

# THE SOCIALIST PARTY

## OFFICIAL BULLETIN

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Number 2

### Report of the Action of the National Committee on Referendums

#### MOTIONS 31, 32, 33 AND 34

National Headquarters, Socialist Party,  
CHICAGO, ILL., Oct. 5, 1905.

To the National Committee, Socialist Party,  
Comrades:

Herewith is submitted report of the action of your committee on Referendum No. 29, Motion No. 31, by National Committeeman Bandow of Ohio:

#### MOTION NO. 31.

"I move that Comrade S. M. Reynolds of the National Executive Committee, or in case of his inability, Comrade J. M. Work, be requested to proceed to Minneapolis, St. Paul and such other places in Minnesota as may be deemed necessary, to investigate the trouble between the State Executive Committee of Minnesota and local Minneapolis with a view of getting at the facts in this deplorable controversy, and report to the National Committee what action be advisable to bring order out of the chaotic state that seems to exist in the party organization of Minnesota."

#### VOTING YES.

California—Lena Morrow Lewis.  
Montana—C. C. McHugh.  
Ohio—Robert Bandow.  
Total—3.

#### VOTING NO.

Arkansas—Lowry.  
California—Austin Lewis.  
California—Edminston.  
Connecticut—White.  
Florida—Healey.  
Idaho—Rigg.  
Illinois—Berlyn.  
Indiana—Kelley.  
Indiana—Reynolds.  
Iowa—Work.  
Iowa—Jacobs.  
Kansas—McAllister.  
Kentucky—Townner.  
Maine—Fox.  
Massachusetts—Gibbs.  
Massachusetts—Wentworth.  
Michigan—Lamb.  
Minnesota—Peach.  
Minnesota—Holman.  
Missouri—Hoehn.  
Missouri—Behrens.  
New Jersey—Kearns.  
New Jersey—Headley.  
New York—Hilquit.  
New York—Spargo.  
North Dakota—Lampman.  
Oklahoma—Maschke.  
Oregon—Ramp.  
Pennsylvania—Wanhope.  
Texas—Farmer.  
Utah—Gilbert.  
Vermont—Sullivan.  
Washington—Lund.  
Wisconsin—Berger.  
Wisconsin—Thompson.  
Wyoming—Hastings.  
Total—36.

#### NOT VOTING.

Alabama—LaRue.  
Alabama—Barnette.  
Colorado—Floaten.  
Colorado—Woodside.  
Kansas—Brewer.  
Louisiana—Putnam.  
Nebraska—Ray.  
New Hampshire—Little.  
New York—Hanford.  
Rhode Island—Floyd.  
South Dakota—Lovett.  
West Virginia—Zimmerman.  
Total—12.  
The motion is therefore defeated.

#### COMMENT.

Berlyn (Illinois)—"I vote no on Motion 31 because the constitution prohibits any interference in state affairs, no matter how great an injustice may be done. This Minnesota affair will be repeated in other states and the ultimate consequence will be a Socialist constitution. Oh, let it be so."  
Reynolds (Indiana)—"Please record me voting no on Motion 31, Referendum 29. Comrades know that I have always been ready to render any service anywhere to the cause, as the party is now working. I do not think it wise to enter Minnesota unless both sides should so desire, and then only to hear and help in coming to the true state of affairs. I regret the language used in commenting upon this case; also upon the Wisconsin case, and have recorded my vote as I honestly believed was just and right, and shall continue to do so as long as I am in the service of the party. We should have assistance of comrades, and not condemnation. The latter is cheap and only harms the one who condemns."  
McAllister (Kansas)—"I think that when a question has been settled in accordance with the provisions of the constitution of the party by a referendum vote of the members in the state, who should certainly be more conversant with the facts in the case than any one in some other state would be, and especially when the referendum has carried by so decisive a vote as the one taken in Minnesota on the Minneapolis case—347 to 35—it would be a very unwise, and according to our laws, an unlawful proceeding to send some member of the party to investigate the case. Socialism stands for majority rule, but in several of the states the disgraceful situation exists of a small minority of disgruntled or dissatisfied members fighting against the decisions of the majority. Most of the trouble in the party has been caused by the insane desire of some of the anarchistic element to fight somebody or something, no matter who or what—even if it be their best friends and the most faithful workers in the cause. It is high time that socialists get together, and governed by socialist principles, discard anarchistic and old party tactics and put together for the establishment of the Co-operative Commonwealth. I vote NO."

Fox (Maine)—"I believe that all the questions relating to Minneapolis, including that of the National Committeeman of Minnesota, are questions belonging solely to the state of Minnesota."  
"From the evidence submitted by the Executive Board and Comrades Nash and Holman I think a flagrant wrong has been committed against Comrades Hicks, Lucas and about twenty-five others, and that they were expelled either because they were 'impossibilists' or for personal reasons, no proof of disruptive tactics being given."  
"I believe that there should be a higher Board of Appeal than a state organization, but at present the National Constitution makes no such provision."  
McHugh (Montana)—"I vote YES on Bandow's motion so that the party can learn the true status of affairs and act intelligently. The class struggle is the basis

of our party and each individual says he recognizes that before joining the party. "When an individual under the cloak of autonomy, or a number of individuals in a geographical district depart, therefrom, they detach themselves from the movement. They cannot take the movement back to Populism; the working class have been betrayed and duped often enough."

"It is about time that that old superstition about 'non partisan' candidates and officials was buried with the other relics of darkness that have their day."

Bandow (Ohio)—"In voting 'Yes' on motion No. 31, I am prompted by a desire to get at information that is not steeped in bias and will present the facts as they exist. I never for a moment lost sight of article 2, section 4, and article 12, section 4, but I also had in mind article 2, section 2, maintained when state officials apparently violate our national Constitution, when it suits their purposes, it becomes the duty of those who for a brief time may have been clothed with the function of preserving that instrument to act with their best judgment and put a stop to such procedure. To me the socialist party is a homogeneous whole, state autonomy to the contrary notwithstanding, and I see in the expulsion of Local Minneapolis a most deplorable act, and, to me, apparently unwarranted. I want to know whether there is a possibility for the faction in the majority to proceed in this manner. I have been flooded with circulars and letters from both sides, and I have before me one that reads, 'And if our State Executive Committee should take steps to expel Comrade Linders (justice of the peace) not elected on a socialist ticket) from the party, they might as well call for the charter of Big Fork Local at once.' This is an admission of violation of article 2, section 2, and yet the National Committee and state secretary of Minnesota (who, by the way, expelled the local of which they were members without taking a withdrawal card before such expulsion took effect) claim there was no cause for Local Minneapolis complaint."

"Maybe Comrade Holman will declare the quotation above cited a fabrication also. To me the constitution is a means to an end only, and when the interpretation of that document appears to stand in the way of intelligent handling of party affairs, I am always ready to be guided by common sense and act for the best interest of the whole organization. State autonomy is a farce, indeed, in the manner it is construed at present by some comrades who are ready to expel whoever disagrees with them. The cry of treason has no terror for those who stand for the overthrow of the capitalistic regime, and I shall always be found in the ranks of the proletariat, battling for its emancipation."

Wanhope (Pennsylvania)—"On this motion I feel compelled to give a negative vote, its unconstitutionality being clear. Minnesota must extricate itself. Even if the motion were not unconstitutional, it is doubtful if the warring factions would abide by any decisions that might be reached. These two tendencies, which, in a general way, we designate 'impossibilism' and 'opportunism,' are going to scrap the matter to a finish, no matter what the more rational of the party membership may say or do. They are unavoidable nuisances that must be calculated on and discounted in advance, and will only be reduced to a negligible minimum as the level of party intelligence rises, and the struggle with capitalism becomes so acute and critical as to overshadow them. It is perhaps too much to hope that like the Kilkenny cats, they might mutually exterminate each other, though it would certainly be desirable. Perhaps the worst feature of both is the tendency to distort statements and rely on sophistical arguments for justification. They destroy the ability to judge fairly, and convert their victims into mere advocates and 'denouncers' like the old party politicians. A deluge of matter from both sides has reached me in the last few weeks, and after reading and comparing carefully, the only conclusion that I can come to is that artistic lying, abusing and equivocation have reached the maximum in Minnesota, while impartial and straight-forward statements seem to be down to zero. While each side whips his own particular devil around the stump, it seems impossible for a National Committeeman, eight hundred miles away, and alternately bombarded by either side, to come to any reasonable conclusion. However, I am opposed to this motion. It would only pile chaos on top of chaos. The only verdict that I can reach is the temporizing one of 'much may be said on both sides,' and I think it best to let the Minnesota people say it themselves, and, of course, it's pretty certain they will. There is no need for outsiders to butt in. We don't know the facts. Let them stew in their own grease."

To the National Committee, Socialist Party:  
CHICAGO, ILL., Oct. 11, 1905.

Comrades—Herewith is submitted report of the action of your committee on Referendum No. 30, Motion No. 32, by National Committeeman Floyd of Rhode Island:

#### MOTION NO. 32.

"I move that a committee of three be elected from those of the National Committee who have voted against Comrade Victor L. Berger (who are not personally offensive)—they to be a committee to visit Wisconsin and confer with the Executive Committee, or committees selected by Wisconsin, with a view of adjusting the difference that exists between the state of Wisconsin and the National Committee."

#### VOTING YES.

None.

#### VOTING NO.

Alabama—LaRue.  
Arkansas—Lowry.  
California—Austin Lewis.  
Colorado—Woodside.  
Connecticut—White.  
Florida—Healey.  
Idaho—Rigg.  
Illinois—Berlyn, Stedman, Simons.  
Indiana—Reynolds, Kelley.  
Iowa—Work, Jacobs.  
Kansas—McAllister.  
Maine—Fox.  
Massachusetts—Gibbs.  
Michigan—Lamb.  
Minnesota—Holman, Peach.  
Missouri—Hoehn, Behrens.  
Montana—McHugh.  
New Jersey—Kearns.  
New York—Hilquit.  
North Dakota—Lampman.  
Ohio—Bandow.  
Total—12.

Oklahoma—Maschke.  
Pennsylvania—Wanhope.  
Utah—Gilbert.  
Vermont—Sullivan.  
Wisconsin—Thompson.  
Wyoming—Hastings.  
Total—3.

#### NOT VOTING.

Arizona—Barnette.  
California—M. Lewis, Edminston.  
Colorado—Floaten.  
Kansas—Brewer.  
Kentucky—Townner.  
Louisiana—Putnam.  
Massachusetts—Wentworth.  
Nebraska—Ray.  
New Jersey—Headley.  
New York—Hanford.  
Oregon—Ramp.  
Rhode Island—Floyd.  
South Dakota—Lovett.  
Texas—Farmer.  
Washington—Lund.  
West Virginia—Zimmerman.  
Wisconsin—Berger.  
Total—18.

The motion is therefore defeated.  
LaRue (Alabama)—"I enclose ballot on referendum No. 30, motion No. 32, on committee to visit Wisconsin. I vote 'No' on this motion for the following reasons: In the first place, the terms of the motion preclude the election of an impartial committee, from the fact that the three members thereof are to be elected from those of the committee who voted against Comrade Victor L. Berger. This is hardly consistent with the alleged spirit of 'Let us reason together.'"

"Second, we may consider ourselves particularly fortunate if the vitality of the Wisconsin movement is not impaired by the doctoring it has already received. The recent resolution adopted by general party referendum should effectually settle all existing motions relative to the Wisconsin situation, and when the Wisconsin comrades have gotten their charter, which they doubtless do promptly, I firmly believe they will be able to settle their own internal affairs without interference from the outside."

Berlyn (Illinois)—"I vote 'No' on motion 32 because I believe it would be an insult to the state organization of Wisconsin to assume that they desired to dicker on the subject of its obligation to the National organization. It is up to the state organization of Wisconsin to accept a charter exactly as every other state organization of the party has accepted. I believe it will, and that would end the whole controversy and we can go ahead and carry on the propaganda for the abolition of the wage system through the conquest of the public powers by the working class."

Bandow (Ohio)—"I vote 'No' on motion No. 32, not because I am opposed to the selection of a committee to investigate, compare the constitution with such desire, and differences between the state of Wisconsin and the National Committee. Let the comrades of Wisconsin realize that they are only asked to comply with the rules and regulations that all other states are living up to, and there will be no further contentions."

Wanhope (Pennsylvania)—"I vote 'No' on this motion because, as it seems to me, it makes the party referendum worthless. Besides, the consent of the Wisconsin S. E. C. to such a conference would first be necessary, and they have expressed no such desire, and anyhow, if the motion carries it would complicate matters still further, for the results, if any were reached, might not unlikely be the subject of still another referendum. The motion has nothing to recommend it except the laudable desire of its originators to restore harmony."

The state of New Hampshire being in arrears, the National Committeeman of that state was not entitled to vote on this motion.

#### COMMENT.

To the National Committee, Socialist Party:  
Comrades—Herewith is submitted report of the action of your committee on referendum No. 31, motion No. 33, by National Committeeman Work of Iowa:

#### MOTION NO. 33.

"I move that all that portion of the state and municipal program preceding the words 'Suggestions for the activity of socialist members of the state legislatures while the Socialist party is a minority party,' and likewise the last sentence of the first paragraph of the preamble for state program, be stricken out."

#### VOTING YES.

Arkansas—Lowry.  
California—Edminston, Lena M. Lewis.  
Idaho—Rigg.  
Illinois—Berlyn.  
Indiana—Reynolds.  
Iowa—Work.  
Massachusetts—Gibbs.  
Minnesota—Peach, Holman.  
Missouri—Hoehn.  
Montana—McHugh.  
New Jersey—Kearns, Headley.  
New York—Spargo.  
Ohio—Bandow.  
Oklahoma—Maschke.  
Pennsylvania—Slayton.  
Utah—Gilbert.  
Washington—Lund.  
Wisconsin—Thompson.  
Wyoming—Hastings.  
Total—22.

#### NOT VOTING.

Alabama—LaRue.  
Arizona—Barnette.  
California—Austin Lewis.  
Colorado—Floaten, Woodside.  
Connecticut—White.  
Florida—Healey.  
Idaho—Kelley.  
Iowa—Jacobs.  
Kansas—Brewer.  
Kentucky—Townner.  
Louisiana—Putnam.  
Maine—Fox.  
Massachusetts—Wentworth.  
Michigan—Lamb.  
Nebraska—Ray.  
New York—Hilquit, Hanford.  
North Dakota—Lampman.  
Oregon—Ramp.  
Pennsylvania—Wanhope.  
Rhode Island—Floyd.  
South Dakota—Lovett.  
Texas—Farmer.  
Vermont—Sullivan.  
West Virginia—Zimmerman.  
Wisconsin—Berger.  
Total—27.

The motion is therefore carried.  
The National Committeeman of New Hampshire was not entitled to vote on this motion.

#### COMMENT.

Berlyn (Illinois)—"I vote YES on Comrade Work's motion, because I think the whole matter ought to be dropped. I am opposed to creating offices to eat up the nickels of the comrades which ought to be spent for agitation. As regards to state and

(Continued on page 4.)

### National Committee Referendums Submitted

#### Motions 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, and 39

NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS,  
SOCIALIST PARTY,  
CHICAGO, ILL., Oct. 5, 1905.

To the National Committee, Socialist Party:  
Comrades—Herewith is submitted referendum No. 32, motion No. 34, by the National Secretary:

#### MOTION NO. 34.

"Who shall be recognized as a member of the National Executive Committee, Comrades Berger or Townner?"  
The Crestline resolutions were introduced April 22, and on July 1, twenty seconds having been secured, they were published, and on September 15 the National party referendum closed the vote on the first resolution, being 4,215 in favor and 4,718 against.

#### FIRST RESOLUTION.

"Resolved, That Victor L. Berger, of Milwaukee, Wisconsin, be removed as a member of the National Executive Committee of the Socialist party for advocating the election of a republican candidate for public office, the act having been admitted and well proven."

National Committee motion No. 9, by Comrade Townner, of Kentucky, which provided for the removal of Comrade Berger, was received and sent out from the National office on April 24. The motion was adopted by a vote of 24 yeas, 17 nays, 9 not voting.

The National Committee filled the vacancy thus occurring by an election, which closed August 3, vote being as follows: Berger, 18; Townner, 22; not voting, 18.

The National Secretary, wishing to defer the question herein involved, to the National Committee, the body which elects the members of the National Executive Committee, submits the question, so that he may be guided accordingly.

CHICAGO, ILL., Oct. 9, 1905.

To the National Committee:  
Comrades—Herewith is submitted by request letters from National Committeeman Robert Bandow, of Ohio, and Carl D. Thompson, of Wisconsin, relating to referendum No. 32, motion 34. Also a letter from Carl D. Thompson on the special circular issued from the National office under date of September 20, 1905.

CLEVELAND, O., Oct. 9, 1905.

J. Mahlon Barnes, Esq., National Secretary  
Socialist Party, Chicago, Ill.:

"Dear Comrade—I protest that your action in submitting a referendum, No. 32, motion 34, is without warrant. The Crestline resolution, upon which you appear to base your proposition, did not rescind the action of the National Committee, and the referendum vote cannot be considered as an endorsement or rejection of the action of the National Committee. In my humble opinion you are oversteering Bandow's motion to Secretary by the course you have pursued. The proposition is unwarranted and, consequently, I absolutely refuse to vote on the proposition and demand it be recalled.

Fraternally yours,

(Signed) ROBERT BANDOW.  
BY CARL D. THOMPSON, NATIONAL  
COMMITTEEMAN FOR WISCONSIN.

"The National Committee, by a bare majority, removed Victor Berger. The National referendum of the membership, by a majority of over 500, reinstated him. Whom shall we obey—a few ambitious officials, or the rank and file of the party? I vote to obey the membership of the party. Wisconsin always stands for democracy and against boss rule. The National referendum of the membership makes Berger the National Executive Committeeman. If the whole committee should vote unanimously NOT to recognize Berger it would make no difference, since the membership of the party has reinstated him."

"MILWAUKEE, Wis., Oct. 6, 1905.

"To the Members of the National Committee of the Socialist Party:

"Comrades—I want to call the attention of the comrades by way of warning to Comrade Mally's most recent effort to subvert the National Constitution. He has caused to be printed and sent out to you a special circular, disavowing Bandow's motion to have the National Committee investigate the Minnesota affair. He admits that this would have been unconstitutional.

"But what he proposes now is a hundred-fold worse than what Bandow proposed. Bandow wanted us to send a man to investigate. The comrades everywhere protested against even this action, because it was a direct violation of the National Constitution, and the motion received only two votes besides Bandow's."

"But Mally goes a great deal farther. He calls upon us to refuse to recognize the officials of the party in Minnesota. This is violating article 12, section 4, with a vengeance, and doing it in a crooked way at that."

"He suggests that the National Secretary be empowered to order the State Committee of Minnesota to elect a new State Secretary, call a convention, and insists that the regularly elected officials of the Minnesota organization shall not be recognized by the National Secretary.

"This is the worst that has happened yet. It is not only a proposal to completely subvert the constitution; it is a proposal to force the National Secretary to recognize and give aid and encouragement to the enemies of the party. Comrades, this is treason. Such action as this would soon produce chaos and anarchy in the Socialist movement. What more drastic or high-handed proceeding could be proposed?"

"What business has Mally to attempt to dictate to Minnesota whom they shall elect as state officials? What right have we to dictate to Minnesota whom they shall hold a convention? There could not be a more wanton overriding of the National Constitution than this proposal of Comrade Mally's. I am astonished at it. It is evident that this comrade, although elected to one of the highest positions of honor in our party, has shown himself ready to violate the most vital principles and explicit provisions of our National Constitution and ready to override the will of the party membership as expressed by referendum."

"Such action as this, if allowed to continue, or if in any way encouraged, will destroy our movement. We must not allow Mally and his accomplices to build up an autocrat rule in our party. We must take warning from this.

"Comrade Mally has shown himself ut-

terly unfit for the position he now holds. One who refuses to obey the principles and constitution of his party is a dangerous man to be allowed to hold a position upon the highest and most important committee in the party. If it were not for seeming to make a martyr of him and thereby create undue sympathy for him, I should certainly make a motion that he be removed from the National Executive Committee. For, if socialist party is next to become entirely chaotic, we must stop this kind of proceeding."

"Sincerely yours,

(Signed) CARL D. THOMPSON.  
"National Committeeman for Wisconsin."

CHICAGO, ILL., Oct. 24, 1905.

To the National Committee:

Comrades—Herewith is submitted referendum No. 33, motion No. 35, by National Committeeman McHugh, of Montana; Nos. 36, 37 and 38, by National Committeeman White, of Connecticut; No. 39, by National Committeeman Bandow, of Ohio:

#### MOTION 35.

"Resolved, That the National Secretary be and is hereby instructed to recognize the state organization headed by Harriet Hanson, State Secretary; Thomas Van Lear, State Organizer, and the Executive Committee of which these comrades are members, along with Thomas H. Lucas, Fred Miller and B. F. Morledge, and that due stamps be supplied said Harriet Hanson upon presentation of the necessary cash."

COMMENT BY M'UIGH.

"Owing to the fact that there exists two state organizations of the Socialist party in Minnesota, and the question as to the legal one must be determined by the National Committee, I make the motion."

"I assume that National Committeeman are acquainted with the facts in the case as reported by both sides. It is a tangled whole tangle centers in the first knot—the enforcement of section 2 of article 2 of the National Constitution. I believe it applies to every member of the party, and to every group in any and all geographical districts of the United States; otherwise, we can have forty-seven kinds of reform parties. 'Autonomy' cannot shield individual or geographical group violations. We had the 'autonomy' cry here in Local Butte and Anacosta by comrades elected to offices on the Socialist ticket, who, when called on to obey the constitution, both sides, the will of the membership, would stand on their rights as free-born American citizens. The Nash-Holman party seems to be behind the autonomy of the commonwealth of Minnesota, and have raised quite a commotion by ignoring the National Constitution in permitting members to accept, retain and hold capital offices to which they were elected on other than a Socialist ticket. I make this motion to recognize the party that I believe has obeyed the National Constitution and aims to follow it."

#### MOTION 36.

"J. E. Nash shall no longer be recognized by the National Secretary as State Secretary of Minnesota."

#### MOTION 37.

"S. M. Holman shall no longer be recognized by the National Secretary and National Committee as National Committeeman representing the state of Minnesota."

#### MOTION 38.

"The National Secretary shall address a call to all of the locals of this party in the state of Minnesota to elect, in accordance with the constitution of the party in Minnesota, and in accordance with the constitution of the Socialist party, a State Secretary and a National Committeeman."

COMMENT BY WHITE.

"I believe it is now plain, from the statements issued by J. E. Nash (which have been sent to the National Committee), when compared with the statements issued by the 'expelled' faction of Local Minneapolis, and the latest statement issued by Local St. Paul (which have also been sent to the National Committee):"

"First—That the alleged suspension of Local Minneapolis by a few members calling themselves a State Executive Committee was an illegal and arbitrary act, and is therefore null and void.

"Second—That the subsequent state referendum by which this suspension was said to be sustained, was secured by misrepresentation and trickery on the part of some members of this State Executive Committee of Minnesota, and by the purse-inspired activity of a clerical adventurer from Wisconsin.

"Third—That J. E. Nash and S. M. Holman have been legally and properly expelled from the Socialist party (called Public Ownership) by the branch and local of which they were members, and are therefore no longer officers of the party. Moreover, their arbitrary and illegal action in this affair and the evident personal motives by which they are inspired make them unworthy to be regarded as officers of the party.

"Fourth—That every active and worthy party member in Minnesota will welcome a settlement of the whole controversy by a re-election of State Secretary and National Committeeman, in which all active members in good standing shall take part.

"Comrade Floaten, National Committeeman of Colorado, submits a motion to table the above motions, which motion is tabled out of order according to rule No. 4, which reads: 'A motion to lay a motion on the table shall be out of order.' His comment affects the original motions, and is here submitted:

"Floaten (Colorado)—'First: The members of the National Committee are not well enough informed of the facts to form a correct conclusion, even if the matter should be submitted to us by the contending factions.

"Nearly everything stated by one side is contradicted by the other. My second reason is that the National Committee has no right nor authority to overrule or reverse a referendum vote of the membership of a state unless such vote expresses a violation of the National Constitution of the party. I am not a supporter of state autonomy carried to the extent some desire it, but I certainly contend that the referendum vote of the membership is the highest authority in the state, and that the expressed will of a majority in any state is higher authority on state affairs than the National Committee."

(Continued on page 4.)

Minutes of the National Executive Committee

The National Executive Committee members present, Comrades Berlyn, Maily, Reynolds and Work. Were called to order by National Secretary Barnes at 10:25 A. M., Oct. 26.

Berlyn called attention to the fact that only four members were present and that five members were required for a quorum and proposed the following motion: In view of the expenses entailed by those present in coming here, and the unavoidable causes which enforced the absence of the other members, we, the members of the National Executive Committee, proceed with the business and that copies of the proceedings be submitted to the absent members, and that on all questions voted on, their vote shall be recorded pro or con before proceedings are officially published. Unanimously concurred in.

Comrade Work was elected chairman. Comrade Charles Drees elected to act as secretary for all the sessions. National Secretary Barnes read a letter from Comrade Bandlow, stating his inability to attend the meeting of the National Executive Committee.

**Motion by Berlyn.**—"I move that the letter be recorded and published as part of the minutes." Carried.

**Letter of Comrade Bandlow.**

"To the Members of the National Executive Committee:

"Comrades:—Keenly do I regret my inability to meet with you at this session of the Committee, and never did physical disability come, more inopportune than at this time.

"I desire to present several subjects that in my estimation ought to be seriously considered by the National Executive Committee.

"**First.**—The attitude of the National Secretary relative to vote on the Crest-line resolutions, not only annulling the action of the National Committee, but also in anticipating the action of the Wisconsin Comrades relative to applying for charter, necessitated by the referendum vote.

"**Second.**—In casting aspersions upon former associates in the office under charge of the National Secretary by insinuating that Comrades Oneal and Capels have tampered with the records in their custody, which accusation should be thoroughly investigated and the facts made public.

"**Third.**—Inquiry as to cause of delay in getting out the leaflet authorized by the National Executive Committee, as well as reason why Monthly Bulletins do not reach organizations in time to be of practical use.

"**Fourth.**—Why call for essays under the competitive prize contest has not been issued.

"**Fifth.**—I think the National Executive Committee should take a decided stand relative to the Minnesota muddle. There can be no question as to the fact that there are two organizations in that state, one of which has the recognition of the National Secretary and which insists that under literal interpretation of Art. XII, Sec. 4, there can be no other body recognized but itself, and the other composed of a number of comrades who claim recognition because they have complied with the National Constitution, which the recognized faction is ignoring, or violating.

"I maintain that it is the duty of the National Executive Committee to investigate the affairs in any state connected with the National organization when a reasonable doubt is expressed regarding the action of members or officials that may involve the effectiveness of our movement. It must be apparent also, that National Committeeman Thompson of Wisconsin, who is also organizer for that state, notwithstanding his cry for preservation of state autonomy, has carried into the state of Minnesota, for which he also secured that state's organizers, many of his peculiarities which are aggravating the situation in the latter state. I simply call to your attention the fact that he maintained in an article in the Chicago Socialist that there was no such organization in Minnesota as Local Big Forks, while Comrade Nash of the recognized faction, on query from me, states there is such a local. Comrade Mahoney, who is well known to many members of the Socialist party, makes a plea that the National organization should end this deplorable muddle and I am satisfied that an impartial investigation and publication of the facts would result in a speedy adjustment of the disagreeable affair.

"Hoping your deliberations may redound to the benefit of our great cause and assuring you of my hearty cooperation in all matters affecting the success of our organization, I am,

"Fraternally yours,

"(Signed) ROBERT BANDLOW,  
Nat. Ex. Com. Member."

National Secretary Barnes submitted review of State organizations; conditions in unorganized states; a financial review; report of organization and agitation; dates of organizers; report of literature department, subject matters which engage the attention of the Committee, and a resume of the office transactions as follows:

**Resume of the Office Transactions.**

The primary laws, so-called, have been frequently referred to in the Weekly Bulletin and fairly quoted by the Socialist press, particularly the Douglas County, Nebraska, case involving the payment of fees, the same in Arkansas, which does not become operative until next year.

The Kentucky live voice amendment and the Poe amendment of Maryland, which aims to restrict the suffrage of the working class. Comrades Guy E. Miller and E. E. Carr were provided with copies

of this amendment, before entering upon their dates in Maryland and instructed to give it their particular attention.

In keeping with the referendum in the two territories, the organizations in Oklahoma and Indian Territory were consolidated into one organization September 23rd, the organization hereafter to be known as the Socialist party of Oklahoma and Indian Territories.

The prize article plan as proposed at the April meeting and as subsequently amended and further defined and explained at your meeting in July has been published and a call issued for the submission of manuscript.

The Editorial Selective Committee has been elected and is composed of Comrades Heath and Titus.

Only one person thus far has submitted manuscript, which is now in the hands of Comrade Titus.

Monthly report cards for locals to make reports to State Secretaries and blanks for tabulations from the State Secretary to the National office have been in use beginning with July.

Nearly every State Secretary has pronounced them an assistance, welcomed their appearance and have done their best to bring them into general use. Twenty-four states made report for July and about twenty per cent of the locals were represented. The summary for August shows a slight increase in the number of locals reporting.

Each secretary reports that it is difficult to secure the returns, but I believe the value of the publication of the monthly summary can not be over-estimated.

As per your instructions an order has been placed for 100,000 pamphlets containing the address of Rufus W. Weeks. The estimate received (\$1.00 per thousand) at the last meeting of the National Executive Committee was accepted. The price set was 50 cents per thousand in 10,000 lots to State Committees, they to pay for transportation and a flat rate of \$1.50 per thousand prepaid was made for locals or individuals. The demand for these pamphlets required the increase of the order to 250,000, and later to 350,000. The two later orders are at the rate of 90 cents per thousand.

The supply is exhausted and there remain orders on file for 20,000.

I ask your judgment on increasing the edition, and to the extent if it should be so increased, bearing in mind the fact that 50 cents per thousand is lost on each order from State Committees, and 22 cents per thousand is lost on orders from locals.

The account books for locals are coming into more general use which argues well for the establishment of system throughout the movement.

The matter of securing second-class rates for the Official Monthly Bulletin was taken up with the proper postal authorities at the Chicago office—Mr. Paul Hull, superintendent of second-class matter.

I am informed that some publications, such as those of the "Christian Association," "The Sons of Veterans," are admitted to second-class rates without a personal subscription list, under certain conditions. A part of the dues of the members is specifically set aside as a subscription fund to said papers by the employment of which fund the publications are maintained.

The publishers of "The Banner," the organ of the Sons of Veterans, have a contract with the Grand Lodge of that organization to receive for their publication such sums as are set aside as before mentioned by the Grand Lodge for this purpose. The methods heretofore prescribed, to-wit: At the April meeting of the National Executive Committee, "that a subscription price of 25 cents per annum shall be charged for the Bulletin," and the action taken at the July session, "that the subscription price of 25 cents per annum would be charged to non-members of the party only, while the purchase by the members of the party due stamps would be equivalent to a subscription without extra charge to the members and would entitle them to secure the Bulletin regularly."

I am informed that these methods will not avail. There must be a distinct declaration by a body having authority (the National Executive Committee) declaring that they have the right granted by the organization to publish or control the publication of the said Official Monthly Bulletin, subject to the direction of the membership by referendum; that the organization has so many regularly contributing or dues paying members, the rate of dues being so much per annum; that they (the National Executive Committee) are empowered to set aside from the funds, so received for dues, the sum of ——— for each member as a subscription price to and for the maintenance of the said publication. Such declaration with the presentation of the subscription list secured, as heretofore suggested by the National Executive Committee and the payment of full rate of postage, cash in advance of shipment for two or three months pending its consideration by the postal authorities, would, according to all information at hand secure the second-class rate for the Official Monthly Bulletin.

The National Convention proceedings have been well advertised, free of cost by the Socialist press, as a matter of courtesy.

The literature department has not received the attention that it should for lack of funds to buy advantageously in quantities, and again the standard works and recent publications are being handled at such rates by a number of publishing houses and party papers, that an expense rather than an income would result from their being listed in our literature bureau. The Perpetual Campaign Coupons, an-

nounced by a strong letter of appeal, were purchased in fair quantities at the outset, but some states have other devices employed, and the campaign in those states having elections induce them to husband their resources for local purposes. The disbursement has lately fallen off.

Under separate heading a financial report of funds received from this source and all contributions to the campaign fund, is presented.

The \$50.00 ordered has been donated to the Social Democratic Party of Russia.

Fifty dollars of the \$100.00 appropriated in behalf of the comrades of Douglas County, Nebraska, to fight the primary law in the courts has been forwarded to State Secretary Roe.

I can report that the trip of Comrade Slayton across the continent to the coast, contrary to expectations, was effected at very little expense. Fortunately he was able to fill most of the dates arranged for Comrade Hanford as far west as St. Louis, on which a flat rate of \$10.00 was secured, and other dates, though widely separated, were readily secured as far as Denver. Arriving in California in time to devote a full month to campaign work.

The shares of stock held by Comrade Kerr for the party have been advertised in the Weekly and Monthly Bulletins.

The International Socialist Bureau, as previously reported, has not acted upon our request for remittance of the dues wrongfully charged, while the S. L. P.'s affiliation was also recognized and our indebtedness remains 2,450 francs. Comrade Hillquit has been corresponding with the Bureau on this subject.

I wish to call your attention to the rules and amendments thereto. National speakers have covered territory and are winding up the campaign, as previously reported.

Again I present the question: Shall speakers be paid for the full month who are employed until December 10th, as was the case in 1903?

Session adjourned at 12 to meet at 2 p. m.

**AFTERNOON SESSION.**

Meeting called to order by National Secretary Barnes at 2 p. m. Comrade Berlyn elected chairman.

National Secretary Barnes reported having a conversation with Carl D. Thompson on Wednesday, stating that Comrade Berger feared he could not be present on account of having to get out his weekly papers, also submitted the following letter:

"New York, Oct. 25, 1905.

"J. Mahlon Barnes,

"Dear Comrade:—I regret to have to inform you that my private affairs will not permit me to attend the meeting of the National Executive Committee to-morrow. Yours, etc.

(Signed) "HENRY L. SLOBODIN."

**Motion by Reynolds.**—"I move that Comrade Berger be wired to be present at meeting 9 a. m. to-morrow, and that he be requested to answer at once." Carried.

Secretary Barnes reported: Kerwin Bros. bid for printing 250,000 additional "Weeks Pamphlets" at 78 cents per thousand, this not to include packing and shipping, as they had done heretofore.

Review of the present method of routing speakers, pointing out that said method, judged by the financial report, makes a creditable showing for the National office when the least is done and invites criticism when the most is accomplished, or it is a fact that when the least number of meetings are held and a large amount is expended in long jumps for railroad fares, with practically small results for the organization, is the time when we appear to be doing the most as rated by the expense column in our financial report as instance. We find one organizer at the end of a month indebted to the National office in the sum of \$2 or \$10 and another organizer we owe for the same month \$50 or \$75. This is a showing neither to the credit or discredit of either organizer, but is wholly due to the condition of the territory covered and the proximity of the dates to each other that have been secured.

I believe the National speakers, after consent is secured from the state or organization, should be sent from local to local and stop at intervening unorganized, though favorably considered, points, the locals being informed a sufficient time in advance of the dates assigned, and that they would be expected to give the speaker a given sum or as much towards it as they can afford. In this manner the points that stand most in need of an organizer would be favored by a visit as well as the more prosperous locals that need them less.

A feature that is overlooked in connection with organization is the fact that one man's time in the National office is fully employed on devising circular letters, drafting posters and advertising matter, proof reading and distributing the aforementioned and routing speakers. At least ten thousand posters or handbills are used for a speaker in a month which, with cost of shipment, amounts to \$20. With five speakers on the road, this represents an expenditure of itself of \$100 per month. In this connection a letter was also submitted which was recently written to W. W. Arland, state committeeman of Coaling, N. Y.

**Motion by Maily.**—"I move that a sub-committee of two be elected on organization and agitation to report to this meeting." Carried. Maily, Reynolds elected as the committee.

Subject matters taken up seriatim: Letter from Thomas Van Lear.

Letter from Harriet Hanson, signed State Secretary of Minnesota, containing a check for \$50 for due stamps. A second letter from Harriet Hanson.

Letter from N. Hellman, (Signed) Finnish Branch Secretary.

All dated at Minneapolis, Minn., were laid over for future consideration, pending the appearance of a quorum.

Same action was taken in connection with a letter from John B. Leeds of Moorestown, N. J., reference to specialization of work, and special literature for farmers, physicians, etc.

Letters from Rev. J. C. Fullenweider, reference to establishing circuits for Socialist lectures or centers for the dissemination of Socialist doctrines like unto the various Chautauquas. On motion was referred to the committee on organization and agitation.

Letter from C. V. Smith of Houston, Mo., suggesting a plan for educational work through the avenues of amusement, such as entertainment, theaters, etc., on a plan akin to, but more extensive than progressive stage society, now in existence, was on motion received and filed.

Letters from Comrade Max Wilk, of Atlanta, Ga., under dates of August 28th and October 15th, referring to the need of a National organizer in the state of Georgia for two or three weeks and the necessity of consideration being given that state in the gubernatorial election of 1906, pointing out that the ground should be broken previous to the opening of the state campaign.

**Motion by Work.**—"I move that the request of Georgia for a National organizer be complied with as soon as feasible." Carried.

Design for letter head submitted by Comrade Lockwood, of the "Acme School of Drawing," upon the solicitation of National Secretary, was received.

**Motion by Berlyn.**—"That the matter of selecting a letter head be left to the National Secretary." Carried.

Letter from James F. Wilcox, of Effingham, Ill., recounting his research and discovery of a significant emblem, considered by the founders of the Republic at the time that the seal of the United States was adopted. He suggests that the same be adopted as the emblem of the Socialist party.

**Motion by Maily.**—"I move that the National Secretary inform Comrade Wilcox that an emblem has already been adopted by referendum vote of the party." Carried.

Letters from Ada E. Clayton and H. H. Harper of Victoria, B. C., reference to the establishing of Sunday school lecture courses under the direction of the National Committee in a line with such as were contributed last year to the Chicago Socialist by Comrade May Wood Simons.

**Motion by Work.**—"I move that it be the sense of this committee that such matters can be best attended to by the locals." Carried.

Letter from E. E. Carr, of Danville, Ill., making certain propositions for the National office to arrange lecture dates for him with the various branches or comrades, without the National office assuming any responsibility for salary or expenses, was presented and on motion, action deferred pending the appearance of a quorum.

Statement submitted by Secretary Barnes on the cost of mimeographing.

"On the much mooted question of mimeographing practiced in the National office, it is necessary to say that reams of paper are not used by choice, but in keeping with established practices.

In the year 1903, a National Committee motion having for its purpose the elimination from the Weekly Bulletin of expressions emanating from locals was defeated by a decisive vote.

From the founding of the Weekly Bulletin, every National officer, State Committee and local has been accorded the privilege to print; this being upon the assumption that they are responsible for their utterances and the maintenance of the principle of full expression and publicity. I would not recommend a reversal of the policy. It, no doubt, serves a good purpose providing an avenue for exchange of ideas on tactics, policy and methods of organization and acts as a safety valve to an expanding movement.

Some consideration should be given by contributors to the quantity of the matter submitted and the expense involved.

To set forth the exact expense in detail is a difficult matter, but some idea will be conveyed by the statement of the fact that to date, this year, 478 mimeograph stencils for bulletins, National Committee and special circulars have been cut, or an average of two each day. The commercial rate for the mechanical work alone, without cost of paper or other material, exceeds \$3 per day, or a total of \$617.

I wish to point out that this does not include \$70 expended for paper, expenses for other supplies or the cost of preparing, folding, mailing, etc."

**Motion by Berlyn.**—"That in view of the referendum now pending in reference to the election of officers not becoming operative until January 1, 1906, even if carried, that the National Secretary on December 1st call for nominations by the National Committee for an Executive Committee of seven members in conformity with Article 6, Section 1, of the National Constitution. Nominations to close December 22d. Declinations to close January 1st, the election to take place from January 1st to January 22d, closing the latter date." Carried.

**Motion by Reynolds.**—"Nominations for the election by the National Committee of a National Secretary be called for December 1st, 1905, nominations to close December 22d, declinations to close January 1st, 1906; the election to take place from January 1st to Jan-

uary 22d, closing the latter date." Carried.

**Motion by Maily.**—"I move that when the vote is canvassed on the National Secretary and the National Executive Committee, only those candidates receiving a majority of the votes cast shall be declared elected, in accordance with rule 10 of the National Constitution." Carried.

**Rule 10.**—"When a referendum vote on election of committees, etc., submitted to the National Committeemen, does not result in a choice on the second ballot, all names but the two highest shall be dropped when more than two candidates remain and only one is to be elected; all but three dropped when two are to be chosen, and so on, allowing of one candidate in excess of actual number to be elected before a third and final ballot is ordered."

**Motion by Maily.**—"I move that the National Secretary's proposition to Oregon, that they have Comrade John W. Slayton for \$2 per day and actual expenses and the National organization bearing the additional \$1 per day, be concurred in." Carried.

**Motion by Berlyn.**—"I move that the National Secretary be empowered to keep Comrade M. W. Wilkins in the New England states indefinitely at such financial arrangements as will not incur too much of a deficit to the National organization." Carried.

**Motion by Maily.**—"I move that the National Secretary be instructed to enter into communication with the State Secretary of Pennsylvania, looking to special work to be done in the anthracite region during the first three months of the year 1906." Carried.

The following telegram was read from Comrade Berger:

"Will arrive for the afternoon session. Can't come sooner."

**Motion by Reynolds.**—"I move that we now (3:20) adjourn to meet Friday, October 27th, 1 p. m., and that Comrade Berger be notified of the time of meeting." Carried.

**October 27, 1905.**

Meeting called to order by Secretary Barnes at 2 p. m. Comrades Berger, Berlyn, Maily, Reynolds and Work present.

Comrade Maily elected chairman. After the reading of the minutes of the previous session, the chairman ruled that there be no action taken upon the same until Comrade Berger has had opportunity to read and pass upon them.

**Motion by Reynolds.**—"That the Secretary record that at the session October 27th, afternoon, the above noted members were present, constituting a quorum." Carried.

**Motion by Work.**—"That rule No. 1 of the Rules of Order of the National Executive Committee be stricken out and the following inserted in lieu thereof: "Not less than three members present at any meeting of the National Committee shall be a quorum." De-feated.

**Motion by Berlyn.**—"I move that a majority of the Committee shall constitute a quorum." Carried.

**Report of Committee on Organization and Agitation.**

Chicago, Ill., Oct. 27, 1905.

To the Executive Committee:—Your sub-committee on organization and agitation reports:

With a view to having the National organization give more attention in future to actual organizing work we would propose that the practice of arranging long distance tours for speakers be modified to some extent and organizers be employed instead in those localities where special attention is needed. We refer particularly to the unorganized states and to other states where the state organizations are unable for some reason to provide such attention.

In these cases the National office could either provide organizers direct to locals in unorganized states at such terms as would come within the regular prescribed limits or to organized states upon terms mutually satisfactory to the State Committees and the National office.

It is becoming acknowledged that the work of agitation already done throughout the entire country warrants more systematic efforts to implant organization. This does not mean that agitation should be neglected or suspended, but merely that the result of what has been done should be crystallized into more concrete forms.

In the states where the movement is oldest, the organizations are usually able to maintain regular organizers without outside assistance. These are the states through which National lecturers could be toured when needed. It is in the other states that the organizing work needs to be done, so that the existing organizations may be strengthened or state organizations formed.

To further this and make the work of organizing of permanent value, efforts should be made to have the organizers thoroughly work the given section to which they are appointed.

This can best be done by having the organizers stay from three to seven or ten days or even two or three weeks, if necessary in each place, according to the population and relative importance of the locality. While this may be more expensive than the present method of having an agitator stay but one or two nights in each place, yet this would be temporary, for the resultant strengthening of the organization would soon recompense for the additional outlay. It is shown that a large proportion of the expense upon the national office at present for agitation work arises from railroad fare on long distance tours. By reducing the extent and number of these tours the money now expended could be placed to better use in direct organizing work. There is no reason why lecturers

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should not precede or follow organizers for the purpose of either preparing the ground or supplementing the organizer's efforts, but we feel that the organizing work should receive first attention in the intervals between political campaigns.

It must be realized that real organizers are relatively few in number. All speakers are not organizers and vice versa. Only those known to be capable of organizing work in all its details should be selected for that work and instead of spending their energies over a large territory they should be given a certain section to work for a given length of time. We hope that more comrades will give their thought and attention to this very important branch of the party work.

Organizing and lecturing are two different functions, and a division of the work performed by each would result in a selective process which would develop the best fitted for each function. There would consequently be better organizers and better lecturers with increased benefit to the party. At the same time all lecturers should be fully instructed to impress upon the local comrades where they speak the importance of carrying on immediate organization work to reap the benefits of agitation. No meeting should be closed without an appeal for organization.

Beginning with the new year, therefore, we would recommend that the sections requiring most attention be chosen and organizers be selected accordingly. The existing agreements with speakers now employed should be filled, but no more agreements be made, unless for such work as outlined by the National Executive Committee.

We recommend that the National Executive Committee select from the list of those who are, or who may have been employed as organizers or speakers under direction of the National Headquarters, those whom the Executive Committee may deem qualified to act only as organizers and those who may be thought qualified to act as lecturers, the names of each to be kept on separate lists under specified heads. The National Executive Committee can make selections by correspondence as soon as the complete lists can be compiled.

(Signed) S. M. REYNOLDS,  
(Signed) WILLIAM NAILLY.

**Motion by Work.**—"That the report be adopted and the National Secretary be instructed to take the necessary steps to carry it into effect." Carried.

Secretary Barnes presented the following letter from Comrade Titus of the Editorial Selective Committee:

Seattle, Wash., Oct. 22, 1905.

Dear Comrade Heath:—The National Secretary sent me the enclosed manuscript; the only article received by him to enter the fifty dollar prize competition established by the National Executive committee last April. He requests me to forward same to you after I have passed upon it.

As you and I constitute the Editorial Selective Committee for the purpose of selecting such articles as we deem worthy to be printed and submitted to the National Committee for award of prizes, it seems to me not out of place that we should make some comment and offer some suggestions in view of the practical failure of the whole plan.

Only one comrade has entered the competition and that one presented his manuscript last June, one month before the official announcement of the conditions of the contest, issued by National Secretary Barnes in the July Bulletin. Such a minimum result is no less than astonishing.

Such subjects as the "Socialist Party and Its Aims," "The Necessity of Discipline in the Socialist Party," "The Socialist Party and Its Conception of Municipal Ownership," ought to draw out scores of well written and timely articles from the thousands of members of the Socialist party. In fact, only a single competitor has responded, and he wrote before the official "call" was published—evidently because he had seen somewhere the report of the action of the National Executive Committee at the April meeting.

The question is forced upon us, why this failure?

I take the liberty as a member of the committee duly chosen by the National Committee to select the articles which shall be submitted to competition, and in view of the fact that there is nothing for us to do but read one article presented—to suggest that the contest be declared off by the National Executive Committee for the current quarter and renewed for the quarter beginning January 1, 1906, under more auspicious conditions.

In my opinion, the one reason for failure is lack of publicity, lack of advertising. I do not believe the comrades in general knew anything about the offer of \$50 in prizes on the first subject named above.

The only announcement I ever saw was in the Bulletin for July, fully two months after the time specified by the original resolutions of the National Executive Committee in April. Though I am a member of the Selective Committee, and read Socialist papers more than most comrades in the party, I could not have told the subject of the first competition before I received yesterday the official notification from the National Secretary of my election on September 5th, together with a copy of the one article, received at the national office June 23. I assume that, equally with myself, other comrades who might have written for this prize, were ignorant of the whole matter.

I believe a live circular letter from the National Secretary to the Socialist press, setting forth the conditions of

this quarterly prize contest, will secure plenty of responses.

It is absurd to award a prize to one competitor. In fact, considering the trouble and expense of printing and submitting it to the referendum of the entire National Committee, and in view of the extreme brevity and its dealing chiefly in generalities, I vote not to submit this article at all, since it requires, on committee of two, that both shall agree, my adverse vote will settle the matter for this time. But, I hope, you will endorse by judgment expressed above as to the necessity of advertising, and thus forestall future failures.

You will notice I do not pass on the MSS. presented by the same writer on the last two subjects, as the official "call" of Secretary Barnes in the July Bulletin specified only the first subject, viz.: "The Socialist Party and Its Aims."

Will you please add your comment and vote and forward same with this letter to Secretary Barnes—and send me a copy of your letter to him?

In order to give the National Executive Committee a chance to act before the next meeting in January, I am sending a copy of this letter direct to the national office. If you decide and act immediately on receipt of this the National Executive Committee may get both our conclusions at the meeting this week. Yours sincerely,

HERMAN F. TITUS.

**Motion by Berlyn.**—"That the letter be received and filed." Carried.

**Motion by Work.**—"That the scheme of prize leaflets heretofore provided for be abolished." Carried.

Letters bearing on the Minnesota situation laid over at yesterday's session, from Thomas Van Laer, Harriet Hanson, N. Hollman and S. M. Holman were taken up for consideration.

**Motion by Mally.**—"That in view of the motions now before the National Committee relating to the Minnesota situation, we consider that it is not advisable, neither is it within the province of the National Executive Committee, to take action upon the communications received from the parties involved. We believe that until the National Committee has taken definite action to the contrary, or the comrades in Minnesota finally settle their differences, the National Secretary continue as heretofore, but refrain from touring national speakers in Minnesota so as to avoid any danger of involving the national organization in the prevailing controversy, and that no further communications from either side of the controversy be issued through the National Bulletin, sufficient already having been said on both sides."

**Substitute by Work.**—"That in view of the motions now before the National Committee relating to the Minnesota situation, we consider that it is not advisable, neither is it within the province of the National Executive Committee to take action upon the communications received from the parties involved." Berlyn, Reynolds, Work voting yes, Mally not voting, as he desired to vote on his original motion. Carried.

**Motion by Berlyn.**—"I move that the National Executive Committee continue to receive dues and to recognize the State Committee of Minnesota, of which J. E. Nash is State Secretary, until the National Committee, or the referendum of the party has decided the question."

The chairman ruled the motion out of order with the following statement:

**Statement by Mally.**

"I wish to state that as the National Secretary already recognizes the state organization in Minnesota, of which J. E. Nash is State Secretary, and there has been no action proposed at this meeting which would change that method of procedure, and as there are motions now before the National Committee upon this question, this motion proposed by Comrade Berlyn would commit the National Executive Committee before the National Committee has acted. I would declare the motion out of order, and any member of this committee has the right of appealing to the committee from the decision of the chair."

**Statement by Berlyn.**

"I do not consider the chairman of this committee either the guardian or the boss of the committee. I believe every member has a right to make the motions that his conscience and his understanding dictates to him. I deny the chairman the right to rule this motion out of order: If the committee does not agree with the motion, the committee can vote it down. The chairman has no right to act as guardian of the committee, and to say what is to go before the committee and what is not, as long as it is a motion to the subject before the house. The chairman is just the same kind of a member as the rest of us. At least I hope so. This motion I consider necessary, in order to make it plain that the legal State Committee of Minnesota will be and shall be recognized until the National Committee or a National Referendum of the party decides the question otherwise. This is no attempt made to influence the National Committee in any way or for either side. It is only the partisanship and the prejudice of the chairman which can read any such intention into this motion."

**Statement by Berlyn.**

"I object to the motion on its opening paragraph, which states that the National Executive Committee continue to receive dues, etc., are not the pow-

ers defined for the National Executive Committee.

"Comrade Berlyn requested permission to change the words 'National Executive Committee' to 'National Secretary.'"

**Statement by Reynolds.**

"This Executive Committee is here for the transaction of the business of the Socialist Party entrusted to it by the comrades. We should not govern ourselves by inflexible parliamentary laws which lead to acrimonious discussion and unnecessary delay. I therefore ask the chairman to withdraw his ruling on Comrade Berlyn's motion, 'that said motion is out of order' notwithstanding the fact that in accordance with parliamentary usage, in my judgment said motion is out of order, but that the motion as presented by Comrade Berlyn be put to the board immediately for a pro and con vote."

**Motion by Reynolds.**

"I move that Comrade Berlyn be allowed to change the words 'National Executive Committee' to the words 'National Secretary,' which he states he first intended to put there." Carried.

**Statement by Mally.**

"That if the motion had been originally put as changed, the chair would not have exercised his prerogative by declaring the motion out of order, although he still considers the motion, even as changed, entirely unnecessary."

**Statement by Work.**

"I am opposed to the motion both in its original form and as changed, because it shows favoritism to one side of the controversy, while motions on the subject are pending before the National Executive Committee."

Comrade Reynolds concurs in the statement of Comrade Work.

**Statement by Berlyn.**

"I desire to be recorded as voting no on the motion, but my vote should not be construed as an instruction to the Secretary to alter his course in recognizing the old State Committee of Minnesota."

**Statement by Berger.**

"I vote 'yes,' as this motion simply expresses the National Constitution on this subject. I intended in the first place to use the words 'National Secretary,' as shown by the words 'continue to receive' as the National Executive Committee never did receive dues, but the National Secretary does." The motion was defeated.

**Motion by Work.**—"That inasmuch as it is very costly to disseminate news by means of the mimeograph, and inasmuch as the entire Socialist press is open to individuals and locals desiring to express themselves, therefore no statements by individuals, nor statements or resolutions by locals, except initiatives of referendums shall be published in the Weekly Bulletin." Carried unanimously.

**Motion by Work.**—"That it is the opinion of the National Executive Committee that a constitutional amendment ought to be passed which will enable the second class mailing rate to be secured for the Official Bulletin." Carried unanimously.

Secretary Barnes again submitted the letter from John B. Leeds of Moorestown, N. J., on which action had been postponed.

**Motion by Reynolds.**—"That it be referred to the Secretary." Carried.

Letter from E. E. Carr in reference to him being routed as National Lecturer again taken up.

**Motion by Mally.**—"That Comrade Carr be informed that we are willing for him to work under the direction of the national office under the same conditions operative for all other speakers and organizers." Carried.

**Motion by Berlyn.**—"That the National Secretary be empowered to order 250,000 additional of the 'Weeks' pamphlets printed at the best terms obtainable" (making a total edition of 600,000). Carried.

**Motion by Berlyn.**—"That in future no orders for 'The Weeks Pamphlets' be filled unless accompanied by cash." Carried.

Secretary Barnes reported the liabilities of the national office to date to be as follows:

**Amounts Due National Organizers.**

W. C. Benton.....\$ 24.72  
James F. Carey..... 34.80  
John Collins..... 55.33  
Geo. H. Goebel..... 113.95  
John M. Work..... 40.61

**Unpaid Bills.**

Kerwin Bros., printing supplies.....\$ 241.68  
Kerwin Bros., "Weeks" pamphlets..... 325.00  
H. G. Adair, Bulletin account..... 130.50  
Miscellaneous bills..... 52.82

Total.....\$1,019.41

A report of all contributions to the agitation fund and sale of Perpetual Campaign Coupons to date (Oct. 26) was submitted, which report is here extended to include transactions to the end of October.

**Agitation Fund from April 1 to October 31, 1905.**

H. T. Smith, Chicago, Ill.....\$ 1.00  
United Workmen's Society, Long Island, N. Y..... 54.00  
Arlington Branch, Hudson Co., N. J..... 1.10  
J. H. B. Schenyesaule, Eagle City, Alaska..... 5.00  
Bertha Capps, Chicago, Ill..... 2.00  
H. T. Smith, Chicago, Ill..... 2.00  
Algernon Lee, New York City..... 2.00  
New Yorker Volks-Zeitung, New York City..... 3.60

New Yorker Volks-Zeitung, New York City..... .50  
G. W. Stone, Shreveport, La..... .25  
L. C. Currier, Barstow, Cal..... 1.00  
I. W. Wright, Boise, Idaho..... 1.50  
J. D. Hunt, Jonesville, Mich..... 1.00  
Samuel Eiges, New York City..... 5.00  
John Haury, Jr., Chester City, O. T..... .25  
Erhard Frey, Syracuse, N. Y..... 10.00  
Geo. Barr, LaCenter, Wash..... 1.00  
Workmen's S. & D. Benefit Fund No. 106, Chicago, Ill..... 5.00  
G. M. Finley, Henrietta, Tex..... 1.00  
John Thoma, Mystic, Conn..... 2.00  
Fritz Grueter, Paterson, N. J..... 2.00  
Freeman Christianson, Los Angeles, Cal..... .50  
Workmen's S. & D. Benefit Fund Branch No. 31, Ansonia, Conn  
Wisconsin Comrade, through The Worker..... 1.00  
E. Engelbrecht, Stapleton, L. I., New York..... 5.00  
Carl Weber, German Branch, Beaver, Mo..... 2.50  
J. Lavigne, Beverly, Mass..... .10  
J. H. Johnson, W. J. Conarty, Rochester, Ind..... 1.00  
J. LaVigne, Beverly, Mass..... .10  
Comrade through The Worker.  
John Haury, Jr., Hot Springs, Ark..... .10  
J. H. Johnson, W. J. Conarty, Rochester, Ind..... 1.00  
Samuel Heller, A. A. Heller, New York City..... 10.00  
Workmen's S. & D. Benefit Fund, Branch 21, Manchester, N. H..... 3.00  
Mary E. Purdy, Chicago, Ill..... 4.00  
Workmen's S. & D. Benefit Fund, Branch No. 28, Long Island City, N. Y..... 25.00  
W. P. Osborne, Burton, Kan..... .50  
Willis Brandon, Clyde, Kan..... 1.00  
August Griesbach, Creston, Tenn..... .50  
O. E. Samekon, Kiowa, Kan..... .50  
Albert Gasteiger, Port Chester, N. Y..... 1.50  
W. D. Weeks, Tallahoma, Tenn..... .50  
N. Baillet, Tallahoma, Tenn..... .75  
Kate Willett, Pearl, Okla..... 1.25  
Chas. Rowles, Libby, Minn..... .50  
J. L. Pledger, Thibodaux, La..... .50  
Arthur Lasseigne, Thibodaux, La  
Arbeiter Kinder Sterbekasse, Branch No. 28, Long Island City, N. Y..... 5.00  
Wm. Kramer, Coal City, Ill..... .65  
J. H. Johnson, W. J. Conarty, Rochester, Ind..... 1.00  
F. Rudy, Collinwood, Ohio..... 1.25  
Paul Bleeschmidt, West Hoboken, N. J..... 1.25  
Eugene Dietzgen, Chicago, Ill..... 100.00  
Edward Blackwood, Houghton, Mich..... 1.25  
Bigelow, Lunn & Co., Chicago, Ill..... 4.75

Receipts from Sale of Perpetual Campaign Coupons.

June.....\$211.40  
July..... 33.50  
August..... 53.90  
September..... 36.00  
October..... 14.00

348.80

Total.....\$630.70

**Motion by Berlyn.**—"That the National Secretary be empowered to draft and issue a call for contributions to the Agitation Fund, calling attention to the proposed organizing work outlined, and that the 'Weeks Pamphlets' are being furnished to state or organizations at half cost." Carried.

**Motion by Berlyn.**—"That the National Secretary be authorized to furnish any other state having a different name, with pamphlets at the same rate as other states with the state party name printed thereon." Carried.

Secretary Barnes submitted the following statement:

Chicago, Ill., Oct. 27, 1905.

"To the National Executive Committee:

"Comrades:—Referring to the letter by Comrade Bandlow addressed to the National Executive Committee, I feel it is not his intention to wilfully misrepresent the National Secretary or distort the facts. I sincerely regret Comrade Bandlow's illness and absence, believing were he present both his statement and opinion would be changed in a number of important particulars.

"Since the issue is raised, in order to not deal in particulars, I now present to you, the members of the National Executive Committee in session, copies of the minutes of your April and July meetings and ask you to scan each motion and resolution therein. I will esteem it a favor for you to point out wherein by omission or commission, the National Secretary has disregarded your wishes on any subject.

"Recurring now to Comrade Bandlow's letter and its several subjects, I shall take them up in detail. Comrade Bandlow says: 'The attitude of the National Secretary in anticipating the action of the Wisconsin comrades relative to applying for a charter, necessitated by a referendum vote.' This matter has already been given formal consideration by the National Executive Committee, via the motion of Comrade Mally, submitted to the National Executive Committee September 29, to which I might add that the matter being informally discussed at the July meeting of the National Executive Committee, and the possibility of the endorsement by the referendum of resolution No. 2, of National Party referendum 'A,' the opinions were expressed that in such an event, a charter might be tendered them forthwith. Again I say this was informal.

"Comrade Bandlow says: 'The attitude of the National Secretary annulling the action of the National Committee.' This relates to referendum No. 32, motion No. 34, submitted by the

National Secretary, which motion was in the form of a question for the guidance of the National Secretary as follows:

"Motion.—Who shall be recognized as a member of the National Executive Committee, Comrade Berlyn or Towncr?"

"I wish to state that in the interval between the close of the vote on National Referendum 'A,' September 15th, and the submission of the above motion, October 5th, not less than seven members of the National Committee had visited the National Office, not one of whom, as disclosed by conversation, would, if situated like the National Secretary, assume the authority to decide which comrade should be recognized. It must be borne in mind that this question had to be determined, as the National Secretary is required to frequently address the National Executive Committee. During the current year, four motions were submitted by the National Secretary to the National Committee, each of the same character, asking for instructions for his guidance. The motions were as follows:

"In January by National Secretary Mally: '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?'

"In February, by National Secretary Barnes: 'Shall the vote of the additional members (Ohio and New Jersey) be counted on the pending election for a member of the National Executive Committee?'

"In May: 'Shall Joseph Gilbert, National Committeeman of Utah, as recommended by Utah State Committee, be placed upon the reserve list of National Speakers and Organizers? And the last motion, 34, 'Who shall be recognized as a member of the National Executive Committee, Comrade Berlyn or Towncr?' to which Comrade Bandlow objects; but the National Secretary has no excuse to offer for asking for information.

"Comrade Bandlow says: 'Inquiry should be made as to cause of delay in getting out the leaflet authorized by the National Executive Committee.' A just reason for the delay is set forth in the figures representing the monthly cash balance at the National Office August 1st, in hand, \$30.78; September 1st, \$55.55; October 1st, \$31.98; notwithstanding the financial problems with which the National Secretary daily has to deal, in order to comply with the action of the National Executive Committee in this matter. An order for 100,000 of the 'Weeks Pamphlet' was placed in the latter part of September, later increased to 250,000 and again to 350,000. The contract was accepted by the printer on his faith in the National Office. The total edition is exhausted, and the pamphlets are in the hands of those who ordered them, allowing sufficient time for their proper distribution in states most needing them for election purposes.

"Comrade Bandlow says: 'Why call for essays under the competitive prize contest has not been issued?' Comrade Bandlow has evidently overlooked the fact that these instructions which were given at the session of the National Executive Committee, July 21-22, were carried into effect in the issue of the monthly bulletin for July, wherein appears under the heading 'A Call for the Submission by Party Members of Prize Essays,' a half column explanation of all the details associated with the prize essay proposition. A more extended notice was not given simply because each month a quantity of matter hoped to be included in the shape of advertising or matter relating to such a question as the above mentioned call, are crowded out by lack of space.

"Comrade Bandlow says: 'Reasons should be given why the monthly bulletins do not reach organizations in time to be of practical use.' Comrade Bandlow's objections are directed to the wrong point of the compass. The National Secretary is not responsible for their distribution after they leave this office. The records in the office will attest the fact that the bulletins for the last three months have been shipped from this office at an earlier date than ever before. If it is a question why the second class rate has not been secured to enable its delivery direct to the membership, I need only say that the methods prescribed to secure this end as set forth by the action of the National Executive Committee, at its sessions in April and July, were found faulty for the purpose and impracticable. I would refer to my report submitted to the Committee at this session on this subject.

"Comrade Bandlow says: 'The attitude of the National Secretary in casting aspersions upon former associates in the National Office under charge of the National Secretary by insinuating that Comrades O'Neal and Capps may have tampered with the records in their custody, which accusation should be thoroughly investigated and the facts made public.' The National Secretary joins Comrade Bandlow in his desires in this matter, if it meets the approval of the National Executive Committee.

"Relating to an inquiry on the reported omission from the minutes of the July meeting of the National Executive Committee, the National Secretary reported the following: 'That Comrade Charles R. Martin left the National Office by request at the end of July; that Comrade James O'Neal acted as secretary to the National Executive Committee, assisted by Comrade Bertha Capps, stenographer; that Comrades

(Continued in Supplement.)

Correspondence of the National Executive Committee

National Headquarters Socialist Party.  
CHICAGO, ILL., Oct. 5, 1905.  
TO THE NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

DEAR COMRADES—I herewith report the action taken by the National Executive Committee on the following proposition submitted under date of September 6:

"I am in receipt of letters from H. C. Tuck, Secretary of the State Committee of California, and J. K. Edmiston, Lena Morrow Lewis and Austin Lewis, National Committee members of California, all to the same effect, as follows:

"Asking that Comrade J. B. Osborne, State Organizer of California, be employed and directed by the National Executive Committee, during the present campaign, and that he be assigned work in San Francisco and Sacramento.

"The reasons given therefore are: First, the importance of the campaign at these points, and, secondly, the expenses incident to a campaign of such character as they desire to see made, and deem necessary, cannot be solely borne by the State Committee, and they are unable to work in San Francisco and Sacramento in this direction for the State of California.

"The question, therefore, is: Shall the request of the California organization be complied with?"

BANDLAW'S LETTER.

"In reply to your query concerning placing of Comrade J. B. Osborne in California as per request of the organization there, I vote No.

"The means at hand, in my estimation, will not warrant such undertaking and other states, where campaigns of equal importance are on, could ask that they be likewise favored. State organizations should be made to realize that campaign work in their respective territories should be carried on with means secured in their confines."

MAILLY'S LETTER.

"I find that I have not acted on your circular letter of the 6th inst. relative to Comrade Osborne being assigned to work in San Francisco and Sacramento. I am willing that this be done for the campaign, although, as a usual thing, it is not advisable to make special assignments for local places. However, the State Secretary and National Committee should be good judges of what is needed in the places specified, and California has not heretofore received the assistance from the National office which its relative importance justifies. I presume, of course, that the request by State Secretary Tuck is made by instructions of the State Committee, calling for the opinions expressed above. I would ask that in making report of the action of the National Executive Committee upon this matter that my reasons for assenting be given. I trust that this action is not taken too late to be of service."

SLOBODIN'S LETTER.

"As I understand no other arrangements having been made by the National office for propaganda on the Pacific, I am in favor of granting request of California regarding Comrade Osborne."

WORK'S LETTER.

"I am in favor of granting the California request if funds will permit; otherwise, not."

There was no expression on the subject by Comrades Beryln, Reynolds and Towner.

In keeping with the opinions expressed above, the National office has assumed the responsibility of the employment of Comrade Osborne, at the usual rate for National Organizers—\$3.00 per day—for one month, October 7 to November 6.

The State Secretary of California has been so notified, and is to be assigned work in the cities mentioned.

CHICAGO, ILL., Oct. 6, 1905.  
TO THE NATIONAL COMMITTEE, SOCIALIST PARTY.

COMRADES—Herewith is submitted a letter by Comrade Mailly, member of the National Executive Committee:

TOLEDO, O., Oct. 3, 1905.

To J. Mahlon Barnes, National Secretary, Chicago, Ill.:

"DEAR COMRADE—Kindly submit the following to the National Committee in your next report:

"I desire only to say in reply to National Secretary Barnes' defense of his action in sending a charter to Wisconsin without the authority and in distinct violation of the party referendum, which declared that the Wisconsin organization apply for a charter, that as an official of the party entrusted with the task of securing observance of the party law and mandates, there was no other course left to follow but to protest against such violation. In this case the violation is aggravated by the fact that ample time had elapsed in the eleven days intervening from the time the referendum closed, and Comrade Barnes, acting for him, to have consulted the National Executive Committee upon the course he should take.

"It is upon this ground that I protest, and the deceptive and stereotyped cry of 'red tape' and 'quibbling' does not obscure the facts here stated. In the long run it is better to respect the party law and mandates to the letter, even though some delay be encountered, although this was not true in this case than to permit an individual the power to abrogate, or evade, or misconstrue the laws or mandates upon any excuse whatever. The popular thing to do is not always the right thing to do.

"This is all I wish to say on the subject, irrespective of what action may be taken on my motion, which the developments have somewhat anticipated.

Fraternally yours,

(Signed) WILLIAM MAILLY,  
Member N. E. C."

CHICAGO, ILL., Oct. 11, 1905.  
TO THE NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE, SOCIALIST PARTY:

DEAR COMRADES—I herewith report the action taken by your committee on the matter submitted under date of August 31, as follows:

"DEAR COMRADES—I herewith transmit to you a letter from L. W. Lowry, National Committeeman of Arkansas, which letter is self-explanatory:

"It having come to the knowledge of the writer that a communication concerning the National office was placed before the National Executive Committee, at its session, July 21-22, 1905, by either Comrades Charles Martin, or O'Neal, or both, and the same not appearing in the minutes of the meeting as sent to the writer, and I presume other members of the National Committee, I would ask that you call the attention of the National Executive Committee to referendum No. 9, motion No. 17, 1904, with a view of having them make explanation of the National Committee why the communication above referred to was not transmitted to them.

"I would further request that a copy of this letter be placed before each member of the National Committee, together with the explanation of the Executive Committee."

Yours truly,

L. W. LOWRY,  
National Committeeman, Arkansas.

MOTION NO. 17, 1904, BY LOWRY, OF ARKANSAS, ADOPTED.

"That no portion of the record of any meeting of the quorum (National Executive Committee), or Executive Committee meeting shall be changed, altered or expunged."

Bandlow (Ohio)—"In reply to your communication, a letter of Comrade Lowry, Committeeman from Arkansas, I can only say that the motion he refers to, No. 17, is mandatory and should be complied with until revoked. As a member of the National Executive Committee, I regret

that the incident referred to has occurred. I have no excuse to offer in agreeing to the withholding of Comrade O'Neal's statement, except that in my estimation it did not contain evidence that would have permitted the National Executive Committee to proceed, and the National Constitution and the rules of the National Committee, as I understand them, do not empower the National Executive Committee to become a trial board for complaints. It evidently was a mistake to cut out Comrade O'Neal's statement, but it would be a greater error to withhold its publication. So I wish to be recorded as favoring Lowry's demand. If we must have our personal bickerings aired, let us absorb the time we might devote to battle against capitalism in heralding to the world that our differences of opinion must first be overcome. Apres nous le deluge."

Mally (Ohio)—"Acting upon your circular letter of the 31st ult., containing the request of National Committeeman Lowry of Arkansas, relative to the exclusion of certain matter from the minutes of the last National Executive Committee meeting, I would reply:

"As one member of the National Executive Committee present at the meeting, I am perfectly aware that the exclusion of said matter from the records was in conflict with the ruling of the National Committee as embodied in Referendum No. 9, Motion No. 17, 1904, and as a member I am partly responsible for the omission. I would say, however, that before the meeting adjourned, I called attention to the ruling of the National Committee, as shown by Comrade Lowry's motion, but the consensus of opinion of the other members seemed to be that it was not necessary such record be made and by no means insisting upon record as acquiesced in the prevailing opinion.

"This is all the explanation it appears to me I can make upon the matter."

Slobodin (New York)—"Comrade Lowry does not surely think that he is the National Executive Committee? If he desired an explanation from the N. E. C., it is in his place to make a motion to the N. E. C. to that effect. If such motion is carried, the N. E. C. will act. In the meanwhile Comrade Lowry's inquiry may remain unanswered by the N. E. C., which does not preclude the National Secretary to give him such explanations as he may desire to give."

Work (Louis)—"In reply to your Executive Committee letter of yesterday, containing request of National Committeeman Lowry of Arkansas that an explanation be sent to the National Committee as to the reason why nothing appears in the minutes of the last Executive Committee meeting regarding a certain written statement by Comrade James O'Neal. I am in favor of your informing the National Committee that the matter was, in the opinion of the members of the Executive Committee, a personal difference which did not require any action on the part of the Executive Committee, that the statement of Comrade O'Neal, not formally presented to the Executive Committee, that the Executive Committee did not formally consider it, that the Executive Committee did not take any action upon it, that no part of the minutes of the Executive Committee meeting was changed, altered or expunged, and that Motion No. 17, 1904, concerning the changing, altering or expunging of minutes was not violated. Personal differences should be permitted to die as soon as possible. In the good of the great cause it is the thing that should be kept in mind. The good of the cause does not require the magnifying of personal differences. On the contrary, it requires the minimizing of them. Generally speaking, publicity is good and necessary. I am an advocate of it. But, the Executive Committee would be wrong if it were to permit itself to act as a disseminator of minor differences of opinion on the part of the members of the National office force."

In submitting this report I must inform you that had your action been to the effect that I should not have complied with your wishes. The National Secretary does not act as Recording Secretary at the meeting of the National Executive Committee.

You will remember at the meeting July 21-22, Comrade James O'Neal acted as secretary of the National Executive Committee, assisted by Comrade Bertha Capps, stenographer. You are aware that Comrade Charles R. Martin was to leave the office, by request, at the end of July.

On the afternoon of July 27, Comrades O'Neal and Capps informed me that they would quit the office on July 28. Upon leaving the office on that date, the series of letters and the statements read by Comrade O'Neal in the office on July 22 were not left in my possession, and the stenographer's book containing notes of the National Executive Committee minutes had also disappeared, nor indeed was it returned until after repeated solicitations. It arrived at the office in a registered package on August 5. Under the circumstances I am not assured that it is the original book, or being so, that it has not been altered.

Further, I am informed that Charles R. Martin has sent letters to some members of the National Executive and National Committee from which I quote the following: "A woman was given a place in the National office, and thereafter he frequently refers to her as 'that woman.' The person referred to is Comrade Marguerite Elaherty, who was an employee of the office on my arrival, and for months preceding that time. Comrade Elaherty was laid off at the end of February and re-employed June 26."

Comrade Martin, quoting Comrade O'Neal as authority, further says, "The person referred to is Comrade Marguerite Elaherty, who was the request of another woman whose name is (The National Secretary) feared." In this instance Comrade Mother Jones is referred to whose name I now mention with her knowledge and consent.

There was no expression on the subject received from Comrades Beryln, Reynolds and Towner.

CHICAGO, ILL., Oct. 16, 1905.  
TO THE NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE:

COMRADES—Herewith is submitted a National Executive Committee motion by Comrade Mailly:

MOTION.

"I move that the National office pledge to the New York Comrades the sum of \$250, toward the expenses of this campaign, and that the National Secretary call for special contributions from the party at large for the same purpose."

LETTER OF COMRADE MAILLY.

TOLEDO, Ohio, Oct. 14, 1905.

J. MAHLON BARNES, National Secretary, Chicago, Ill.:

DEAR COMRADE—The extraordinary situation confronting our party in New York justifies, in my judgment, some special action on the part of the National organization. The decision of the Court of Appeals requiring the use of the name 'Socialist' instead of 'Social Democratic' will necessitate the expenditure of thousands of dollars for new literature and advertising; the contest being instituted by the Socialist Labor Party against the use by us of the name 'Socialist'; the nomination of a 'Municipal Ownership League' ticket, with so-called socialists as principal candidates—all this presents a situation which warrants some action that will assist the New York Comrades to fight their battle with vigor and determination. It is the duty of the National Organization to take the place of the National Executive Committee as now embarrassed our New York Comrades, and more especially as that city is the center of the

ACTION OF THE NATIONAL COMMITTEE ON REFERENDUMS.

(Continued from page 1.)

municipal program, I think the comrades in various cities and municipalities are the best qualified to meet whatever questions may arise within the limits prescribed by the National Platform. We should not rule from the top, but allow home rule without compromise or fusion."

Walker (Kansas)—"We may not at present meet them on their own wheels, but we must build for the future, and the future may force itself upon us more rapidly than some contemplate. If this motion were adopted it would practically nullify the whole work of the Committee on State and Municipal Program. Therefore I vote 'NO.'"

CHICAGO, ILL., Oct. 21, 1905.

To the National Committee, Socialist Party: Comrades—Herewith is submitted report of the action of your committee on referendum No. 32, motion No. 34, by the National Secretary:

MOTION 34.

"Who shall be recognized as a member of the National Executive Committee, Comrades Berger or Towner?"

VOTING FOR BERGER.

- Alabama—LaRue.
- Colorado—Woodsie, Floaten.
- Idaho—Bligg.
- Illinois—Stedman, Simons.
- Indiana—Reynolds, Kelley.
- Iowa—Work.
- Kansas—McAllister.
- Massachusetts—Gibbs.
- Michigan—Lamb.
- Minnesota—Holman, Peach.
- Missouri—Behrens, Hoehn.
- New Jersey—Headley.
- New York—Lampman.
- Oregon—Hamp.
- Pennsylvania—Wanhope.
- South Dakota—Lovett.
- Vermont—Sullivan.
- Wisconsin—Thompson.
- Wyoming—Hastings.
- Total—24.

VOTING FOR TOWNER.

- Arizona—Barnette.
- California—Austin Lewis.
- Connecticut—White.
- Illinois—Bligg.
- Kansas—Brewer.
- Massachusetts—Wentworth.
- Montana—McHugh.
- New Jersey—Kearns.
- New York—Spargo.
- Rhode Island—Floyd.
- Total—10.

NOT VOTING.

- Arkansas—Lowry.
- California—Lena M. Lewis, Edmiston.
- Florida—Headley.
- Iowa—Jacobs.
- Kentucky—Towner.
- Louisiana—Putnam.
- Maine—Fox.
- Nebraska—Ray.
- New York—Hilquitt, Hanford.
- Ohio—Bandlow.
- Oklahoma—Maschke.
- Pennsylvania—Slayton.
- Texas—Farmer.
- Utah—Gilbert.
- Washington—Lund, Kennedy.
- West Virginia—Zimmerman.
- Wisconsin—Berger.
- Total—20.

Comrade Berger will therefore be recognized as a member of the National Executive Committee.

The National Committeeman of New Hampshire was not entitled to vote on this motion. The vote of Edmiston of California was received too late to be counted.

COMMENT.

LaRue (Alabama)—"I vote for Berger for the reason that regard the National referendum on the Crestline resolution to nullify the action of the National Committee in removing Berger and electing Towner to his place. The action of the National Committee in removing Berger and electing Towner evidently did not meet with the approval of the party membership and the defeat of the Crestline resolution left the whole matter just as it was before the National Committee ever removed Berger. The party membership having rejected the removal of Berger, Berger must be recognized as the rightful holder of that office. I sincerely trust that, in the event of these pending questions, the party may be given an opportunity to get down to work for socialism. The situation in Wisconsin and Minnesota and the national questions hanging upon them, have occupied the center of the stage for months, and they are doing so at the expense of the general activity of propaganda. I must confess that my own ardor, which is not easily dampened, has been materially lessened by the general strife. Even some of our propaganda papers have given themselves up almost entirely to the discussion of such matters, and have impressed the party with a feeling of internal dissension that with the justice of our political demands."

Floaten (Colorado)—"In voting on your question submitted to the National Committee, as motion No. 34, I desire to say that the expressed will of a majority of the members of the Socialist party is the supreme authority of the party. If the majority of the membership have the right and authority to ignore the constitution, that is revolutionary. To deny the majority this right would be to deny the right of revolution, which must be conceded to the party. If the majority of the United States should vote the Socialists into power, does any Socialist think we would wait for a constitutional majority before we changed, or set aside the constitution? I think not. While I voted against Berger and for Towner, I have been overruled by the supreme authority, and therefore yield absolutely to its decision, while I may reserve the right to my individual opinion. There is no other way for the secretary to do than to obey the will of the majority, regardless of what the National Committee may think. We are revolutionists, but not anarchists; therefore, servants must heed the supreme authority."

Beryln (Illinois)—"The constitution gives the National Committee the power to elect the members of the N. E. C. It would be better if they were elected by a referendum of the party. But this requires a change in constitution."

Reynolds (Indiana)—"The Crestline resolution did not unseat Comrade Berger. The vote was in proper form and, as our constitution now is, was the only proper way of dealing with Comrade Berger's position, and the rank and file may be depended upon in our movement to do right in the end. In working Iowa, if I am unable to construe the vote of the membership otherwise than that it nullifies the action of the National Committee in vacating and refilling the place on the Executive Committee with the same persons that it had before those actions were taken."

McAllister (Kansas)—"The Berger case, which is simply a persecution of one of the most ardent advocates and staunchest supporters of socialist principles, has cost the Socialists of the United States many hundred dollars and much earnest discussion, and I believe, while an injustice was done Comrade Berger, there is in my conservative and less hasty action in the future by both the members of the National Committee and the membership at large. As an evidence of this note the result of vote on referendum No. 29, motion No. 31-33 for 16 against 36, where I was unable to interfere in Wisconsin, and I consider the Berger case settled by the National party referendum on the Crestline resolution. I therefore vote in favor of Comrade Berger's

recognition as a member of the National Executive Committee."

Fox (Maine)—"I decline to vote on this motion. The referendum vote supercedes the action of the National Committee and re-seat Comrade Berger as a member of the National Executive Committee. My vote as a committeeman is therefore superfluous. Motion No. 34 is, therefore, a mere expression of opinion of the National Committee. Under present conditions it is useless to vote for Towner. As far as Berger is concerned, my recent tour of several weeks through the Socialist movement in Chicago, Milwaukee, Toledo, Cleveland, New York and Boston confirms my position of unalterable opposition to compromise and the act committed by Berger. Under present conditions I will not vote for Berger. Until Comrade Berger is willing to admit publicly that he has made a mistake I am forced to consider his presence on the National Executive Board as a menace to the integrity of the Socialist party."

Holman (Minnesota)—"I vote on this motion simply because the National Secretary wishes an expression of the National Committee, but consider the motion unnecessary. The referendum is the highest authority in our party, and any action by the National Committee contrary to expression of the rank and file would be an unwarranted assumption. Comrade Berger is now a member of the National Executive Committee, and no action of the National Committee can alter the fact."

Headley (New Jersey)—"I vote to recognize Comrade Victor L. Berger as a member of the National Executive Committee, for the reason that the members of our party have decided, by a majority of the vote cast, on the recent referendum, that he is entitled to his seat on that committee. We are Socialists, and our duty in this matter is very plain."

Kearns (New Jersey)—"I wish to say in relation to referendum No. 32, motion No. 34, that I voted against the unseating of Berger as a shameful outrage on Wisconsin, after directing that she conduct the investigation and punish the guilty. The majority, however, having deposed him, thereby created a vacancy. I voted for the election of Towner and see no reason for removing him."

Spargo (New York)—"I vote upon this motion under protest. In my judgment the National Secretary had not the slightest right to submit it."

Hilquitt (New York)—"I herewith return ballot of referendum No. 32, motion No. 34. I must decline to vote on the same, as I believe it is wholly unauthorized and improper. I have always considered the removal of Comrade Berger from the National Executive Committee as unwise and unjust. I have voted against the motion to remove him, and I have voted for his reinstatement after his removal. Should a vacancy now occur in the National Executive Committee, e. g. by the resignation or removal of Comrade Towner, and should Comrade Berger be a candidate for election to fill such vacancy, I would vote for him, and I would again. But, as it stands, I can see no occasion or justification for the motion of the National Secretary. Whether Comrade Berger's recall was wise or unwise, just or unjust, it certainly was within the province of the National Committee, and legal and authorized in all respects. The election of Comrade Towner was had in conformity with the provisions of our constitution and was likewise legal. Comrade Towner is today just as unquestionably a member of the National Executive Committee as any other member of the committee. Of course, all acts of the National Committee are subject to revision by the membership at large. Had the membership of the party adopted a resolution in express terms rescinding the acts of the National Committee and directing the reinstatement of Comrade Berger, Berger would have to be reinstated without any further formality. But, as it was, the Crestline resolution called for the removal of Victor L. Berger by the membership at large. The call was issued and voted upon after Berger had already been constitutionally removed from the National Committee, and the membership merely voted against the Crestline resolution. The result of that vote to my mind can only be given the force of an abstract expression of the sentiment of the party membership on the point involved. It may be well for the National Committee to conform to even such an abstract expression of the sentiment of the party membership. Socialist ethics and propriety may require Comrade Towner to resign under the present circumstances, or it may be expedient to remove him from office in order to enable the National Committee to comply with the wishes of the party. But, as long as this has not been done, the election of Towner remains unrevoked and valid, and it is not within the power of the National Secretary, with or without the consent of the National Committee, to recognize anyone else in his place. In taking this position I do not stick to mere technicalities or formalities. I believe that the National Committee should transact its business with due regard to the constitution of our party and to general rules of propriety. I do not think that an action legally taken by the National Committee and not in terms rescinded should be set aside. I should be set aside with the contemptuous remark 'that it is merely the act of a few ambitious officials,' as Comrade Thompson does in his last communication in connection with this matter."

Bandlow (Ohio)—Note: Comrade Bandlow voted to protest and protested against the submission of the motion and demanded its recall. His comment was reported under date of October 9.

Sullivan (Vermont)—"In recording my vote for Berger as member of the National Executive Committee, I do not approve of his tactics, but am simply obeying the decision of the party membership, which it is the duty of all to obey."

Thompson (Wisconsin)—Note: Comment was reported by request under date of October 9.

Headley (New Jersey)—"Comment is wholly unnecessary, as the national referendum has plainly told the N. E. C. members what the membership wants, and we must abide by it."

Fraternally submitted,

J. MAHLON BARNES,  
National Secretary.

NATIONAL COMMITTEE REFERENDUMS SUBMITTED.

(Continued from page 1.)

tee; that the question of who shall be the state officers and what locals shall be expelled is certain question of the state committee of the National Committee, until proof is furnished that the National Secretary should recognize that Secretary and Committeeman of the organization which sends in the reports and dues paid by the local refused to discipline such local, then the National Committee will act, as that implies a violation of the National Constitution, and denies the class struggle."

COMMENT ON ABOVE MOTIONS.

Simons (Illinois)—"I refuse to vote on this question, and protest against its submission. If left alone, would have been confined to one locality until settled by those most competent to settle it."

Gibbs (Massachusetts)—"Out of the mass of statements which I have received from both sides of the Minnesota controversy I am following facts. That the organization headed by Nash and Holman has been supported by a state referendum of 10 to 1, a detailed vote of all the locals being given. We are also told that Local Minneapolis has been reorganized and its numerical strength given. These statements, supported by figures, bear upon their face the stamp of honesty. By the other side we are told that Nash and Holman have been expelled, but there is no statement as to the

Resolutions of the State Committee of Washington

"WHEREAS, The Socialist Party, by National referendum of the whole membership, adopted a resolution by majority vote declaring that 'The Social Democratic Party of the State of Wisconsin be debarred from all participation in National affairs of the Socialist Party until such time as they apply for and accept a charter under the same conditions as all other states have accepted, and that they comply with the same conditions as all the other states,' and

"WHEREAS, National Secretary Barnes, under date of Sept. 26, 1905, placed his personal interpretation upon the said action of the National membership, and without consultation with the National Committee or National Executive Committee; and without instructions or authority of any kind, offered and sent to the State Secretary of Wisconsin, E. H. Thomas, a state charter, with the request that same be accepted by the State Executive Committee of the Social Democratic party of Wisconsin.

"WHEREAS, Under the rules of the National Committee covering the granting of charters to state organizations, no charter should have been sent or offered to the state organization of Wisconsin until application for the same has been made in regular form by that state organization and in accordance with the action taken by the referendum of the National party membership, by the following:

"Resolved, By the State Committee of the Socialist Party of Washington, a regularly affiliated part of the National Socialist Party, that we declare said action of National Secretary Barnes as a violation of the letter and spirit of the above quoted resolution as adopted by the party membership, and as contrary to his duties as the executive of the party, whose function it is not to interpret the laws but to carry them out as they are interpreted by the National Committee or the National Executive Committee, be it also

"Resolved, That this State Committee, believing by so doing that it represents the will of the party membership in this state as expressed in the National Referendum, do hereby enter its solemn protest against this violation by National Secretary Barnes of the expressed will of the majority of the party membership; further be it also

"Resolved, That we consider the National Committee justified in refusing to recognize the act of Comrade Barnes as legal or binding and as not in keeping with the National Executive Committee, and we hereby request the National Committeeman from this state to go on record accordingly, by a motion to that effect, be it,

"Resolved, Also, that we consider such acts as this one of Comrade Barnes' as dangerous to the democratic practice and spirit of the Socialist movement and as exhibiting a tendency of peril to the party itself, and one which should be immediately checked, be it also

"Resolved, That this State Committee of the State of Washington, calls upon the State Committees or organization of other states, to also protest against this grievous violation of the party's mandate, and we also call upon the National Executive Committee or National Committee to place itself or themselves on record as opposed to the extraordinary exercise of authority manifested by National Secretary in this instance; further be it,

"Resolved, That the locals of the State of Washington be requested to express their views upon and register their protests against this action of National Secretary Barnes; further be it,

"Resolved, That the Secretary of this State Committee be hereby instructed to forward a copy of this resolution to National Secretary Barnes for transmission to the National Committee and National Executive Committee, and copies to the respective State Committees and organizations, and copies to the Socialist Press."

Voting: YES—Allison, Davis, Croston, Gatchell, Herman, Holloway, Jones, Lohrentz, Ristine, Robbins, Roeder, Smith and Wagenknecht.

Voting NO—Tamblyn.

Not Voting—W. H. Cook.

vote expelling them. We are told that Mrs. Hanson has been elected State Secretary, but there is no statement as to who or by what vote she was elected. We are told that Van Lear-Lucas has been elected National Committeeman, but there is no statement as to the locals participating, or the vote by which he was elected. These statements bear upon their face the stamp of dishonesty. Why this concealment of actual figures? It takes nothing more than bold assertions and a letter head to convince me that the organization really exists. I am, therefore, forced to the conclusion that this rival organization is but a small faction, which is afraid or ashamed to have its numerical strength known, and is trying to make up in insubstantial what it lacks in numbers. It is backed by forces outside of Minnesota, and that its real object is to create if possible an intolerable situation and then use this as an excuse to embarrass the National office and compel the National Committee to violate the National Constitution by sharing with a state organization, and that it vote against both these motions in order to express my disapproval of these disreputable tactics."

Lamb (Michigan)—"J. E. Nash and S. M. Shuman are regularly elected officials, duly credited and without protest against the National Committee. They can only be deposed by the Socialist party of Minnesota in regular order. The National Committee cannot undo the action of the Minnesota membership upon the demand of what is admittedly a regular faction, and the regular organization is entitled to the benefit of all doubts. For the National Committee to recognize the Van Lear-Lucas-Hanson faction would be to invite disruption in a dozen states. The National Committee should 'stand pat' for regularity, and not be so quick to encourage disruptionists to action."

Peach (Minnesota)—"In regard to referendum 33, motion 35, of Comrade C. C. McHugh, the question as to who is Secretary of the state of Minnesota was decided by the referendum vote of the rank and file of the state—335 to 36. For the National of their jurisdiction by the National Constitution, article 2, section 4, and article 12, Committee to vote questions placed outside section 4, is idle."

Thompson (Wisconsin)—"Motion 35, by McHugh, of Montana, and 36, by White, of Connecticut, are the most vicious motions that have ever been submitted to the National Committee. This is the action proposed by Mailly in his circular of Sept. 16. I called your attention to this in my letter to you under date of October 6. Please re-read my comments there. These comrades propose to have us, a National Committee, violate the clearest and most explicit provisions of our National Constitution. They want us to assent the state organization of Minnesota and drive their officials out of office—officials whom the membership of the party in that state have chosen by almost unanimous vote, who have served them faithfully and with entire satisfaction for years, and whom the party membership has sustained in this very matter by a referendum vote so nearly unanimous that only forty-seven votes were found in the entire state against them. For us to take such action as this would be nothing less than treason. Comrades, are we to obey the constitution or not? Are we to respect the will of the party and the membership as expressed in the referendum or not?"

The National office has been notified by the State Secretary that the State Executive Committee of Wisconsin has transmitted to the National Executive Committee, National Committee and press a statement on the matter submitted by Comrade E. H. Thomas White. A copy has been sent to the National office, with the request that it be placed on file.

Motion No. 35, by Comrade Bandlow, sub-

(Continued in Supplement.)

# SUPPLEMENT OF THE SOCIALIST PARTY OFFICIAL BULLETIN

Vol. II. No. 2

CHICAGO, OCTOBER, 1905

Monthly

## NATIONAL NOTES

A total of 600,000 pamphlets containing Rufus W. Weeks' address has been printed. On orders about 400,000 have already been shipped from the national office. The price to State committees is 50 cents per thousand in lots of 10,000 and cost of shipment. To local or individuals, \$1.50 per thousand, delivery free. Cash must accompany all orders.

Comrade Ernest Untermann, who by reason of illness had to abandon an extensive lecture tour, is reported to be recovering.

George G. Cutting, acting State Secretary, has been elected to that position by a recent referendum vote, being as follows: Cutting, 348; Irish, 12; Roberts, 196.

A special assessment is being collected from each party member in the State of Washington to liquidate the State debt.

Canadian police do not like Socialists. The following is taken from the Daily News-Advertiser, Vancouver, British Columbia, Saturday, October 7, 1905:

"The eloquence of Mr. Arthur Morrow Lewis, a Socialist orator from San Francisco, attracted so large a crowd at the corner of Abbott and Cordova streets last evening that Officers Deftford and Hartney came along and told the speaker to move on. Mr. Lewis refused to budge, and the officers placed him under arrest and took him to the police station, where he remained in goal for about three hours, after which he was allowed out on \$200 bail, on two sureties, and \$200 on his own recognizance."

State Secretary Atwood, of South Dakota, writes: "Adopting a color of ballot is required by the primary law here, and the G. O. P. has taken white, we (the Socialists) will take red, and the D. O. P. may have blue, to complete the patriotic tri-color and express their feelings as they are gradually eliminated."

Relating to G. E. Baird, the Kansas City (Mo.) local submits the following: "Resolved, That he be and hereby is expelled from the Kansas City Socialist Club, and that his name be stricken from its records, and that this action be posted to all the clubs throughout the State, and to the State and National offices of the party."

The preamble to this resolution sets forth that Baird had misappropriated the funds of the club, and "been guilty of misdeeds which stamp him as an unfit associate for Socialists, and which misdeeds may cause his incarceration in prison."

A convention of the Oklahoma and Indian Territorial organization will be held in the latter part of December.

C. L. Spiegel has resigned as State Secretary of Utah, and H. P. Burt, 1510 Indiana avenue, is now acting as temporary secretary.

The State Secretary, Cornelius T. Woods, and Organizer George A. Sweetland, of Connecticut, report under date of October 23d that their State vote on referendum "A," 1905, was mailed September 12th, the vote being on the first resolution: 105, YES; 96, NO; on second resolution: 125, YES; 70, NO. This vote was not received at the national office. Had it been received it would not have changed the general result. On the first resolution it would have reduced by nine the negative vote by which it was lost. On the second resolution, it would have increased by 55 the affirmative vote by which it was carried.

The State Committee of Kentucky is distributing thousands of circulars entitled "SHALL WE BE DISFRAN-

CHISED?" relating to the constitutional amendment which provides for a return to the viva voce system of voting.

On November 7th individual ballots for voting and blanks for reporting votes cast will be sent out from the national office relating to referendum of the whole party membership on the amendments to the constitution proposed by Local Des Moines, Ia. This will be known as "National Party Referendum 'B,' 1905." State Secretaries, Secretaries in unorganized States or members at large should notify this office if they fail to receive them in a reasonable time.

### Dates Filled by National Lecturers and Organizers During October.

Geo. E. Bigelow—Oct. 19, Elkhart, Ind.; 20, Goshen; 21, en route; 22-23, Coldwater, Mich.; 24, Jonesville; 25, Hillsdale; 26, en route; 27, Albion; 28, Marshall; 29, Battle Creek; 30, Kalamazoo; 31, Dowagiac.

James H. Brower—Oct. 11, Fostoria, O.; 12, Kenton; 13, Harbor; 14-15, Niagara Falls, N. Y.; 16-22, Rochester; 23, Geneva; 24, Syracuse; 25, Watertown; 26, Rome; 27, Utica; 28, Ithaca; 29, Jamestown; 30-31, Bradford, Pa.

E. E. Carr—Oct. 24-25, Parkersburg, W. Va.; 26, Cumberland, Md.; 27, Vale Summit; 28, Hagerstown; 29-31, Vale Summit.

John Collins—During October in New York City and State under the directions of the City and State committees.

J. L. Pitts—Oct. 23, Paducah, Ky.; 24, Boaz; 25, Princeton; 26, Nortonville; 27, Central City; 28, Glendale; 29, Nashville, Tenn.; 30, Creston; 31, Rockwood.

Geo. H. Goebel—Oct. 1, Aberdeen, S. D.; 2, Randell; 3, Warner; 4, Highmore; 5, Pierre; 6-9, en route; 10-11, Rapid City; 12, Sturgis; 13, Belle Fourche; 14, Deadwood; 15-22, Black Hills; 23, en route; 24-25, Hot Springs; 26-27, en route; 28, Sioux City, Ia.; 29, Sheldon; 30, Rock Rapids; 31, Luverne, Minn.

Guy E. Miller—Oct. 1-2, Crestline, O.; 3, Sandusky; 4, Elyria; 5, Cleveland; 6, Akron; 7, Barberton; 8, Wadsworth; 9, Coshocton; 10, Uhrichsville; 11, Allegheny, Md.; 12, Lanaconing; 13, Hagerstown; 14, Sharpsburg; 15, Baltimore; 16, Philadelphia, Pa.; 17-20, Newark, N. J.; 21, New York City; 22, Northampton, Mass.; 23, en route; 24, North Adams; 25, Springfield; 26, Ware; 27, Worcester; 28, Fitchburg; 29, Malden and Leominster; 30, Clinton; 31, Brockton.

J. B. Osborn—From Oct. 7 to the end of the month in California under the directions of State Secretary Tuck.

John W. Slayton—Oct. 1, en route; 2, Cheyenne, Wyo.; 3, Sterling, Col.; 4-5, Denver; 6-7, en route; 8, Oakland, Cal.; 9, San Francisco; 10-11, Vallejo; 12-13, Colony City; 14-15, Portersville; 16, en route; 17, Los Angeles; 18, Hemet; 19, Auld; 20-21, Riverside; 22, Los Angeles; 23-24, San Diego; 25, en route; 26, San Francisco; 27-28, Angels Camp; 29-30, Sacramento; 31, Fair Oaks. The dates in California were arranged by State Secretary Tuck.

M. W. Wilkins—Till Oct. 5 in Vermont, and the rest of the month in New York State and city under the direction of the respective committees.

John M. Work—Oct. 1, Flint, Mich.; 2-5, Detroit; 6-8, Toledo, O.; 9, Sandusky; 10, Mansfield; 11, Cuyahoga Falls; 12, Toronto; 13-14, Zanesville; 15, Coshocton; 16, Newark; 17-18, Crooksville; 19-21, Huntington, W. Va.; 22, Ironton, O.; 23, Portsmouth; 24, Xenia; 25, en route; 26-27, Chicago, Ill.; N. E. C. meeting; 28, Hamilton, O.; 29, Cincinnati; 30, Springfield; 31, Lima.

## National Secretary's Financial Report for Month of October, 1905.

National Headquarters, Socialist Party, Chicago, Ill., Oct. 31, 1905.

### RECEIPTS.

National Dues from State Committees.	
Arkansas	\$ 6.00
California	75.00
Colorado	20.00
Florida	5.00
Idaho	15.00
Illinois	142.50
Indiana	20.00
Iowa	20.00
Kansas	5.00
Louisiana	7.00
Maine	10.00
Massachusetts	105.00
Michigan	25.00
Minnesota	50.00
Missouri	35.00
Montana	25.00
New Hampshire	17.85
New Jersey	50.00
New York	150.00
Ohio	130.00
Oklahoma	25.00
Oregon	20.00
Pennsylvania	175.00
Rhode Island	5.00
South Dakota	5.80
Texas	25.60
Vermont	3.50
Washington	47.85
West Virginia	7.00
Wyoming	10.00
<b>Total</b>	<b>\$1,238.10</b>

Unorganized States:	
Washington, D. C.	\$ 5.00
Georgia	7.00
Maryland	11.00
Nevada	1.00
New Mexico	5.00
Tennessee	10.90
Members at large	2.60
<b>Total for dues</b>	<b>\$1,280.60</b>
Supplies	74.90
Literature	174.73
Buttons	76.15
Perpetual campaign coupons	14.00
Agitation fund	154.75
New York contest fund	2.00
<b>Total receipts</b>	<b>\$1,777.13</b>

### EXPENDITURES.

Exchange	\$ 1.38
General expense	9.32
Express and freight	114.66
Postage	154.00
Telegrams	6.67
Wages:	
J. Mahlon Barnes	\$115.38
W. W. Rihl	72.00
Chas. Dress	72.00
E. Baldwin	48.00
M. Flaherty	40.00
F. H. Slick	72.00
I. L. Callmann	17.70
<b>Total</b>	<b>437.08</b>

Printing Bulletin, acct.	125.00
Printing, supplies and literature	265.00
Literature	2.75
Office equipment	2.20
<b>Total</b>	<b>316.17</b>

Speakers:	
W. C. Benton	\$ 10.00
G. E. Bigelow	6.17
J. H. Brower	35.00
Jas. F. Carey	10.00
E. E. Carr	30.00
John Collins	25.00
Geo. H. Goebel	25.00
J. B. Osborn	60.00
J. W. Slayton	60.00
John M. Work	55.00
<b>Total</b>	<b>316.17</b>

National Executive Committee Meeting:	
B. Berlyn	\$ 7.00
Victor L. Berger	9.50
Wm. Maily	26.00
S. M. Reynolds	26.25
John M. Work	29.90
<b>Total</b>	<b>98.65</b>
Rent, October	90.00
Lighting	7.68

G. P. Buttons	36.05
Press clippings, 2 mos.	20.00
Stationery and mimeograph supplies	42.00
<b>Total expenditures</b>	<b>\$1,728.61</b>

### SUMMARY.

Balance on hand Oct. 1st	\$ 31.98
Receipts for month	1,777.13
<b>Total</b>	<b>\$1,809.11</b>
Expenditures for month	1,728.61
Balance on hand Nov. 1, 1905	\$ 80.50

J. MAHLON BARNES,  
National Secretary.

## MINUTES OF NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

(Continued from page 3.)

Oneal and Capps gave the National Secretary a two day's notice and quit the office, July 29th, the day on which the National Executive Committee minutes were published; that a series of letters and the statements read by Comrade Oneal in the office July 22nd, were not left in the possession of the National Secretary; that the stenographer's book containing the notes of the National Executive Committee had also disappeared, the notebook being returned after repeated solicitation, arriving at the office in a registered package on August 5th. Under these circumstances I am not sure that it is the original notebook, or being so, that it has not been altered. This deals with a matter in which Comrade Bandlow seems to have some knowledge.

"Under date of August 10th, before any information was given out from the National Office of the disappearance of the stenographer's book, Comrade Bandlow wrote the following to the National Secretary: 'Without desiring at this time to take the matter up, I wish you would inform me at the earliest opportunity whether you are in possession of the stenographer's notes and whether you can reproduce them should demand be made for their publication?' Why this question? Where else should they be? Under date of August 11th the National Secretary wrote Comrade Bandlow reciting the facts of the disappearance of the book and its return in the registered package Saturday, August 5th, and stated to him, 'under the circumstances I am not sure that it is the original book, or being so, that it has not been altered.' To this date I have not had opportunity to be informed to the contrary. I am quite willing that all matters pertaining to this whole subject shall be published, though it contains a mass of personal matter in nowise connected with the propaganda of Socialism, and I wish to insist that I have made no effort to prevent such publication. This was the part played, it seems to me, by those responsible for the disappearance of the records.

"On this latter subject I reserve the right to make such statement at such time as seems necessary. That much as heretofore handled is trivial in its nature and a thing apart from the real issue. I am satisfied that the severed official relations have prevented practices and curbed tendencies in the National Office which were not for the welfare of the Socialist party or the advancement of its cause.

"In conclusion I wish to say I believe that Comrade Bandlow in his criticism was actuated by no other motive than the welfare of the party, but he has viewed this whole matter from a different angle from the National Secretary. Fraternally submitted,

"J. MAHLON BARNES,  
National Secretary."

Motion by Work.—"That Secretary

**SUPPLEMENT OF THE SOCIALIST PARTY OFFICIAL BULLETIN**

Barnes' statement be made a part of the minutes." Carried.

On motion, at 6 p. m. a recess was take until 8 o'clock.

**EVENING SESSION.**

Meeting called to order by Secretary Barnes 8:05 o'clock, Comrade Berger elected chairman.

**Motion by Reynolds.**—"That the reading of the minutes be dispensed with till end of session." Carried.

Secretary Barnes read the statement previously published, drawn by Comrades Reynolds and Slobodin, sub-committee of the National Executive Committee, relating to the respective functions of the National Executive Committee and National Committee.

**Motion by Reynolds.**—"That action be deferred till next meeting of the National Executive Committee." Carried.

**Statement by Mally.**—"The other Executive Committee members present at the July session agree that the matter about which Comrade Lowry inquired was considered informally, and not formally, as I stated in reply to Comrade Lowry's inquiry. My remembrance was as stated, but it appears my memory was at fault and I herewith make acknowledgment accordingly."

**Resolution by Reynolds.**—"Resolved, That the Executive Committee state to the National Committee that 'at the July meeting of the National Executive Committee the committee did not hear, as a committee, any statements by any employes in the National Office. That the committee then and does now express their confidence in the National Secretary and that any insinuations as to the conduct of the office or its employes are baseless.'" Carried.

**Motion by Mally.**—"That the time of the next meeting of the National Executive Committee be decided by correspondence." Carried.

There being no further business, the minutes of the previous and present sessions were read and adopted.

**Motion by Work.**—"That the minutes of the previous and present sessions having been read and adopted by a quorum obviates the necessity of carrying out the resolution of the first session, of submitting the minutes to the absent members for their approval or disapproval by correspondence." Carried.

**Motion by Reynolds.**—"That we now adjourn." Carried.

Meeting adjourned, 9:55 p. m.

CHARLES DREES,  
Secretary.

**NOTE.**—There is no rule or set time for the adoption, by the National Committee, of the actions of the National Executive Committee.

The practice has been, that such parts not effected by a motion or amendment at the expiration of twenty-one days from date of publication, were adopted.

**NATIONAL COMMITTEE REFERENDUM SUBMITTED.**

(Continued from page 4.)

mitted as a substitute for the McHugh and White motions.

**MOTION 39.**

"That the National Secretary recognize neither faction in Minnesota until such time when an impartial investigation has demonstrated without a doubt that which of the two organizations is entitled to recognition."

**COMMENT.**

As long as the National Secretary recognizes the Holman-Nash faction under article 12, section 4, with the sentiment apparently prevailing, there is no possibility of securing justice for the comrades in Minneapolis. It must be the aim of the National Committee to eliminate all prejudice from the minds of the members, difficult though the task may be under the circumstances. Denying the Holman-Nash faction the protection under our constitution while Comrade Harriet Hanson claims recognition for her faction will bring about request for investigation from both sides and enable the National Committee to treat the matter in a rational manner."

Fraternally submitted,

J. MAHLON BARNES,  
National Secretary.

**TABULATION OF REPORTS SENT IN BY LOCALS AND BRANCHES BY STATE SECRETARIES FOR MONTH OF SEPTEMBER, 1905.**

STATE	MEMBERSHIP			STAMPS		LITERATURE			MEETINGS			FINANCES		No. Locals rep't'g.
	New.	to d'te.	rears. on roll.	B'ght.	Sold.	B'ght.	Sold.	Free.	Busi-ness.	Others.	Rec'd.	Paid out.	On hand.	
Alabama	38	45	83	7	25	\$7.20	\$1.00	\$5.50	6	3	\$5.65	\$1.20	\$4.30	6
Arizona	19	191	327	521	273	162	5.30	1.50	18	3	118.40	73.30	221.19	12
Arkansas	3	65	102	167	73	60			11	3	32.25	38.25	55.20	9
California	27	1,090	608	1,725	1,534	638	36.58	26.26	39	21	302.99	165.74	108.10	29
Colorado	11	115	157	282	110	150	13.25	27.70	11	10	146.93	146.91	46.42	8
Connecticut														
Florida	3	70	76	146	29	24	.50	.25	3	4	40.19	25.25	17.54	9
Idaho	1	50	61	111	76	78	3.20	3.20	6	2	15.50	28.83	28.31	7
Illinois														
Indiana														
Iowa	18	138	389	560	221	227	9.10	4.00	19	11	90.80	74.40	58.28	15
Kansas	1	150	116	266	59	51	5.25	.50			68.14	49.55	25.57	11
Kentucky														
Louisiana														
Maine	6	68	96	164	119	98	10.55	2.30	21	6	83.31	97.62	47.98	12
Massachusetts	47	426	326	913	759	715	37.05	35.40	99	45	377.20	388.43	420.16	40
Michigan	47	232	297	543	248	181	9.25	3.10	41	26	308.24	187.49	220.75	15
Minnesota	72	209	172	430	270	231	29.30	29.30	15	3	195.31	261.20	189.92	14
Missouri														
Montana	20	202	238	464	273	219	2.00	2.00	33	16	64.70	86.95	97.70	20
Nebraska														
North Dakota														
New Hampshire														
New Jersey														
New York														
Ohio	76	452	395	1,086	668	603	92.85	14.20	49	62	267.66	313.70	144.81	30
Oklahoma		396	449	845	700	381					54.33	54.33		
Oregon	20	327	146	594	400	494	5.00	5.00	78	6	24.70	23.55	43.62	16
Pennsylvania	40	463	1,165	1,527	1,230	771			96	61	258.01	267.62	221.39	37
Rhode Island		4	16	18		20			2	3	5.00		9.20	1
South Dakota		16	5	21	10	10			5	0	12.10	10.35	1.75	2
Texas	6	60	12	79	22	43	16.00	1.00	5	3	47.80	19.30		5
Utah														
Vermont														
Washington	36	524	732	1,250	554	481	54.75	36.57	49	23	114.31	117.39	136.94	38
West Virginia														
Wisconsin														
Wyoming	45	98	32	130	109	39	1.00		6		36.70	26.00	13.55	5

**TABULATION OF REPORTS SENT IN BY LOCALS AND BRANCHES IN UNORGANIZED STATES AND TERRITORIES FOR MONTH OF SEPTEMBER, 1905.**

STATE	MEMBERSHIP			STAMPS		LITERATURE			MEETINGS			FINANCES		No. Locals rep't'g.
	New.	to d'te.	rears. on roll.	B'ght.	Sold.	B'ght.	Sold.	Free.	Busi-ness.	Others.	Rec'd.	Paid out.	On hand.	
Dist. of Columbia	5	39	23	62	50	62		\$1.60	2	2	\$52.70	\$56.63	\$30.29	1
Maryland	5	24		190			10.00		6	19				2
Mississippi		6	8	14	40	40			1		4.00	4.00		1
Nevada		10		10	10	38	5.50	5.50			5.50	2.50	5.05	1
New Mexico		32	24	70			10.27					21.27	53.43	1
Tennessee	6	34	38	90	63	45	7.75		4	1	20.75	11.50	7.10	4
Virginia	2	7	4	31		6			4		21.37	19.25	2.12	1

**CORRESPONDENCE OF NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.**

(Continued from page 4.)

most important municipal contest now being conducted on the continent. For these reasons, as a member of the National Executive Committee. (See motion above).

In order to get immediate action on this motion by the National Executive Committee I would ask that the National Secretary submit same at once with the stipulation that the vote close within five days and that it also be reported to the National Committee and the press so that the attention of the party be called to this important matter at the earliest possible moment. There are only three weeks remaining in which action can be taken to advantage and the quicker we act the better. I would name a larger sum to be given by the National Organization if I believed the resources of the National office warranted it. It is not necessary, of course, that the \$250 be paid in one installment; it is only necessary that the New York Comrades know that it is guaranteed them. They have never solicited aid from the National Party and they have given much. This is the least we can do at this critical time.

"Fraternally yours,

"WILLIAM MAILLY,

"Member National Executive Committee."

"P. S.—Comment should be submitted with motion to the N. E. C.—W. M."

Note—In keeping with the above suggestions, I request that you have your vote reach the office October 21.

CHICAGO, Ill., Oct. 21, 1905.

**TO THE NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE:**

**COMRADES**—Herewith is submitted report of the action of your committee on the motion by National Executive Committee member, William Mally, submitted under date of September 29.

No expression has been received from Comrades Bandlow, Berlyn, Reynolds and Towner.

The letters of Comrades Mally, Slobodin and Work are herewith presented.

**MOTION BY MAILLY.**

"I move that the National Secretary be instructed to notify the State Executive Committee of Wisconsin of the result of the referendum vote on Referendum 'A', 1905, and to request that the State Executive Committee apply for a charter to the National Committee, in accordance with the said vote, at its earliest convenience, and to secure, if the said State Executive Com-

mittee deem necessary, a vote of the membership of the Social Democratic Party of Wisconsin upon said application. The National Secretary to report this motion to the National Committee in regular order and the result of the notification and reply of the State Executive Committee of Wisconsin."

**COMRADE MAILLY'S LETTER, OCT. 10.**

"Kindly record me as voting in the affirmative on my motion before the National Executive Committee relative to the Wisconsin charter.

"I cannot remember having formally cast my vote before. I should like to see a report of the action taken made as soon as all the N. E. C. members have voted."

**COMRADE SLOBODIN'S LETTER, OCT. 2.**

"I vote for the motion of Comrade Mally. A motion carried by referendum that 'The Social Democratic Party of the State of Wisconsin be debarred from all participations in the National affairs of the Socialist Party until such time as they apply for and accept a charter such as all the states have accepted and that they comply with all the conditions as well as other states' is different from a motion to 'request the Social Democratic Party of the State of Wisconsin to accept a charter.' One is mandatory, the other is not. I, therefore, vote in favor of Mally's motion. But I do it reluctantly as I am tired of the insane character of the controversy."

**COMRADE WORK'S LETTER, OCT. 1.**

"You may record me as voting 'No' on the Mally motion. I am completely opposed to anything autocratic on the part of the National Secretary, or anybody else. If I thought this action autocratic, I would be in favor of repudiating it, but I consider that he merely followed the instruction of the membership. Having been instructed by the membership he did not need any instruction from the National Executive Committee."

No action has, therefore, resulted.

CHICAGO, Ill., Oct. 21, 1905.

**TO THE NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE:**

**COMRADES**—Herewith is submitted report of the action of your committee on the motion by National Executive Committee member, William Mally, submitted under date of October 16.

**MOTION.**

"I move that the National office pledge to the New York Comrades the sum of \$250 towards the expenses of this campaign and that the National Secretary call for special contributions from the party at large for the same purpose."

Bandlow, Berlyn, Mally, Reynolds,

Towner and Work voting YES, Slobodin not voting. **MOTION IS THEREFORE ADOPTED.** The letter of each member voting follows:

Bandlow (Ohio)—"Realizing the importance of strenuous efforts at this time in behalf of the Socialist Party in the State of New York, I wish to be recorded favoring the proposition of Comrade Mally to pledge the New York Comrades \$250.00 and that special contributions be called for to raise the amount. I enclose check for \$1.00 to apply on said contribution."

Berlyn (Ill.)—"As member of Nat. Ex. I desire to concur in the proposition made by Com. Wm. Mally to spend \$250.00 in the N. Y. City campaign. I think with the difficulties that arise from the change of name and the 'Hearst' candidacy, makes New York City a storm center and we ought to meet it by concentrating our energies there."

Mally (Ohio)—"Record me as voting in the affirmative on the motion before the National Executive Committee relative to assistance for New York."

Reynold (Ind.)—"On Com. Mally's motion, please record me voting YES, provided it is a guarantee payable as funds may warrant. It is very important and circumstances peculiarly justify the motion. I had just prepared a similar motion when this one came in."

Towner (Ky.)—"Record me voting in favor of motion of N. E. C. member Mally in pledging \$250.00 to New York State Committee for use in this campaign."

Work (Iowa)—"In reply to your National Executive Committee communication of October 16, which I have just received I vote YES, on the Mally motion, regarding New York."

Fraternally submitted,

J. MAHLON BARNES,  
National Secretary.

**HAVE YOU GOT THEM?**

If you claim to be a Socialist and do not own a copy of these books, viz., "SOCIALISM, UTOPIAN AND SCIENTIFIC," by Frederick Engles; "MANIFESTO OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY," by Karl Marx and Frederick Engles, and "NO COMPROMISE, NO POLITICAL TRADING," by William Liebknecht, you should do as others have done, send 25 cents to the National Secretary and get them by return mail, postage paid.