



# The Iowa Socialist.

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—With apologies to Comrade Lockwood.

Never could see the point, but he can feel it now.

### Attention, Iowa Socialists!

A cartoon and other illustrations are to be regular features of The Iowa Socialist hereafter. We also contemplate reducing the subscription price to twenty-five cents per year in clubs of four or more. However, to do this it will be necessary to improve and enlarge our plant. This paper is published by The Iowa Socialist Publishing Company, incorporated under the laws of the State of Iowa. The capital stock is \$2,000, divided into 400 shares of \$5.00 each. Of this stock a little more than half remains to be sold. The stock is non-assessable and the private property of the stockholders is exempt from corporate debts. Here is an opportunity for you to help make The Iowa Socialist a first-class, up-to-date propaganda paper. In the years to come, when the co-operative commonwealth shall have been established, what better evidence could you want than a stock certificate of the first Socialist paper published in Iowa to prove that you was one of the pioneers who helped to inaugurate that new and better time. In those days the stock certificate, the bond and mortgage will be looked upon as relics of barbarism. But not so the stock certificate of The Iowa Socialist Publishing Company. It will be a priceless heirloom to be cherished by your children and children's children. Get in line, comrades, and buy a share, or better, several shares, of this stock. The articles of incorporation were printed in the first four issues of this paper and those not having same will be furnished a copy if desired. If you are unable to buy a share outright you may have the privilege of buying it in installments at your convenience. Don't put this off. Act today!

Oh, but some of these irrational Socialists do write delectable stuff. Thus we find Mr. Work who, giving the lie to his name, wants the three-hour workday, addressing all citizens who did not vote the Socialist ticket at the last presidential election: "You voted to have the hearse drive up to the (miner's) house and bear away the little body to an untimely grave. Look at your hands, you murderers, and see the blood stains upon them. You killed the father and child." Won't somebody please get Mr. Work a job writing the villain's role in a thrilling melo-drama?—Dubuque Telegraph-Herald.

Possibly Mr. Work wouldn't accept a job of that sort if it was offered him, because unlike the editor of the Telegraph-Herald, he would not prostitute his talents for mere gain while there is other and nobler work for him to do. Of course it is very kind of the editor to make the suggestion of a nice, easy job for Mr. Work, as he knows that it is much more comfortable to float with the stream than to swim against it, even though we sell our freedom in so doing.

"They are slaves who dare not be in the right with two or three."  
The editor of the Telegraph-Herald is a co-laborer with the remainder of the writers for the capitalist press in the writing of the villain's part in the bloodiest drama of the ages—a drama in which the world is the stage and humanity the actors. Not only is he writing the villain's part, but for the delusive glitter of gold he is defending the villain—capitalism—and blinding and misleading those who are struggling toward the light from the depths of gloom into which the villain has plunged them, and the blood of the victims of capitalism is on his hands and in his heart of hearts he knows it. Mr. Work's shot went home. Hence the squirming of the editor.

Augmented by the returned soldiers from South Africa the army of the unemployed, due to trade depression, in Great Britain is daily growing larger.

Don't forget Strickland and Jones when making your dates for February 8 to 12. Ladies invited.

Ann Arbor, Mich., Jan. 25.—Prof. F. M. Taylor, who occupies the chair of political economy and finance in the University of Michigan, says that John D. Rockefeller is justified in raising the price of oil because of the benefits he confers upon society.

"In America we do not levy taxes to secure money for big improvements," he says. "Private capital does it. When Mr. Rockefeller, for instance, raises the price of oil a few cents he forces it to contribute money for the collection of a great body of productive capital."

"It is, of course, a system of voluntary despotism which we Americans submit to. Nevertheless social inequality is necessary to progress, and necessary to collect enough capital to run business. Mr. Rockefeller has more money than he can use, and thus he turns it into productive capital."

James Russell Lowell said the ideal university was an institution where nothing useful is taught. Applying the same logic to teachers, Prof. Taylor is the personification of ideality, for if anyone can learn anything useful from a teacher who is guilty of such assinine rubbish as the above, he must be an intellectual phenomenon. Oh Lord, protect us against sudden death and deliver us from such idiots.

Nearly 8,000 people gathered in Cooper Institute, New York on the evening of January 16 to listen to a debate between Comrade H. Gaylord Wilshire and Prof. Seligman, of Columbia University, on the subject of Socialism. Large numbers were turned away unable to gain admittance. As usual, Comrade Wilshire won his audience, and the meeting adjourned with cheers for Socialism.

At the late election in Breslau no party received sufficient votes to elect and a second ballot was necessary. The kaiser's recent anti-Socialist speech was posted up in the shops and factories on the day of the second election. The Socialist candidates received from 70 to 120 more votes than in the first election. Better go ahead and disfranchise 'em, Bill.

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Don't forget Strickland and Jones when making your dates for February 8 to 12. Ladies invited.

The working class is the only class that will ever do anything for the working class. Might just as well begin now.

If you are not satisfied with present conditions, change them. You need not expect those who are satisfied to do it for you.

The only way to make Socialists is by education. The best way to educate along these lines is by means of the Socialist paper.

A lot of people are wondering what has become of the Monroe doctrine. Perhaps it has been declared to be a "d—d incendiary document."

The estimate of Secretary of the Treasury Shaw of expenses for the coming year is nearly \$600,000,000. The department of labor gets \$184,000, one-third of one per cent of the whole amount. Now swell up, you wage slaves.

In the article "Co-operation vs. Competition" on another page there is a serious typographical error. Mr. Batterson said that it cost two hundred million dollars to parallel the tracks of the New York Central Railroad. The intelligent compositor made it two million instead, while the office boy, who is temporarily filling the position of the proofreader during the latter's absence on his annual winter vacation in the South, and who alternates his duties as temporary proofreader with making goo-goo eyes at the typewriter girl, allowed the error to escape his notice.

For some time past the Dubuque Telegraph-Herald has been printing a series of editorials on Socialism in which the burden of its complaint against it was that there would be no incentive to effort under Socialism. Last Sunday that journal said: "Socialism in any of its varied forms would be for the good of the people if human nature were so constructed that it would adjust itself to the new conditions." It will now be in order for the Telegraph-Herald to claim that a physical metamorphosis of man will be necessary to make Socialism practicable—that man under Socialism must adapt himself to walking on his head.

A leading Socialist paper of Germany makes the statement that Krupp, the cannon king, whose alleged sudden death some time ago was claimed to be due to certain charges brought against him by the Socialist Vorwaerts of Berlin, is not dead, but is living in seclusion in a foreign country, a dummy having been buried in the casket supposed to contain the remains of the German iron master. This statement is said to have created a sensation, and the strange secrecy that was maintained and the fact that no one was permitted to see the remains of Krupp after his alleged death is pointed out as lending the color of truth to this latest phase of this strange affair.

In a description of the typical American, a prominent publication gives the following as his typical breakfast:

"His paper, aired and dried, is at his plate. As he seats himself in the big carved oak arm-chair, the butler comes in with the oatmeal, buttered toast, and coffee. When he has taken the last spoonful of his oatmeal, the butler, who has a noiselessness that a burglar could envy, and a port that makes the ordinary undertaker seem frivolously gay and fussy, serves him with three delicate lamb chops."

After the day's work he returns to his home for dinner of which the following is said to be typical:

"The big, empty house, so quiet and cool, brings a delightful sense of refreshment to Mr. Brown. He bathes, changes his linen, and eats his dinner with a good appetite. After a rich soup, some broiled shad roe, a chicken as tender as possible, and a pint bottle of dry champagne, he feels his system toned up." Are you a typical American?



CHARLES OLIVER JONES. FREDERICK G. STRICKLAND.

Comrades Strickland and Jones have been secured by Dubuque Local for a series of lectures on Socialistic topics to be given February 8 to 12 inclusive, at Odd Fellows Temple, Ninth and Locust Sts. Comrade Strickland is desirous of meeting defenders of capitalism in debate. The Colorado Chronicle says of Comrade Strickland: "Frederick G. Strickland is truly doing a splendid work in Denver. On the street or the platform he is equally at home. Never chasing anything but a big, scientific point, he yet keeps his audiences incessantly amused. Such a combination of humor and earnestness, strong points and easy expression is rarely met." Admission free, and everybody cordially invited to attend. Come and hear two of the best speakers in the movement.

The difference between mere manual labor, which one may be forced to do for a living, and the labor which one does by choice, which may then be said to become an art, is forcibly illustrated by Prof. Wyckoff in "The Workers." The professor had determined to study the labor question at first hand by spending a year in earning his living as a common laborer. His first days' work with a gang of laborers in loading wagons with the brick, stone and mortar of a wrecked building was becoming irksome when he hit upon the happy thought of imagining himself at his usual daily avocation. As the forenoon of the day wore on he would imagine himself at certain stages of the daily work of his former occupation, that of college professor. Having reached the hour of noon by this process of mental gymnastics, but there being no sign of the dinner hour in his new occupation, he found means to ascertain the time and was surprised to find that he had been working only an half hour.

An experience like this might be of benefit to President Eliot, of Harvard, and others in like positions holding views such as the following, expressed recently by President Eliot:

"I believe that long hours and hard work are best for every man. Work is the foundation of civilization, and work makes nations as it does individuals. No man can work too hard or hours too long if his health will permit."

Commenting on the above, Boyce's Weekly says:

Let's see about that. James Appleton is a college professor, or perhaps president like Mr. Eliot himself. He meets perhaps three classes a day for an hour each, and may give to his college work outside the class room another two hours or so. Of course, that isn't all his work. His official duties done, he toils in his library, studying to fit himself better for his calling, writing on a book perhaps or preparing a series of lectures. Such a man will often, perhaps habitually, work fifteen hours a day, at a vocation he loves, and which interests and develops his mental faculties.

Of course, he can't see any reason why ordinary workmen should fight for an eight hour workday.

But Jim Burns works in a shoe factory—nice, clean indoor work he has too, as jobs go. All day he watches a machine. "Crunch" it goes and a sole is fastened. Before it crunches again that sole must be removed, and the slips of leather which make the next one adjusted. The machine goes on like clockwork, opening and shutting its jaws; the man before it must move like clockwork, too, else the sole may be pegged to his hand instead of to the upper. Besides he is paid by the piece and the wages are fixed so as to "rush things."

What will long hours of that sort of work do for a man? It deadens the mental faculties, wears the body, stifles the lungs. The man is a mere part of the machine and his only chance of becoming more is to get away from the machine as early as possible, and associate with other men.

True, he doesn't always associate with men of the most improving order. The saloon more often claims his spare time

than the library. But the longer and the harder the work of this stupefying sort, the more likely the workingman is to seek relaxation in merely physical pleasures; the more his senses are dulled the more excuse for his sharpening them with stimulants.

The college professors who preach the doctrine of hard work and long hours ought to try a few days at a fast machine. They would speedily conclude that a nation made up of factory hands who worked fourteen hours a day would make mighty little progress in any direction except, perhaps, multiplying the riches of factory owners and whiskey sellers.

The Socialists of East Dubuque at their meeting Jan. 12 elected the following officers for the ensuing year:

- President—Peter M. Baum.
- Vice-Presidents—Phil. Lavery, Wm. Shovlin and Wm. White.
- Recording Secretary—G. W. Schauer.
- Financial Secretary—Geo. Lawton.
- Treasurer—Matt Mertes.
- Organizers—Matt Mertes, Dan Bergman and R. N. Rapp.
- Literary Agents—Geo. W. Schauer, Wm. Shovlin and Wm. Jansen.

The organization is now in a flourishing condition. It has thirty-two members enrolled, and has made arrangements for a series of Socialistic lectures to be given in the near future by Messrs. Strickland and Jones, former state organizers of Ohio, but now making a lecturing tour of a number of western states.—East Dubuque Register.

Dr. H. Borst, of Oelwein, contributes the following conundrums:

No. 1. If Jesus Christ had been a coal miner instead of a carpenter, and if he had started to work in the year 1, and if he were still alive and mining coal in the year 1903, how much money would he have saved (without counting interest) if he had received \$1.50 per day for 300 working days in the year, and if it cost him \$1.00 per day to live, counting of course 365 days' expense?  
See answer next week.

No. 2. Suppose Christ had had an ambition to become a millionaire and still work as a coal miner, and not take usury or even ordinary interest, how many years more would he have to go down in the dark and dangerous shaft before he would save up one million dollars?  
See answer next week.

At its meeting of Jan. 22, Dubuque Local elected the following officers for the ensuing year:

- Secretary—E. Holtz.
- Treasurer—D. S. Cameron.
- Organizer—A. B. Wymer.

The custom of the past year of having a permanent chairman was abandoned and a chairman for the evening will be chosen at each meeting. Steps were also taken providing for the adoption of the dues-paying system in place of the voluntary contributions which have been depended upon to meet the expenses of the local.

X RAYS

By JOHN M. WORK

The fuel famine will cut no ice next summer.

An individualist is a man who thinks he has a poetic license to do as he blank pleases.

The habit of ending letters with "Fraternally" or "Fraternally yours" is admirable. But when it degenerates to "Frat" or "Frat yours" it is abominable.

Do you think you are making a success of life when you do nothing but work, eat and sleep? If you want to make your life worth living, hustle for Socialism.

During the year 1901 more than eight thousand persons were killed and fifty-three thousand injured on the railways of the United States. Socialism will reduce those shocking figures to a minimum.

To keep history straight, remember that Proudhon and Bakunin were anarchists; that St. Simon, Fourier and Robert Owen were communists, and that Louis Blanc, Karl Rodbertus and Ferdinand LaSalle were only Socialists after a fashion. It was with the advent of Karl Marx, Frederick Engels and William Liebknecht that Socialism began to assume something like its present appearance. It is perhaps unnecessary to say, however, that slavish acceptance of the views of these three brilliant intellects is not necessary to become a good Socialist. If they had known it all they would have been more than mortal. Many excellent Socialists of the present disagree with them at various points. Socialism is a developing, not a cut and dried, philosophy.

The man who does not know the difference between Socialism and anarchy is either a fool or a knave. The confusing of the two terms is always either an act of gross ignorance or of willful, malicious hatred.

But there are many quite intelligent people today who do not know that there is any difference between Socialism and communism. They point to the communistic colonies as examples of Socialism. One thing which serves to fuddle their minds on the subject is the fact that the manifesto proclaimed by Karl Marx and Frederick Engels over half a century ago was called the "Communist Manifesto." At that time communism meant what Socialism now means. Hence their use of the word communism. Since that time Socialism has come to stand for the thing which it now stands for, while communism has lost its former meaning and now stands for something entirely different. Socialism means the public ownership and operation of the means of production and distribution. It does not mean that you must surrender any privacy that you do not wish to surrender. In fact it means that you will have control over your privacy, whereas now you are frequently compelled to surrender it because of meager means or in order to make a living. It does not mean that folks are to live in common. It does not mean that we are all going to live in one building and eat at the same table. In fact it is going to wipe the long strings of flats off the face of the earth and give everyone an opportunity to live in a house apart with plenty of grass and trees and room and air around it, and real, genuine blue sky above it. You will be at perfect liberty to board at a hotel or a restaurant, or have your meals delivered at the house, or cook for yourself, just as you please. You will not have to live in common any more than the mail carriers or the aldermen or the court house employees do now. Communism, to be sure, also means public ownership of the means of production and distribution. To that

extent it resembles Socialism. But here we part company. For communism also means the common ownership of things which are not means of production and distribution. It means the common ownership of personal and household effects and all that sort of thing. It means living in common. It means a common dining hall where everybody is expected to eat, whether or no. Socialism stands for the private ownership of everything that ought to be used privately. It proposes to promote fraternalism and good fellowship by removing the barriers which now make men necessarily enemies of each other, not by a forced and vulgar familiarity. We appreciate to the fullest extent the necessity of society to the development of the individual. We also appreciate the necessity of solitude to his development. We will give him the most abundant opportunity for both society and solitude. We will thereby not only develop his social instincts, but also develop his individuality in the best possible manner. The old, stark, anarchistic, hostile tyrannical individuality must go. Socialism will develop the true individuality. The true individuality is the wide culture and development of the individual, not in opposition to but in harmony with the equal rights of others. This individuality is as much higher than the old individuality as the zenith is higher than the equator. It will be seen from the foregoing that colonies are experiments in communism, not in Socialism. There never has been on this earth, so far as we know, a free and full experiment in Socialism. The carrying on of a municipal government, of a state government, of a national government, of a county government, of the postoffice department, of the public school system, and such like, are the nearest approaches we have to an experiment in Socialism. Of course these are not real, bona fide experiments in Socialism, for they are carried on by administrations hostile to Socialism and are surrounded by the pitfalls of capitalism. Nevertheless, they are the nearest approaches we have to such experiments.

The Des Moines Register and Leader says: "Among Des Moines' just claims to fame is that it is finishing a \$300,000 public library not given by Andrew Carnegie." Right you are. I believe in giving the devil his due. Hence this mention.

Professor Bascom, of Williams College has been having conniption fits because the money given by John D. Rockefeller to Chicago University was wrung from the people. He thinks all such gifts should be inspected and if they savor of extortion they should be rejected. The professor means well, but what a sweet time the colleges would have finding endowments if they followed his rule! His own college would lose its endowment in a minute. All capital is extorted. The only difference is that John D. is a bigger extorter than most of the others. He extorts by wholesale, while many of them extort by retail. In moral quality there is no difference between the two. It isn't any worse to extort forty-five million dollars than it is to extort forty-five cents. Besides, these extorters cannot help themselves. We vote to have them extort. We compel them to extort from us. Let's give them a rest for a few seconds whilst we inspect ourselves and see if we are not just about as badly tainted as their gifts are. What ticket did you vote, Prof. Bascom? If you voted any but the Socialist ticket, you voted to have John D. Rockefeller and the rest of them continue extorting from the people, and it would be a brilliant idea for you to keep still until you have acquired sufficient mental acumen to cease making a long-eared quadruped of yourself on election day.

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The Tide Heaves Onward

'Tis weary watching wave of wave, And yet the tide heaves onward, We climb, like corals, grave on grave. That pave a pathway sunward: We're driven back for our next fray, A newer strength to borrow, And where the vanguard camps today The rear shall rest tomorrow.

Tho' hearts brood o'er the past, our eyes With smiling futures glisten; For lo! our day bursts up the skies— Lean out your souls and listen! The world is rolling freedom's way, And ripening with her sorrow: Take heart—who bear the cross today Shall wear the crown tomorrow. —William Lloyd Garrison.

\$45.00 per Month

Abram S. Hewitt is dead. I see by the papers he had a family of six children. A railway president says in the Railroad Telegrapher that he considers forty-five to fifty dollars per month an abundant sufficiency to enable a laboring man to live properly, etc.

Now we will concede the laboring man the same right to have a family of eight as had Mr. Hewitt. But then the average is say six. They will eat three meals a day, or eighteen meals daily or five hundred and forty meals a month. We will give them a good spread, at say, ten cents a plate per meal of three meals per day. This will cost what? No allowance for clothing, rent, fuel, medical attendance, etc. Or say we will allow five cents per meal for the five hundred and forty meals eaten monthly, or \$27.00 per month for food, \$8.00 per month for rent, \$8.00 per month for family clothing for six, \$4.00 per month to replace household necessities worn out, \$4.00 per month for fuel, \$1.00 per month for the other necessities. Guess the \$50.00 is about used up. The railway president is right when he says, "All this talk about pianos, music and higher education of children advanced by the working classes is all bosh."

All wealth is the product of labor.

The laborer has to pinch to live on a five cent meal at \$45.00 per month, while his non-productive master, the capitalist, lives at a dollar a meal rate, has all the luxuries that stolen wealth can procure, and chides his laboring slave for wanting to better his condition by getting—not what he produces—but only a small share.

Study up on Socialism, you labor slaves. W. G. STUART.

From the Mills School

Comrade George R. Kirkpatrick will be in Iowa by March 10, expecting to speak at several points. He is a clear, strong exponent of the principles of Socialism and all efforts should be made to give him a good hearing. He is a college graduate, with a two years' post graduate course; was Professor of Economics in two different colleges, covering a term of four years. One of these colleges was the University of Chicago. Comrades will do well to secure his services.

Comrade G. H. Lockwood (Automobile Lockwood) will also be in Iowa some time during March. He is a speaker who needs no recommendation, as he has spoken in several states from his wagon. His illustrated talks are entertaining, clear and convincing, while his chalk talks is a feature which is not new in the movement.

Dates for Comrade Lockwood may be secured by corresponding with me, as I will make arrangements for him while in the state. I will also manage dates for lectures by Comrade Mills to be delivered later in the season.

Comrade Geo. I. Martin, of Sac City, and Comrade Wilson, of Sioux City, propose to work this summer in the Eleventh congressional district.

I will return to Iowa during the summer when C. F. Pachett, of Lake City, and myself propose to do the Tenth district with a wagon, after which I will work in the coal district. I will remain with Comrade Mills for some months, however, to assist in the work of building the permanent school house.

Propaganda meetings are held at Socialist Headquarters here almost every evening, sometimes addressed by Comrade Mills, but more often by the students.

Meetings at the Academy of Music will be continued each Sunday afternoon as the interest in them does not abate.

The Iowa boys here all say they will work for the Iowa Socialist when they arrive home. It is admitted to be the equal of any paper for propaganda purposes by all to whom I have shown it.

S. R. McDOWELL.

From a Christian Viewpoint.

To the Editor:—I am not a Rockefeller, or a Carnegie, neither am I a Rev. Dr. I am simply a plain, everyday workingman with a conception of my present station in life, which, with an equal opportunity, would be equal to any, at least to that extent with which nature created me. I am a firm believer in Christ and His teachings.

Money in this day seems to be the only ideal for which man is striving. In the days of Christ, you will notice, riches was chiefly in lands as possessions, and as I interpret and compare history I find that great possessions in lands were acquired at some time or other through the means of war, thereby creating a power which the possessor of lands held over the non-possessor, which power deprived the poor of an equal opportunity to be an equal of his natural brother, the possessor. Now I believe Christ meant just what he said to the rich young man: "Sell all you have and distribute unto the poor and thou shalt have treasure in heaven." Luke 18: 22. This means all others like him should distribute their possessions among the poor, and for no other reason than to destroy this power gained by war and held by the possessor over his natural brother. This would create an equal opportunity for all alike to enjoy the blessings of the whole earth and the fullness thereof.

No one need pauperize themselves in doing this. It would be just simply obeying the command of Christ and all mankind then could become small enough in the sight of God to pass through the eye of that needle spoken of by Christ to his disciples into the realms above.

If it is true, as Mr. Carnegie says, that all the great doers of the world come out of the hamlets, then to distribute the ill-gotten power in possessions, and if it is true that labor alone equipped this land with untold riches, and that the possession of these riches have been forced out of the hands of the producer by the means of barbaric war, then I conceive it would be only true charity to obey the command of Christ and restore this power to the whole people alike. Then all will be doers and society could evolve into a thoroughly civilized state, physically, mentally and morally.

F. H. BONI.

James Russell Lowell made the statement that an ideal university is an institution in which nothing useful is taught. He must have seen in his vision the University of Chicago and its great "philanthropist" Rockefeller. How can anything useful be taught in an institution which has been built up by stolen wealth? And even its instructors must subsist on the income of wholesale robbery, and, therefore, are not free to express "their" opinion, but must accept the dictation of men like John D. Rockefeller, Marshall Field and others who have donated part of their plunder to this institution. A proof for this we have in the statement of Professor Oscar Lovell Triggs when he said that James Russell Lowell was a "hundred per cent wrong" in the above referred to statement. What is your opinion? H. O. D.

Books of Scientific Socialism.

Table listing various books of scientific socialism with authors and prices. Includes titles like 'A Study in Government', 'The Student's Marx', 'The Communist Manifesto', etc.

THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW, edited by A. M. SIMONS, is the one periodical which every well-informed socialist finds an absolute necessity. Its contributors are the ablest socialist writers of Europe and America. It is the recognized medium for the discussion of the most vital questions of party policy.

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## Co-Operation vs. Competition



As a straw evidencing the growth and spread of Socialist sentiment and indicating the multiplicity of forces at work in its propaganda, the subjoined paper, read by Elmer S. Batterson, head of the S. M. Batterson Dry Goods company, before the Library Debating Club of Muscatine, Iowa, Jan. 9, 1903, should certainly be gratifying and encouraging to those who sincerely desire and are earnestly working for the establishment of the co-operative commonwealth. Mr. Batterson is not a member of the local branch of the Socialist party, neither is it certain that he votes the ticket, but after making such an admirable presentation of the advantages of co-operative, as against individual or competitive, effort, it seems incredible that he can long refrain from accepting the logic of his own argument and taking his place in the ranks of the army now battling for this beneficent transformation.

The Library Debating Club is composed largely of professional and business men, its purpose being to discuss current topics of general interest. Its plan is to arrange debates, assigning two members to the affirmative and negative of the question selected, general discussion following. The announcement that "Socialism" would be discussed attracted the largest assemblage that has been present at any of its sessions, to which the public is invited. Rev. J. L. Murphy, pastor of Grace English Lutheran church, and Mr. Batterson were the advocates of co-operation, while Dr. E. H. King and Dr. John T. Martin (dentist) contended for competition. While no "decision" is rendered at these meetings, in this instance it was clearly manifest that the "co-operators" had captured a large majority of the audience. The session was an interesting one, and it was a good evening for Socialism, although its political phase was not alluded to.

The subject as formally announced was:

### CO-OPERATION VS. COMPETITION.

Resolved, That the substitution of co-operation, as advocated in Socialism, for our present competitive system, should be encouraged.

Mr. Batterson's paper follows:

There are a number of great problems which have been brought to the attention of the American people in recent years that have a direct bearing upon the subject for tonight's discussion.

The present coal strike brings up the question of the right which a man possesses in relation to his own private property, as well as the great general question of the relation between capital and labor.

The hardship endured because of the strike may be great, and the business and political complications may be many, but if we may judge by the attitude of the contestants, the present great problem of capital and labor is small indeed compared to what we may expect in the next few years under our present competitive system.

As we read the daily papers we are struck with amazement at the enormity of the great business combinations which are being formed in all parts of the country. Not only is every line of business being merged and monopolized, but as these trusts grow they seem to become all powerful, having great influence, politically as well as economically. Combination seems to be the order of the day, and whether the present effects are for good or evil, all will concede that there is at least the possibility of great danger, and under our present competitive system there appears to be no obstacle which can impede the progress of the trust.

The world has, of late, experienced some very important wars, important considered both from the amount of blood-shed and the results upon the world's geography. Whether we consider war a curse, or a blessing, and whether the primary causes were for glory or for humanity, this we must see—that the results have been largely commercial. American manufacturers seek a market for what is termed "over-production" in our present competitive system, and the accidents of war bring the desired end. Is it not time that we stop to consider some of the fundamental features of an economic system which, for the greed of a few, will bring political corruption to our state, starvation to our people and death to our neighbors?

If you will accept the tenets of Socialism as practical, you must concede that the system would number the days of strikes, trusts and wars, and if the agitation for such a system will hasten the day of industrial and international peace, it is certainly proper that we should lend encouragement to such a system.

This is the proposition which the affirmative will attempt to demonstrate this evening. To prove our proposition, it is not incumbent upon us to describe any of the numerous plans which have been proposed for bringing about Socialistic co-operation, nor does it devolve upon us to describe the many theories in reference to carrying out these plans. The most ardent abolitionists had little thought of the civil war when they advocated the abolition of slavery, nor had they a clear notion of our present day race problems, but abolition was with them a principle which appeared to be right, and brave men stood for principle, leaving details to be framed by man of later time.

If the principle of Socialism is right, it should be maintained, no matter how many so-called cranks may happen to be in favor of it, and, if our present competitive system is productive of moral degradation and economic loss, it should be condemned and a better system substituted.

There are many misapprehensions regarding co-operation as advocated by Socialists, the greatest, perhaps, being that Socialism means a grand division of present wealth. Nothing is farther from the idea of a thinking Socialist. He does not want a division of present wealth, but of the wealth which his system will create. He does not ask another man to divide with him his property; he only asks the privilege in the future, of sharing with him both in the work of production and the enjoyment of its fruits. Many seem to think that Socialism intends to entirely abolish private property, which is far from the truth. The Socialist asks that the material instruments of production and distribution be owned and managed collectively, but does not wish to deprive any one of private ownership in articles of comfort and luxury.

We need not burden our imaginations to think of this country under Socialism, for we have some fine examples before us every day. Our postal system, which is regarded as the best organized business system of any kind in the world, is according to the Socialist's idea, and our public school system, to which we all point with greatest pride, is directly in line with his thought of co-operation. In many countries familiar to us the railways, and in many more the telegraph lines, have become socialistic organizations, and are so controlled with great success. Socialism designs to abolish private property only in so far as it enables one to gather an income from the toil of others without personal exertion, for the Socialist maintains that, in such a system, tribute is levied upon the labor of others. It does not take from him his art treasures, his sports, or his fads; it rather increases his opportunities to enjoy refinement, recreation, and luxury. Nor does it take away his right to produce upon his own account, but it does offer to him a system which makes production easier and the products within the reach of all. Production is to be carried on for the purpose of satisfying our wants for material things, and not for the sake of private profits.

What a contradiction of terms there is when we speak of over-production of wheat, when many of our citizens are dying of starvation, and what an anomaly where a man cannot afford clothing because there has been a depression brought on by over-production of cotton and wool.

There can be no real over-production as long as there is an actual demand for, and need of, the goods. The fact that people are not able to pay for their necessities should not compel the manufacturer to ship his goods abroad. A system that supports such a principle must be fundamentally wrong somewhere. Production, at the present time, ceases when those who manage are unable to derive profits therefrom. The question is not one of need, but of how much one can afford to pay, or else go without. Under Socialism, production is no longer conducted for exchange but for consumption and not only are wants to be satisfied, but the problem of the unemployed is inconceivable. As long as there are wants, there will be work, and the laborer, being also the consumer, gets full value for the labor expended. If it should be possible to produce more than would be consumed, there need be no embarrassment of the system. If such a time should come, the working day might be shortened to adjust the equilibrium. Not only will all be provided with work, but under Socialism all able-bodied men would be required to work. No law could be easier of enforcement, for then the collective body would be both the employer and provider. Under our present competitive system, industrial evolution and convulsions rob men of their employment under private employers, and the collective body can provide only charity, the most harmful of all things, to the unemployed. As all would be required to work, so all would share in the dividends, but not alone would the able-bodied man receive his share, but also

the man who, through misfortune or otherwise, is prevented from bearing his portion of labor. Socialism guarantees to every person a proper living and does not degrade the individual by placing him in an almshouse when his inability is no fault of his own. Such foresight as this has led one of our leading encyclopaedias to state that the principles of Socialism and Christianity are identical.

The foregoing remarks have to do with the general principles of co-operation as applied under Socialism. Let us now briefly examine the main points in favor of co-operation over competition as applicable to modern business methods.

Our present competitive system involves enormous waste. The railways of the United States probably offer the best illustration of this. Take one specific instance. The railways running parallel to the New York Central and Lake Shore roads were built at an expenditure of about two million dollars, a sum estimated to be sufficient to construct comfortable homes for one million people. These parallel roads at first promised certain advantages of competition, but as in all other similar cases, co-operation proved the better policy, even though a loss of \$200,000,000 in cost of construction had to be entered on the books. Add to the cost of building, the cost of operating these useless railroads, and the total loss reaches an enormous amount. It is estimated that there would be a saving of \$200,000,000 annually if all the railways of this country were operated as a unit. The loss due to competition in the railway business in the United States during our railway history has been more than sufficient to furnish all the people of the United States with comfortable dwellings, provided all houses should be destroyed. It is estimated that there has been a loss of over one hundred million dollars in the affairs of the Western Union Telegraph Company in the needless operation and the disposal of competing lines. In one city alone, Baltimore, there has been a loss of over ten million dollars by competition in furnishing illuminating gas, and this loss has been to the people, for there have been, at various times, six different gas companies, each promising competition and then consolidating. But such examples of economic and direct loss might be cited by the thousand in all branches of commercial activity.

Socialism proposes, by co-operation, to make production easier by abolishing the many needless expenses, such as the net-work paths of competing delivery routes, the efforts of the commercial travelers to capture the customer at his own door, and countless other items of expense. Were these expenses borne collectively, the cost would be but a small fraction of what is now used for similar purposes. It may be claimed by the negative that two dealers competing for trade try to undersell each other and the public gets the benefit. This, of course, does apply at times in a very limited way, but merchants in general do not conduct their business on such principles. Dealers will not compete beyond the point at which competition increases their gross profits. As far as competition does lower prices without lowering quality, the consumer is the gainer, but such competition is short-lived. A trader to defeat his rival can either give better goods for the same money, give the same goods at a lower price, adulterate or otherwise lessen the value of his goods, or advertise more extensively. To make a profit, he must cause an economic loss or defraud his customer. It is folly to think of the consumer adulterating his own goods, so that we might expect better made merchandise under the Socialist's plan. The collective body could produce more cheaply than any competitor for the same reason that a large firm defeats a small firm, or a trust defeats a number of firms. Some statistician has computed that the work of distribution of manufactured products, which now requires all the energy of one-eighth of the total population, under Socialistic co-operation could be furnished by one-eighth. Just consider, for a moment, one form of expense—that of advertising. Advertising exists for two purposes: 1st, to furnish information, and 2d, either to acquire a business, hold one's business, or take away from others. The great proportion of advertising belongs to the second class. It is estimated that over five hundred million dollars is spent annually in the United States for advertising, of which five million would be ample to furnish the information received by the public. Advertising is like the standing army of a European country. Under our present competitive system, one merchant increases his advertising bill above that of his competitor, and considers it necessary for self defense.

Perhaps the most philosophical argument in connection with Socialism is that it would do away with the chance element, and substitute for it an accurate plan. Nothing is more uncertain than death when we consider a single individual in our predictions, but, taking a large number of individuals, we are able to name with almost a certainty, the average duration of life. And so it is with production. A single farmer may take great chances of loss by dry winds or too much rain, but were he one of a great number, working in a co-operative system, the exact amount of product of the average acreage could probably be foretold. Under a system of co-operative Socialism, the demands would be

determined and the object of production would be to meet these demands.

Consider the great amount of energy and capital which is, every day, wasted. Statistics show that nine-tenths of all business men fail, and this under our present system. Think of the enormous waste resulting from financial crisis and industrial depression, the losses in a single week going into the millions. Capital is idle, labor is unemployed, and people want for the necessities of life. Industrial depression seems to be an integral part of our present competitive system; we even look ahead to certain years and expect the crisis. Under Socialism, these disturbances would be impossible, for whether they are caused, as one political party will claim, by over-production, or, as the opposing party will claim, by under-consumption, a system definitely controlling the instruments of production would be a logical preventive.

The economic gains of co-operation as opposed to competition are large, but to these must be added the many moral aspects to which we have simply time to refer. Add to these the features especially suited for solving such present day problems as taxation, the eight-hour day and compulsory education. There seems to be no phase of the subject in which co-operation does not have great advantages over competition. But to summarize in a few words: Socialistic co-operation would mean: Work for all who are able to work, a chance for a living to all human beings, an opportunity to fill all actual needs at the lowest possible cost, a multiplicity of public benefits, less work and less worry for all concerned, with the same returns.

And we affirm that such a system should be encouraged.

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