not entitle us to an additional National Committeeman, but it is the principle to which I object, and the misrepresentation of our membership, which would lead other Socialists to suppose that we actually had only 650 members in Wisconsin. This is misleading and malicious, and gives an entirely incorrect idea of the Wisconsin movement. Therefore I must protest against such a method of computing the membership."

Fraternally yours,

(Signed) "E. H. THOMAS, State Secretary."

As the question was covered in the circular of Jan. 14, the National Secretary has nothing more to add, except to point out that the constitution expressly states "the average dues-paying membership for the preceding year," not for one or six or eight months, but for the year, and an average for the year cannot be arrived at by computing the payments for any fraction of the year, but for the whole twelve months of the year.

The use of the word "malicious" in Comrade Thomas' communication is entirely gratuitous and uncalled for, inasmuch as it attempts to read into my action an ulterior motive which does not exist. The membership in Wisconsin was arrived at on exactly the same basis as that of every other state, and no other state has, up to this writing, objected to that method.

If the actual membership for Wisconsin is not shown in the amount of dues

received at the national office during 1904, it is not the National Secretary, but the State Committee of Wisconsin, which is at fault. If the State Committee of Wisconsin had remitted to the national office the dues paid for the other four months of the year by the membership for that purpose instead of retaining it, and using it for purposes other than its proper one, then the state would have received, like the other states, due credit for its membership, and this question would not have come up at all. The Wisconsin committee should not try to place responsibility upon the National Secretary for its own failure to secure for the membership in Wisconsin the showing to which it is entitled.

Fraternally submitted, WILLIAM MAILLY, National Secretary.

Referendum No. 1, Motion No. 1—1905. Comment.

Report of action on Referendum No. 1, Motion No. 1, by National Secretary, as follows:

"Shall the vote of the additional member (Ohio) be counted on the pending election for National Executive Committee and National Secretary, since none of the other states have selected their additional members?"

Total Yes	3
Alabama—Andrus	1
Kentucky—Townner	1
Ohio—Bandlow	1
Total No	3
Voting No—	
Arkansas—Lowry	1
California—Richardson	1
Florida—Healey	1
Idaho—Carter	1
Indiana—Reynolds	1
Iowa—Work	1
Maine—Fox	1
Michigan—Lamb	1
Minnesota—Holman	1
Missouri—Hoehn	1
Montana—McHugh	1
New Hampshire—O'Neil	1
New Jersey—Ufert	1
New York—Hillquit	1
North Dakota—Lampman	1
Oklahoma—Maschke	1
Rhode Island—Floyd	1
Texas—Kerrigan	1
Vermont—Arvidson	1

Total No 19  
Not voting—Arizona, Barnette; Colorado, Floaten; Connecticut, White; Illinois, Berlyn; Kansas, McAllister; Louisiana, Putnam; Massachusetts, Chase; Nebraska, Ray; Oregon, Ramp; Pennsylvania, Barnes; South Dakota, Lovett; West Virginia, Zimmerman; Wisconsin, Berger; Wyoming, Hastings. Total, 14.

Alabama, Andrus—"I vote Yes. For, since Ohio is entitled to an additional committeeman, the time of election of said committeeman is of but little concern of the national organization; since the state secretary of any state can determine before the close of the year even whether or no his state is or is not entitled to a certain amount of representation in the National Committee. Each state should, through its state secretary and state committee, have jurisdiction over such matters. The state secretary of Ohio may have known several months back that an additional committeeman was to be elected under the national constitution, while the National Secretary would not be supposed to know until the appointment was made. The object of computation by the National Secretary is 'for the purpose of determining the representation,' etc., and not to give notice that an election shall be held," etc.

Maine, Fox—"I vote No because I think it more equitable and just in the present instance and because I think it a better business rule for future observance that the election of additional committeemen should be taken after the official announcement by the National Secretary of the number of committeemen belonging to each state."

Michigan, Lamb—"I vote No, believing that it would be fairer to all concerned to continue under the old constitution until all can act under the new."

New Jersey, Ufert—"I vote 'No' on Motion 1, 1905. It is apparent that the second member was elected before notice of the new apportionment of the national committee had been transmitted to the organization of that state and no other state having upon its own initiative done likewise, it would seem an injustice to allow one state to make use of a privilege to which quite a few states are entitled."

Ohio, Bandlow—"In voting Yes, I am voicing the sentiments of the Ohio comrades. I believe, who are acquainted through the state secretary with the fact that under a misapprehension a vote should be taken on two representatives. The state executive committee, when informed that the allotting of delegates had not yet been announced by the National Secretary, decided that the candidates showing the highest number of votes should be declared national committeemen, and as soon as apportionment was announced the candidate receiving the next highest vote should be the second committeeman. This action of the state executive committee was not protested and the ballot proceeded in accordance with the state executive committee's decision. There is no provision in the state constitution declaring that choice should be determined by majority vote, consequently the candidate receiving the second highest vote should be recognized as Ohio's second national committeeman."

NATIONAL COMMITTEE REFERENDUM ON UTAH CHARTER

Chicago, Ill., Dec. 27, 1904. To the National Committee, Socialist Party.

Comrades: The following motion has been made by National Committeeman Andrus of Alabama:

Motion No. 18.

"The Utah State Committee having complied with the national constitution, I move that the charter be granted the state organization of Utah."

National Committeeman Maschke of Oklahoma made a similar motion.

Relative to the Utah charter National Committeeman Floaten of Colorado submits the following:

"In regard to the Utah state charter, I protest against a charter being granted until the clause in the constitution conferring to Sec. 8 of Art. XII of the national constitution has been adopted by a vote of the membership in regular manner. The adoption by the locals, as bodies, after the membership had rejected it does not remedy it."

"There is too much of a tendency to disregard that very section in many places. We had some flagrant violations of it in this state and the result is men are nominated who simply seek to appear before the public in some role without being Socialists."

The usual period for acting upon applications for charters being thirty days, the vote upon this motion will close January 26, 1905, and votes cannot be received at the national office after that date. Fraternally submitted,

WILLIAM MAILLY, National Secretary.

REPORT OF ACTION ON N. C. REFERENDUM NO. 10, MOTION NO. 18—Submitted December 27, 1904, Closing January 26, 1905.

Chicago, Ill., Jan. 27, 1905. To the National Committee, Socialist Party.

Comrades: Hereby is submitted report of the action of your committee upon N. C. Referendum, No. 10, Motion No. 18, by Andrus of Alabama, as follows: "The Utah state committee having complied with the national constitution, I move that the charter be granted the state organization at once."

Total Yes	14
Voting No—	
Arizona—Barnette	1
Arkansas—Lowry	1
Colorado—Floaten	1
Florida—Healey	1
Illinois—Berlyn	1
Kentucky—Townner	1
Louisiana—Putnam	1
Maine—Fox	1
New Jersey—Ufert	1
Oklahoma—Maschke	1
Oregon—Ramp	1

Total No 11  
Not voting—Kansas, McAllister; Massachusetts, Chase; Missouri, Hoehn; Montana, McHugh; Nebraska, Ray; North Dakota, Lampman; Texas, Kerrigan; Vermont, Arvidson; West Virginia, Zimmerman; Wisconsin, Berger; Wyoming, Hastings. Total, 11.

In accordance with the foregoing a charter will be issued to Utah.

Comment.

Arizona, Barnette—"It is disagreeable to me to be forced to vote not to grant a state a charter the very first thing I do on taking my office as national committeeman, but since I believe that the state committee of Utah has no right to strike out or add to one word of their state constitution, and the fact that the above named constitution gives them, or any other minority, that right shows its weakness. I must certainly say not grant the charter until the rank and file shall show by due form of referendum that they wish to live up to the requirements of the national constitution in every respect and especially the section that the Utah comrades refused to incorporate in their constitution by referendum."

Colorado, Floaten—"I must vote no on the motion to grant Utah a charter at this time. I want Utah to become organized as a state, but I want it to come in right. The membership of the Socialist Party in Utah rejected a section in their constitution which was necessary to be in the constitution to entitle Utah to come into the national organization. Since then the locals of Utah have agreed to incorporate said section in order to be admitted. The membership of the Socialist Party is the highest authority and the vote of state committees or of locals have no right to rescind or repeal anything that the membership has voted on. No authority except the membership can insert that in the constitution, since it was rejected by the membership. We are getting too much of this 'go as we please' way, and soon we will each be doing things in the way each sees fit. If the locals can insert a section that was rejected by the membership, the locals can reject any section that was adopted by the membership. Does any one pretend to say a constitution can be thus changed?"

Louisiana, Putnam—"On motion No. 18, Referendum No. 10, in regard to Utah state charter, I voted Yes. I did so with the idea that the matter was satisfactorily settled. In view of what I have since learned, I desire to vote No, that the charter may be held until a complete investigation has taken place."

Maine, Fox—"I vote No, because I think the state committee has no authority, as far as we have received information, to act for the membership of the state in this matter of the state constitution. The adoption of the constitution or any part of it remains in the hands of the membership of the state."

New Hampshire, O'Neil—"If the Utah comrades have incorporated Article XII, Section 8, of the National Constitution, I see no reason why they should not have a charter, as I see no other clause in their state constitution which repudiates any section of the national constitution."

New Jersey, Ufert—"I vote 'No' on Motion 18, to grant the organization of the state of Utah a charter. In view of the protest that has been forwarded by eighteen comrades from that state against

the granting of the charter, and due to the fact that those making application for the charter have not even seen fit to reply to this protest, it is not possible for me to vote in favor of the motion. I would recommend that the incoming executive committee send an organizer into the state, as asked for by the comrades who protest against the granting of a charter."

Oklahoma, Maschke—"First impressions induced me to favor the granting of a charter to the Utah state organization, and I have made a motion to this effect. But further investigations have disclosed the fact that the Utah comrades violated their constitution by the manner in which they inserted in their constitution Section 8 of Article XII, of the national constitution. Having sufficient reason to believe the very paragraph in question might be treated with the same disregard, therefore I vote No."

SPECIAL CIRCULAR TO NATIONAL COMMITTEE.

National Headquarters, Socialist Party. Jan. 4th, 1905.

To the National Committee, Socialist Party.

Comrades: It becomes my duty to report the following matter to you:

The concluding paragraph of the printed report of the last quorum meeting, held December 14th, and which report was issued from this office on December 17th, consisted of the following:

"National Secretary reported that Comrade S. L. Smith of Ohio, member of Local Fremont and of the Ohio state committee, had recently visited the national headquarters and had asked to see correspondence received from A. W. Ricker while employed in the Appeal to Reason office during 1903. Request had been granted, and Smith had taken copies of correspondence."

Several days after the quorum report had gone out I received a letter from Comrade Fred D. Warren, of the Appeal to Reason, Girard, Kan., enclosing a copy of the quorum report, which he had received by mail, with the above quoted paragraph marked, and the following unsigned typewritten note attached thereto:

"For publication. Correspondence damaging in extreme. If you want to pay enough to justify risk in getting original letters from Ricker and original carbon copies of replies, have Warren at Rock Island station, Chicago, Thursday, December 22nd, at 6:30 p. m., or Saturday, December 24th, at 6 p. m. I was in office at time Smith was there and saw file put away. You can send representative to look at correspondence later and when they can't find it, copies won't do any good."

It will be seen that this was actually an offer to sell certain property of the party for a monetary consideration, and any failure to produce that property, should it be called for in the future, would have seriously compromised the standing of the national office and reflected upon the integrity of the National Secretary.

The envelope which contained the amended report was also returned by Comrade Warren, and showed the letter to have been mailed in Chicago December 18th, 11 a. m., the morning after the report was issued. As it was apparent that only some one who had access to the office letter files could have ventured to make such an offer as shown, I instituted an investigation which extended over several days.

After I had gathered a sufficient amount of circumstantial evidence (unnecessary to report in detail) to justify the belief that W. E. Clark, assistant in the national office, was the author of the proposition to Comrade Warren, and so informed Clark, the latter voluntarily admitted that he was the author, and made the following written statement and signed it in the presence of Comrades James Oneal and Robert Sattiel, also assistants, and myself:

STATEMENT OF W. E. CLARK.

Chicago, Ill., Dec. 29, 1904.

To William Mailly:

This is to certify that it was I who wrote the unsigned note, appended to the report of the quorum meeting held Dec. 14, and mailed in Chicago Dec. 18, before 11 a. m., to Fred D. Warren, offering to sell to him certain correspondence from A. W. Ricker on file in the National office relative to the Appeal to Reason.

My only excuse or explanation for so doing is that of an insane jealousy over imaginary slights which so preyed upon my mind that I was simply insane with rage.

I make this statement to protect the honor of the national office and especially that of William Mailly, the National Secretary.

Furthermore I shall both leave my position in the National office and shall resign from the party.

(Signed) W. E. CLARK.

Witnesses: James Oneal, Robert Sattiel, William Mailly. This statement is now on file in this office, with the correspondence bearing upon the case. Clark is no longer an employe of the National headquarters. He had no grounds, so far as I am aware, for believing that he was treated differently than any other comrade on the office force.

It is perhaps needless for me to say that this incident has been a very painful one to me, and while I would have much preferred to have allowed Clark to have left the National office without making a public announcement of the circumstances which caused his departure, yet I realize that in a case of this kind neither his feelings nor my wishes can be considered paramount to the party's interests, which demand publicity in all things concerning official matters, and I therefore make this report to the party through the National Committee.

Fraternally submitted, WILLIAM MAILLY, National Secretary.

After February 1st address all official communications and make remittances to J. Mahlon Barnes, National Secretary, 269 Dearborn St., Chicago, Ill.