



The Iowa Socialist.

Published Every Saturday by
The Iowa Socialist Publishing Co.
E. HOLTZ and A. A. TRILLER,
Editors and Managers.
Office: Cor. Sixth and Iowa Sts.
Dubuque, Iowa.

Vol. 1 No. 2

Application pending for entry as
second class mail matter.

Dubuque, Iowa, Saturday, October 11, 1902

No subscription taken for less
than six months.

50 Cents a Year

Socialist State Ticket

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W. A. JACOBS,
Davenport.

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Muscatine.

Treasurer of State,
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Auditor,
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Clerk of Courts,
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Supervisors,
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D. BRUNSKILL.

Julien Township Ticket

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FRANK GAVIN.

Trustee,
J. C. HENDRICK.

Clerk,
A. A. LEONARD.

Justices of the Peace,
H. O. DIETERICH, A. B. WYMER.

Constables,
C. HOLMBERG, C. J. MATHIS.

The Comrades of Muscatine have nominated the following county and township tickets:

Auditor—J. W. Zeiler.
Clerk—C. R. Slaughter.
Recorder—J. D. Dean.
County Attorney—M. O. Briggs.
Supervisors—Justus Grady, J. N. Webster.

TOWNSHIP TICKET.

Clerk—J. W. Rost.
Justices of the Peace—J. E. Tetrick, John J. Duffy.
Constables—O. C. Wilson, L. W. Lange.
Trustee—Andrew Johnson.
Assessor—Frederick Zimmerman.

A state charter has been issued to South Dakota.

Bryan's 16 to 1 silver has taken a back seat for Morgan's 20 to 1 coal.

Under Socialism there would be no coal famine, nor any other kind of famine.

Baer hunting is the most popular sport at present with the newspaper paragraphs.

The Socialist candidate for secretary of state for Iowa, W. A. Jacobs, carries a Leather Workers Union card.

'Tis queer how many candidates of the old parties are Socialists "at heart," but democrats or republicans for office.

The democrats are counting on controlling the next congress. It would be the usual luck of the donkey to get in just about the time a panic is due.

Comrade Walter Thomas Mills will speak at the following places in Iowa during October: Clinton, 17th; Davenport, 18th; Burlington, 19th; Webster City, 20th; Des Moines, 21st; Lake City, 22d.

Socialists are often accused of trying to force Socialism upon the unions or attempting to coerce them into endorsing Socialism. But no one is better aware of the futility of such a course than the Socialists. They might secure the endorsement of every labor union in the world, but if the members did not vote the Socialist ticket the effect of the endorsement would be nil. The great need of the Socialist movement is an educated, class-conscious electorate. It is for the purpose of educating the trades unionist as to Socialism that the matter is often brought up at trades union conventions by the Socialist. Although the rank and file of the unions undoubtedly have no objection to discussing economic problems in the union hall, there are certain so-called "labor leaders" who at once raise a hue and cry about "disrupting the union by bringing politics into it." But what they really fear is the disruption of the old political parties. In a discussion with the Socialist, whether in the union hall or elsewhere, the democrat or republican has about as much show as a snowball in a furnace. Hence it is best for the old parties to keep a muzzle on the Socialist. Through their ability in deluding the union into doing this several of these "leaders" have been rewarded with fat political jobs.

When the recent convention of the International Typographical Union adopted a resolution instructing its delegates to the American Federation of Labor convention not to vote or work for any proposition that has for its object the placing of the American Federation of Labor on record as advocating Socialism or any other political idealism, the fact was heralded all over the country by the capitalist press, although it was discreetly silent when the Western Labor Union and the Western Federation of Miners almost unanimously endorsed the Socialist party at the convention in Denver last May. The action of these western unionists alarmed certain of these "labor leaders." They were fearful of similar action at the New Orleans convention of the American Federation of Labor and have been laying wires ever since to thwart it. At each of the last several conventions of the American Federation of Labor the question of Socialism has been brought up. One of its ablest champions was Max Hayes, of Cleveland, Ohio. This year he was one of three delegates elected by the International Typographical Union, by referendum vote, to represent it at the American Federation of Labor convention. Of nine candidates he secured the largest number of votes. It is safe to say that ninety-five per cent of those who voted for him knew that he is a Socialist. His large majority was undoubtedly due to that fact. Yet the plea was made at the Cincinnati convention by the political wire-pullers that Max Hayes' economic views were unknown at the time of his election and on that ground asked that he be muzzled. We reprint an article on another page from the Typographical Journal which shows up the slimy trail these political tricksters have left behind them.

Mr. President, I have presented briefly many of the material benefits which we as a nation and as a people have derived from the operation of the Dingley tariff. But I have by no means told the whole story. We can estimate the production and consumption of the necessities and luxuries of life, but the comforts and contentment and happiness of the American home is inestimable. How can we calculate the joy of the farmer or mechanic in being able to give his sons a college education?

How can we calculate the pleasure of taking home the latest book; of taking the wife or sweetheart to the play or concert; or buying the piano for the daughter; or filling the vase with flowers; of taking home the candy and toys for the little ones? Why, it is Christmas the year round in millions of American homes. The birthdays are joyful days. The summer trips to the mountains and seashore and country in vacation time are not to be measured by dollars and cents in the happiness and health they give to millions of wives and children.

No, Mr. President there is no computing the blessings and benefits of protection. We cannot measure happiness by the yard or pound or quart or dollar's worth, but we can produce it and enhance it and continue it by continuing protection and prosperity.

The above is an extract from a speech delivered by Senator Gallinger, of New Hampshire, in the United States Senate on the 25th of last June, and under the heading "Prosperity the Issue" is being franked through the country as a republican campaign document, and it is certainly a corker in that line. The voters to whom it is addressed will believe it, of course. They have swallowed larger whoppers than that. Census Bulletin No. 150 gives the average wages of employes in the manufacturing industries of the United States in 1900 as about \$350 per year. There is an old time-worn adage to the effect that "figures do not lie." But that is evidently a mistake. There is more truth in the speech of a political spellbinder than in a column of cold figures. Senator Gallinger says the mechanic is playing the role of Santa Claus all the year round and sending his son to college. In my mind's eye I can see the dollar-a-day workman looking through the plate glass windows of his luxuriant parlor onto the spacious lawn where his son is preparing for college by punting a football. I can see him listening with pride to the beautiful symphony his daughter is playing on the new piano while the music is turned by the French count whom she has captured during her sojourn at the fashionable summer resort. I can see the real cause of the coal strike. It is not the necessity for an advance of a few miserable cents in wages. The miners are already surfeited with luxuries—education, books, music, flowers, candy, toys and prosperity. They are suffering with ennui. They want excitement—monkey dinners, wild dashes on the automobile and "sich." But that magical "protection" has not supplied them with these ultra-fashionable luxuries—hence the strike of the ungrateful wretches. The best way for the G. O. P. to settle the coal strike is to import a shipload of monkeys, or make a collection of them from the United States Senate, for the amusement of the "400" of miner society. If speeches like the one from which the above extract is taken won't amuse them, nothing will. I can see the 10,000 employes of the harvesting machinery manufacturers, who will take a vacation because of the recent combine, preparing to spend the winter in sunny Italy. Highly cultivated, they will appreciate a visit to the classic environs of imperial Rome, while their artistic training (acquired in painting self-binders) will enable them to drink in with delight the beauties of its art treasures. Happiness and prosperity! No, they cannot be measured by the quart. The dollar-a-day mechanic is getting them by the hoghead.

At the last meeting of the Woodworkers Union of Dubuque a resolution was unanimously passed to fine each member twenty-five cents who is found patronizing a non-union barber shop. It is a question of only a few years before the labor union will be fining its members who are caught voting or working for a non-union ticket.

The estimated income of J. P. Morgan is \$113.12 per minute. The average wage earner's "income" is less than one-fourth of a cent a minute.

The coal barons would arbitrate the coal strike with U. S. regulars.

Schuylkill county, Pennsylvania, has twenty-seven branches of the Socialist party. The coal strike is an eye opener.

The Chicago American says "the most important man in the country today is the candidate for congress." Don't forget that on election day."

The Socialist party has raised more than \$4,000 for the striking anthracite miners. How much have the republican and democratic parties raised?

The American voter is the most liberal cuss on earth. At every election he hands over to his enemies the only thing of value given him by the constitution—the ballot.

The only man who has a kick coming on the coal strike and the consequent high price of coal is the Socialist. The other fellows are getting what they have been voting for.

The New York democrats adopted a resolution favoring government ownership of the mines. This is the first hook with Socialistic bait. The bait is all right, but the line and pole are too rotten to hold an intelligent vote.

The governor of Pennsylvania has ordered the mobilization of the entire militia of the state, for the alleged purpose of keeping peace in the strike districts, but in reality to awe the mine workers into submission. Vote the capitalistic tickets, then when you strike you stand a good chance to get back to work—at the point of the bayonet.

Comrade T. J. Berman, president of the Sioux City Trades and Labor Assembly is the Socialist candidate for auditor of Woodbury county. Comrade Michael Milan, president of the Dubuque Trades and Labor Congress, is running for the same office in Dubuque county. And "the A. F. of L. man will get them, if they don't watch out."

Comrade John E. Shank, of Sioux City, candidate for Judge of Supreme Court, reports a large growth of Socialist sentiment in that city. Comrades Bigelow, Putnam, Mills and Jacobs spoke there recently. John W. Bennett, of Sioux City, is the nominee for congress from the Eleventh District. He is a member of the Engineers Union and is one of the best Socialist orators in Sioux City.

Would the world stand for it if the coal mine owners should conclude that they had money enough to last them the rest of their lives and therefore should close down the coal mines permanently?—Chicago Daily News.

In order to be consistent in its present attitude on competition and private ownership it couldn't do anything else. It is amusing to note the large number of resolutions that are being adopted all over the country by various bodies and mass meetings demanding government ownership of the mines—all provoked by the determination of the coal operators to "run their business without outside interference," which is nothing more than the logical result of the competitive private ownership system. But the world is very seldom consistent.

On another page appears the letter of acceptance of the Socialist candidate for congress from the Third Iowa district, Comrade F. A. Lymburner of Dubuque. Let every workingman and producer, not only in this district, but everywhere, read this letter and the Socialist platform, then compare them with those of the two old parties and honestly answer the question which platform would benefit them most if enacted into law. It may be said that it is impossible to elect a Socialist congress this fall and that every Socialist vote will, therefore, be thrown away. But do not be deceived by any such rot. The only vote thrown away is that of the workingman who votes either of the old capitalist tickets. He gets absolutely nothing in return for it—but a continuation of wage-slavery. Every Socialist vote is a standing protest against this wage slavery. If you believe in Socialism and think we ought to have it, the only way to get it is to vote for it and keep on voting for it till you get it.

About a week ago President Roosevelt invited the coal operators of Pennsylvania and the officers of the United Mine Workers to meet him at Washington with a view to settling the coal strike. There was to be no political considerations whatever in this movement. It was to be purely in the interest of the public welfare. The fact that an election was to be held in a few weeks which might change the political complexion of the next congress was of no importance at all. No, indeed! The fact that scores of Socialist speakers were being sent into the anthracite mine regions and were crystalizing the latent Socialist sentiment into a stupendous independent political movement had no weight whatever with the executive! Two years ago, in the midst of the presidential campaign, practically the same conditions existed, and Mark Hanna, fearful of the effect a prolonged strike would have on the election, successfully used his influence with the operators in ending it. The same motive prompts the president in his present spectacular play to the gallery. But his strenuous efforts have come to naught. The coal operators tell him to his face that he has been negligent in his duty; that he should have sent the federal troops into Pennsylvania to bayonet and shoot the miners into submission; in short, that he should pursue the policy of President Cleveland in the A. R. U. strike at Chicago in 1894. But Teddy is a shrewd politician. He knows what happened to Grover in the Chicago convention of 1896. He knows that Grover was sat on so hard in that convention that ever since his erstwhile bulky proportions could only be seen from a birds-eye view; that he was sat on so heavily that he was completely flattened out; in fact, depressed below the surface, buried so deep that in spite of his strenuous efforts he has been unable to emerge from his political grave. Occasionally his pudgy hand waves on the horizon in a vain attempt to attract the notice of the passing multitude, but they have "wandered after strange gods." A like fate is abhorrent to Teddy. He likes the center of the stage and the glare of the lime light. But his likes or dislikes are nothing to St. Baer. Capitalists of the Baer calibre are not very partisan. It is immaterial to them whether Teddy or Grover is in the White House, or who is up in the see-saw of the two old political parties. They always stand in with the man on top. In our boyhood days we used to make a see-saw by placing a plank on a saw-buck or carpenter's horse. In the political see-saw the workingman voter plays the part of the saw-buck or horse. And he plays the part to perfection. He apparently has no more brains than a saw-buck and is as docile as any horse—carpenter's horses included. Every year or two the democrats and republicans select a seemingly new plank and place it on the voter's back who very obligingly gets down on his hands and knees for the purpose. Sometimes they call it a tariff plank and sometimes a sound money plank. But it is always the same old plank of capitalism. The democrats get on one end and the republicans on the other and then teeter away while the voter underneath alternately grunts and shouts as one goes up and the other down. Why the voter should concern himself as to which of the two old parties is up or down is incomprehensible. He is holding up both and the galling plank of capitalism besides. But the fairy wand of Socialism is gradually transforming the insensate saw-buck into a living, thinking being. Some day the workingman will get up from his hands and knees and throw from his back capitalism and the two pot-bellied politicians who have been riding him so long. And on that day there will be a gnashing of teeth of the aforesaid politicians. In fact, there is considerable of it even now.

Scenes surrounding the burial of Emil Zola were the most impressive seen in Paris since the funeral of Victor Hugo. Sixty thousand Socialists followed the remains to the grave. For the part Comrade Zola took in his defense of Capt. Dreyfus, he was one of the most despised men of France, but on the day of his funeral all the common people of France were his mourners.

Letter of Acceptance

of Nomination for Congress, Third Iowa District, by F. A. Lymburner

When I accept the nomination for congressman from the Third district of Iowa, which was tendered to me unanimously by the Socialist convention, I am fully aware of the magnitude of the task which the Socialist congress will be expected to perform, but I feel that backed by an enlightened and courageous constituency and with the association of the great minds which will constitute that congress that we can bravely face the duty assigned to us.

In looking over the history of this great nation, both politically and economically, one is awed at the changes which time has wrought. No sane man will contend that the government which was inaugurated by Paine, Jefferson, Washington and their associates was not the best that could be devised at that period. But since that time modes of production have changed greatly. Indeed, it has been revolutionized. At that time almost every industry was carried on by one man with an apprentice. Machinery was almost wholly unknown, either in farming or manufacturing.

Today manufacturing is carried on in great industries which are capitalized at hundreds of millions of dollars and which require thousands of hands to operate. Even the man who wishes to farm successfully must have a large amount of machinery. The wage worker can never hope to be able to acquire even a small fraction of the sum necessary to embark in these occupations, but even if he could, there must of necessity be those that will operate these great plants, and under the competitive wages system those working at the factory, not owning the means by which they get the necessities of life, are abject slaves. Rent, profit and interest has been the means by which a few have been enabled to acquire wealth enough to own these great industries. The wage worker has produced all this wealth, but by reason of his wages being only about one-fifth of what he produces—his being exploited of the other four-fifths by rent, interest and profit—he is left with barely enough to keep body and soul together and propagate his kind.

Therefore, viewing the great evolution which the industrial world has gone through since the founding of this great republic, the Socialist believes that the form of government should be changed to accord with that development. We produce collectively, therefore we should own and control collectively.

Again, since the dawn of history the peoples of the world have been divided into two distinct classes—viz: the worker and the shirker, the exploited and the exploiter. The horde which constitute the exploiting class and revel in luxury and idleness—yes, and in most cases in vice and crime—constitute the ruling class today by reason of their having appropriated through cunning and cupidity all that the working class produce (except a bare subsistence) and for the reason that they control the means by which the working class earn a livelihood.

The march of progress and education is fast convincing the workers that they who produce all wealth should own all wealth, and not until then will the working class be free.

The issue of the Socialist party is therefore clear. It is, simply and concisely stated, the collective ownership and control of all the means of production and distribution, and thereby the abolition of capitalism and the competitive wages system. This is very plainly

set forth in the state Socialist platform, which I am proud to say I helped frame and which I stand squarely upon.

It might be well, however, to consider briefly the old parties, that is, the democratic and republican and their platforms.

I take it that both these parties in this state have the same issue, viz: the reform of the tariff (an old bugbear by which they endeavor to fool the workingman.) By means of revising the tariff they claim that they will be able to "bust" the trusts. It would be too much to accuse the nominees for congress on the democratic and republican tickets of ignorance on the subject of trusts so I will not do so. Any man who has studied the subject knows that the trust is an economic evolution. The trust is an absolute necessity under the present mode of production. Both

themselves and they would produce in the most economical manner.

The farmer being a producer like his city brother in the factory, is as much to be benefited by Socialism as himself. He, like the city wage worker, is being exploited by the capitalist class.

I wish to warn the voters of the district against the voting for somebody just because he is "a good fellow." The capitalist in order to prolong their reign find it easy to get a "good fellow" to go on their ticket and thereby strengthen it. This "good fellow" may be entitled to a fat job, but by your voting for him you only prolong your miserable existence in the factory and workshop. Bear in mind that you, too, are entitled to a fat job, and you can only get it by voting to free yourself from your chains. All these years that you have been shouting



F. A. LYMBURNER,
Socialist Candidate for Congress, Third Iowa District.

Horace Boies and B. P. Birdsall know this, I believe. They are simply playing the capitalist game on the voters. The republican party puts this in its platform with its usual alacrity in promises, but as usual, they do not intend to carry out any program against trusts. The democratic party in its desperation adopts such a platform knowing full well that they are powerless and always will be. I wish to state emphatically and without fear of successful contradiction, that the tariff can have no material effect on the hundreds of thousands employed in the steel industry, in the coal mines, or in any other capacity as a wage-worker. The law of wages is, and always has been, and always will be, that the worker receives the lowest wage that the employer can hire him for, and that is only enough to support himself and family.

It is interesting to note how Horace Boies talks so freely of the steel trust in order to win the farmer vote, knowing that they are interested in the purchase of these articles only, but he cautiously evades the beef trust which pays the farmer high prices for cattle.

There is but one solution of the trust problem and that is for the people to own them. The people owning them, it would not be to their interest to rob

for the capitalist parties you have received nothing but capitalism with all its horrors of strikes, injunctions, child labor and out-of-work.

To my fellow-unionists, who I know abhor a scab, bear in mind that the scab is a product of the system of society and the only way to eliminate him is to establish the Co-operative Commonwealth. To be true to your fellow-man it is as necessary that you do not scab against the working class politically any more than economically. The Socialist party is the only class-conscious workingman's party.

Finally the Socialist party is not going to defeat the democratic or republican party, but it is going to defeat capitalism.

Socialism is as inevitable as the perpetuation of the human race as a great liberty-loving people. With the time ripe now, and the ever-increasing growth of the economic development, it is plain that Socialism must be established within a few years.

With a full consciousness of all this I enter upon my duties in this campaign with all the energy of which I am capable, thanking my comrades for the confidence they repose in me and grateful for the high honor they see fit to thrust upon me.

Rastus: "Say, if them Socialists get into power and control everything and nobody has any money, who will we work for, Ike?"

Ike: "Say, Rastus, who do the mail carriers work for?"

Rastus: "Oh, them fellows work for the government and get along without strikes."

Ike: "Well, Rastus, couldn't we all work for the government and get along without strikes?"

Rastus: "Oh, that's different."

D. S. C.

The printers of Los Angeles are waging a bitter fight against Gen. Otis' rat sheet, the Times.

A printer must have a card to obtain work in Cedar Rapids.

Moral Ethics

By A. F. THOMPSON

"The Ethics of Socialism and Christianity are identical."—Century Dictionary.

A little over 1900 years ago, the world had gone mad, in its rush and lust for wealth and power, the cries of the oppressed were going up on every side, men for a pretense made long prayers and robbed widow's houses, and others chose the chief places in the synagogues, the poor were oppressed and the man with goodly apparel was invited to the reserved seats, plenty and penury stalked side by side, pride and want vied with each other for gratification, with the usual results that the governments lent their aid more to the gratification of the former than the amelioration of the latter.

There was competition sharply defined, and that means war, planning and executing on the one side, dreading and avoiding on the other. The preferred class ever asking more, the unpreferred class ever crying louder and getting less for their cries, until Rome and all her provinces howled.

One night about 1902 years ago, at nearly this exact time of the year, when the New Years gathering of the Jews was due and Jerusalem was overcrowded with the piety of devotion which had been shrewdly interwoven with business, some shepherds, so poor that they could not mingle with the multitudes over at the city, were watching their flocks and admiring the starry decked heavens, the study of shepherds, not there alone but in Chaldea and Egypt, for centuries, when, in the stilly night with nothing but the gentle breathing of the sleeping flocks was disturbing the silence, a sudden apparition seemed to come to those shepherds with which we now have nothing to do, but they made an announcement we call your attention to for a moment:

"And lo, the Angel of the Lord came upon them, and the glory of the Lord shown round about them; and they were sore afraid.

"And the Angel of the Lord said unto them, 'Fear not: for behold I bring you good tidings of great joy, which shall be to all people.

"For unto you a Saviour is born this day in the city of David which is Christ the Lord."

Then others from the heavenly host with this angel were saying: "Glory to God in the highest, and on earth peace, good will toward men."

Peace, peace; good will, good will; who is preaching this same gospel today? Is it the church in her competitive sects and Babylonish divisions? Is it the governments of the earth as they now exist, vying with each other as to who shall have the advantage of power and markets? Is it the trusts and combines who live on the oppressions of the poor?

No, a thousand shouts rend the air from the oppressed of earth.

Where is that Saviour? I answer He has no followers outside those preaching the same gospel that was preached by those angels.

How was he to save them? Read, read, by bringing peace on earth by brotherhood, or good will toward men.

Stop the wars of extermination by nations; stop the wars of sectional priestcraft of divided Christendom; stop the wars of evil governmental enactment for gain; stop the oppressive wars of unfeeling and soulless trusts on the cowardly cringing slaves who support them; stop the war of competition among all classes. And how stop the war, you ask, and have peace on earth? By good will, or brotherhood among men, or toward men.

Who, I repeat, is teaching this same gospel? Socialists, the only true followers of the grand royal proclamation of, "On earth Peace, good will toward men."

The outlook for a largely increased Socialist party vote this fall is exceptionally bright. Reports in party papers and private advices from all over the country show that the present agitation is almost as great as in the early '90s, when the populist movement sprang into prominence. The introduction of machinery, the centralization of capital into trusts, the increase of prices for necessities, the great strikes, the tyranny of the courts, the increase of woman and child labor and many other causes are serving to open the eyes of the working people as never before. Every Socialist

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speaker who can orate for five minutes is on a soap-box, and the demand is not half supplied. The West is ablaze with enthusiasm, and they are seriously talking about carrying Colorado, or at least polling such a vote that will give the capitalist politicians cold chills, and great progress is promised in Washington, California, Montana and several other states. In the East Pennsylvania easily leads the procession. The state committee claims several congressmen in the mining regions, and the anxiety displayed by Senators Quay and Penrose to end the strike seems to lead color to the contentions of the committee. In New York and the New England states and in Ohio, Indiana, Illinois and the Middle West the campaign is being forced with unflagging interest—International Socialist Review.

NOTICE TO SECRETARIES!

Secretaries of Iowa branches will confer a favor by sending to this office the name and address of the congressional candidate in their respective districts, and any news in regard to the movement in their locality.

JOB PRINTING

OF ALL KINDS



The Iowa Socialist
Publishing Co.

Sixth and Iowa St. Dubuque, Iowa.

State Platform

We, the Socialists of the state of Iowa in convention assembled at Davenport, Sept. 2, 1902 declare our allegiance to and endorsement of the principles of International Socialism.

We define wealth to be the creation of labor, applied to the resources of the earth; and capital to be the accumulated portion of wealth used to create more wealth.

Capital, therefore, being primarily the product of labor or society, as a whole, society has the supreme right of its disposal.

We therefore declare it to be our purpose to acquire for society the ownership of said capital, represented by the mines, the machinery, and all the means of production and distribution.

We declare the self evident truth that all laws and constitutions under democratic forms of government are the creations of man by legal enactments.

Therefore, what man has created, man may abolish, and recreate to conform to the most scientific and systematic means of production,

and the most just method of distribution.

It is therefore our declared purpose as members of organized labor and the producing and working class, to acquire through the power of our united ballots the entire control of government in all of its offices and functions.

By this means, the courts, the laws, the military, and all the powers of the government will belong not to the capitalist, but to the working class, which under the principle that majorities should, of right, rule, are justly entitled to the control of the laws and the conditions which govern their work.

Having acquired this power we will use it not to enjoin men from the exercise of their natural rights, but to protect them therein, and in the end to establish, through the power thus gained, the co-operative commonwealth.

To this end we ask every member of organized labor, every wage earner and producer in the state of Iowa, who compose the working class, and whose interests are identical, to join us in the struggle we have begun, remembering that being united, we stand, divided we fall.



F. A. LYMBURNER,
Socialist Candidate for Congress, Third Iowa District.

Political Idealism

By Henry A. McAnarney in *The Typographical Journal*

At the recent International Typographical Union convention the following resolution was adopted:

That our delegates to the next convention of the American Federation of Labor do not vote for any proposition which may be introduced which has for its object the placing of the American Federation of Labor on record as advocating Socialism or any other political idealism, and that our delegates stand so instructed.

This was adopted under a three-minute debate rule, when, if properly discussed, a full issue of *The Journal* would be insufficient to consider the various phases of the question. The resolution, by inference, separates politics, but touches upon only one class—political idealism. We will agree, therefore, that there are two degrees of politics—the ideal and the common, the ideal appealing to every noble impulse of mankind to achieve liberty; the common cultivating every expedient to gain power. We must advocate either ideal politics, with ideal ambitions; or common politics, with its trail of corruption. There can be no compromise. Political idealism is the antithesis of common politics; they can not blend. The one is the synonym of purity; the other of moral rottenness. The nature of the ideal is to seek the light, to sustain itself by the power of truth. Armies have fought for it; men have died that their survivors might attain it; nations have builded upon it. The mighty swaying force of every great progressive political and economic movement has been political idealism. It has ever been the rallying hope of wavering trades unionism; and had not the leaders of the Knights of Labor abandoned it for the dark practices of common politics, that once great and powerful organization would not now be a rotting carcass in the potters field of labor. Political idealism is the mother of progress. Common politics, on the contrary, admits of no progress. Wallowing in economic ignorance, groping in the darkness of the present, it knows no future. A pleader at the bar of Opportunity, no corruption is too base, no vice too hideous for it to embrace or cherish, if by so doing an atom of political power may be gained. Garbed in hypocrisy, schooled in deception, it was ever the secret enemy of liberty, the parent of bigotry, the fountain of national prejudice, the upholder of class war. Common politics is the mother of political corruption.

The convention of the International Typographical Union has signified its choice; it has pronounced against political idealism; it has turned its back to enlightenment. * * * It has enrolled among the adherents of—political corruption.

Socialism is an economic idea which derives power through political expression; its mortal sustenance is discussion; its vitality is thought. To believe that this idea can be smothered by legislative enactment, or stamped out by governmental authority, is most ridiculous; for it is not a political hobby, the limit of whose future is tomorrow; it is not the sudden impulse of a political upheaval. It is the result of centuries of economic evolution; it is the crystallized thought of countless philosophers; it is progress.

Wherever a Socialist stands in the halls of legislation, wherever his voice is raised or vote is registered, there is symbolized the political desires of the working class. European powers have been aroused by the increasing influence of the adherents of Socialism, and their steadfast championing of the rights of labor; banishment, imprisonment, social degradation, political ostracism—all have been wasted in efforts to stem the current of their enthusiasm. The Socialist philosophy is stronger and imbedded deeper in the minds of its adherents because of this persecution, which can not crush the desire for economic liberty, which can not prevent hope living in the hearts of men.

Socialism, politically expressed, declares that man's vitality should not be exhausted in the expenditure of energy merely to maintain life. There is an abundance of wealth; there are sufficient teachers to educate the world's people; there is enough progressive ambition to move forward even the most slothful. Having these, why can not all mankind enjoy the full measure of the world's wealth, since it is the result of the efforts of man from the creation of the world? Because the means of procuring and exchanging wealth are pri-

vately owned; because collective society, by its political expression, places the seal of approval upon this ownership, and declares it to be the heritage of the ruling class; thus creating, on the one hand, a coterie of idlers, debauchees, effeminate men, masculine women, Seeley diners, anklet wearers and monkey entertainers—the ruling class; on the other, a stolid, dogged, plodding, miserable class of proletarians, whose only heritage is— toil.

Against this form of society Socialism, through its political expression, is a standing protest; against this struggle in society the socialist, in the labor union, in the legislative chamber, sounds warning; for, guided by the light of history, knowing that man's material interest is the incentive to action, he reads the logical result of such a struggle in the sunken eyes of despairing men; he knows that some day those eyes will blaze with the fire of vengeance; he sees even now these stolid men, reckless to despair, miserable beyond endurance, with all the powers of government arrayed against them, casting their famished bodies before the guns of the ruling class, portending the carnage of the future; ignorant, unconscious of their civic power, they will seek to assuage their miseries in the blood of their oppressors. The Socialist views war with horror, because he understands its uselessness. He knows that these despairing, desperate men can be made an agency for good; possessed of knowledge, conscious of their collective civic power, illumined by Socialist philosophy, this proletarian revolution will be born in peace—marking the forward movement of the human race, when all mankind shall be elevated to man's estate, profiting according to their deeds by the progress of the world.

This is the political ideal, the hope of the Socialist. Did the International Typographical Union convention cherish a like ideal? Did the personnel of that convention deem such an ideal utopian? Ah! that was indeed a most practical convention, thoroughly businesslike; no dreamer of a future state of political perfection found willing listeners there; his was the comedian's role; for the greater the ignorance of man, the less need has he for progress, and with society, the more corrupt it is, the more ludicrous appears idealism.

Some profound philosopher of a bygone age, who had little else to worry him, remarked in the course of a soliloquy that every conspiracy contains the key to its own corruption. He was a wise old boy with whiskers. At another time he passed up the word to watch those who are bitterest in their wrath. He understood things, for he was a lolly winner. His specialty in philosophy was conventions and resolutions. He knew the meaning of words. When he saw a word he thought the key, he proceeded to philosophize. Proceeding upon his theory, we have examined this resolution of the convention enjoining silence upon the delegates to the "next" convention of the American Federation of Labor, should such delegates "favor" political idealism. Why not enjoin every delegate at every convention of the American Federation of Labor? Why only at the "next" convention? That word "next" is the key to the conspiracy, apparently. It has a history connected with the last referendum election. There were several candidates for delegate to the American Federation of Labor. Among these was a socialist, by name Max Hayes. He was opposed principally because of his economic views. He was, consequently, the center of the contest. Any voter who did not know that Hayes is a Socialist could not have mixed very liberally in the festivities, for the fact was heralded broadcast as the strongest ground for his defeat. He was elected, and his victory was decisive. The referendum endorsed Hayes; he was chosen because he believes in political idealism as against political corruption. The referendum possesses sovereign power, but sleeps. The convention is awake. The members of the convention know why Hayes was chosen, so they proceed to enjoin him from representing his constituency. They have not struck at Hayes. There would be no conspiracy in such an act. They have throttled the expressed will of the sovereign power. Therein lies the conspiracy. The instigators of this con-

spiracy do not fear Hayes. It is the penetrating subtlety of his philosophy which awes them. They realize that, with the working class aroused to the consciousness that man's material interest is the incentive to progress, their political asset in the trades-union will have dissolved. Knowing this, they grasp the readiest weapon at hand, and proceed to choke the Socialist by resolution. Therefore, the purpose of this resolution is consistent with its antagonism and understanding of political idealism; so why hesitate in declaring it to be a reflex of the moral ambition of its supporters?

Aside, however, from the question of political idealism are the principles involved in the resolution. First—the abrogation of the right of free speech, in preventing public discussion of a public question. Second—Government by injunction, that universally condemned method of judicial procedure in favor of the ruling class.

The position of the convention toward the first principle has only one parallel in modern times. That was in 1871 when the iron chancellor of Germany proscribed the Socialists in practically the form adopted by the International Typographical Union. Histories record this as the last blow "for the red hand." It was Bismarck, under the stress of public opinion, who nullified the decree of proscription; and before his eyes were closed forever on the country he had ruled, he saw the repatriated "red hand" grow to be the strongest political power in the empire.

Trades unions in this country enjoyed the bouyancy of youth then. They were filled with wild desires of utopianism. They entertained the foolish notions of the inviolability of free speech. It was in this atmosphere that the Knights of Labor was born and achieved great industrial prestige. The rights of man were proclaimed sacred and inviolate. The greatest of these rights was declared to be free speech and public assemblage, and from these assemblages and declarations the authorities learned a wholesome respect, and are chary in interfering now in the exercise of that right. But not so the International Typographical Union convention. The lessons of history have no influence there. The International Typographical Union is the International Typographical Union, and, like the brook, it will flow on forever—playing clown for the enjoyment of the ruling class. How anomalous the position of the International Typographical Union on this question is will appear in the light of the resolutions adopted at recent conventions. Syracuse recommended the discussion of economic questions by subordinate unions, and reports indicated that the recommendation was being carried out; Detroit recommended the publication in *The Journal* of economic discussions, and this has been generally observed. The logic of discussion is action, and since the labor question is essentially political, how better can the results of economic discussion be expressed than in ideal political action? Again, what is more ridiculous than favoring such discussion in our own meetings and enjoining them in the convention of the American Federation of Labor? Truly, we must be the laughing stock of idiots.

The second principle is government by injunction. The International Typographical Union, by resolution of the Cincinnati convention, declaims strong opposition toward this form of government, declaring, among other things, against "the reckless assumption of arbitrary authority" of injunction-granting judges, "setting at naught the rights guaranteed by the constitution." The resolution petitions congress to stop the practice, which the International Typographical Union condemns most scathingly, in "words of bitter wrath"—and then subscribes to the principle. But why petition congress to prevent injunctions? We can not honestly and consistently condemn the judiciary for practicing a principle exercised by ourselves, an act that is contemptible in a judge certainly does not become laudable in ourselves, even though we claim certain inalienable rights over the conduct of mankind in general, which judges dare not assume.

I am opposed to government by injunction. That is my reason for registering protest here against the injunction proclaimed by the Cincinnati convention, preventing our delegates exercising the rights "guaranteed by the constitution" at the "next" convention of the American Federation of Labor.

That is strong enough ground for demanding the submission of the resolution to the referendum, and let the sovereign power say whether or not their delegates to the American Federation of Labor shall be robbed of the right to speak on a public question of such great moment at this time as is Socialism.

Socialism and Trades Unions

By E. P. HAGERTY

The object of the trades union has been and is to secure for the working class the full product of their toil, and although at the present time wages may be higher than they ever have been there never was a time in the history of the world when the laborer received as small a portion of the wealth he creates as now, and this in spite of the fact that labor is better organized than ever before. There are two reasons for this state of affairs. The first one is the worker does not own the means of production and can not produce wealth without the consent of the capitalist, and the capitalist pays the worker whatever he chooses, which is generally about one-fifth or enough to keep the worker strong and healthy and able to produce more wealth.

The second reason is that the capitalists have found out that co-operation is better than competition and the capitalists are so well organized that if the labor unions could compel them to pay \$10 per day for eight hours work the laborers as a class would get no more of their product than they do now, simply because the capitalists will not operate the means of production and distribution unless they get rent, interest and profit and therefore prices must advance with wages.

Another thing which the union fails to accomplish, is to find employment for its members during times of overproduction, or more properly speaking, underconsumption, either of which would be impossible under government ownership, as those who produced the wealth would own it and business would not be done for profit, and for proof of this look at the postoffice. Those who think Socialism impractical should stop and think of the wealth wasted and the suffering caused by strikes which we will have as long as we have the present system, as they are a product of the same, and what else could be expected when seventy millions of people are turned loose to struggle for all the wealth they can get—each one for himself and the devil for all.

On the question of child labor the unions are utterly powerless to find a solution of the problem for the following reason: If the state of Iowa should pass and enforce a law prohibiting child labor, the industries which employ children would remove to the southern states, and if hostile legislation were enforced there, they would move to China or India, for capital will go where it is the most favored. Therefore, the only thing to be done is to establish Socialism or the public ownership of all the means of production and distribution. This can be done any time the workers ask for it by voting the Socialist party ticket.

At the last convention of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen a resolution was adopted looking toward the establishment of a federation of all the different classes of labor in the railroad service.

The Corporations Auxiliary Company, of Cleveland, Ohio, with offices in all the large cities, is said to be a detective agency for the purpose of getting inside information regarding the strength, membership and action at meetings of unions. Keep your eye on its agents.

The Commercial Telegraphers have organized a national organization. Forty delegates were in attendance.

The National Association of Letter Carriers have decided to establish a pension fund for aged and superannuated members.

The Boston Brewery Workers won their strike after a hard battle. The non-unionists will be retired.

Old line politicians are just catching on that the coal strike is going to cut in to the voting strength of their parties.

William S. Waudby will compile statistics on the cost of living, wages, and prices of commodities for twelve years at Cleveland, Ohio, for the Labor Bureau. His figures will not lie.

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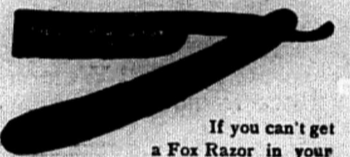
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