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Are Fights Within the Party Detrimental to Its Development?

In discussing the contests that frequently demand the attention of party members, it is quite common to say, or hear said: "Let us stop fighting among ourselves and fight capitalism." But the fights continue. There are factional differences that develop into squabbles, and academic discussions which deserve to be called intellectual contests.

During the last two years, there have been party fights of one kind or another in no less than twenty-two of the forty states in which we have Socialist party organizations. One theme, that of party control, has been at the bottom of every dispute and will continue to be one of deepest concern to every member of the Socialist party, who is interested in the growth and purity of the Socialist movement.

As the party begins to be a political factor, the capitalist press will take notice of all the factional differences that may arise in our party. We may depend upon it that the press will discover and publish the news of every "split" in the Socialist ranks. Can we look forward to this with pleasure or regret? Are these fights detrimental to party growth, or are they necessary for its development? Can we ever have a movement void of strife, or is this strife the cost of growing power? Are factional differences to be classed among the barnacles on the Socialist ship of state, or do they belong with the demands of progress? Shall we say that these constant struggles for control of the Socialist movement blight the star of hope, or is it true that where there is no struggle there can be no healthy life?

A study of the various differences that have arisen in the party during the last two years will lead to the conclusion that they belong to the period of development. To deplore them, exposes us to our enemies who would be justified in their charge that we are attempting to change human nature. It would be vitiating the fundamental principles of our philosophy by which we are able to explain the actions of men and women. It is my opinion that the fights are here to stay. How are we going to explain them?

My explanation may be different from yours. In fact, it may prove to be, or considered as, a casus belli. That, too, is easy of explanation, and is really a part of the argument. Since there are no two blades of grass, nor grains of sand exactly alike, no two things in nature similar in every detail, why should we expect two human minds to be exactly the same? If it requires a never-ending variety of trees and leaves, of rocks and sand, of mountains, plains and hills, to make nature beautiful, is it not reasonable to suppose that the innumerable variations among men are necessary in the development of civilization?

To learn that lesson is a most difficult task. Each wants to be free to live his own life in his own way, limited only by the liberty of others, as far as that is understood. Few are willing to grant that same privilege to others. We speak and write as though we are absolutely certain of the position we may happen to take on any question before the party. We are sure that it seems absurd for anyone to take the other side of the argument. We know that we are honest, but we sometimes question the honesty of an opponent.

This is not confined to members of the Socialist party. It is a characteristic of the human nature that we are taunted with trying to change. And the very fact of our bitterly contested fights can be used as an argument against the charge of utopianism, and to prove that we are concerned with the actual conditions of human life as we find them and that we are sane enough to know we will have to fight for every step of progress we take.

Looking at the subject from this standpoint, instead of bemoaning a certain contest that may be going on in the party, we will weigh the arguments presented and take our stand accordingly. Nor will we worry over the fact that between conventions there is a continual discussion going on by mimeograph or party press. At conventions, we will know that the many sharp and well fought debates are evidences of strong and healthy life. No matter if we do strike with our voices, keyed to the limit of physical endurance and restrained only by parliamentary law, we will not become disgusted and leave the hall.

During the recent national convention, very few propositions escaped loud and energetic protest from one or more delegates. Many situations were intensely dramatic, yet the speeches were not products of dramatic art. The delegates were sincere. The many fiery utterances heard on the floor of that convention were from men and women of deep convictions. Such people do not equivocate. They do not trade nor compromise. They fight. Sometimes they may forget to argue; they may even go so far as to demonstrate the common origin of man with the animals that persuade by means of tooth and claw, but there is none of the charlatan in them: in matters of principle, they do not hesitate, nor use soft words for fear some prospective convert will not accept the truth because it has not been stated this way or that. They hew straight to the mark and, in so doing, show themselves worthy the cause they advocate.

To me it seems irrational to anticipate the time when all people will agree. Different shades of opinion are as natural as different blades of grass. That men and women will strive for the adoption of their opinions, no matter what they may be, is a necessary development of vigorous life. And when any number of individuals accept a certain principle as fundamental, and throw down the gauntlet to people of all other schools of thought, that body must be prepared to defend its position against anyone of its members who defends a position at variance with that fundamental. More than that, every member of that body must have the right to question every statement made by any other member, and when anyone finds that with which he cannot agree, and which he believes to be dangerous to further development, there are only two courses open—compromise or fight. To a Socialist, there is only one alternative, and that is to fight.

Being a democratic movement, the Socialist party recognizes the right of every member to be equal with every other. This gives to each the right to question the action of any member on a question of doctrine or tactics. Such equality in an organization whose membership consists of many who have had little or no experience in conducting an organization of their own, may be rife with serious and bitter disputes that riper experience may make unnecessary. But the constant influx of new members is a guarantee, dislike it though we may, that differences of opinion and fights for supremacy will continue. We can make it harder for dissatisfied members to involve the entire party in a dispute, through which the older members may have passed. Danger lies that way. We can lay down the bars and make it easier for a few to involve the rest. Danger lies that way also. No matter how the problem is approached, there are breakers ahead. If we sail on, we may expect to encounter the storms. Can the bark weather the gale?

It is my opinion that all these struggles within the party organization are necessary to its development. They test our strength and prepare us for the more serious conflicts with the capitalist class. We may depend upon it that the final sortie with capitalism will not be a love affair. It will demand strong hearts and clear heads. We will be opposed by men and women who know how to fight. I will go further and say that I believe every fight which has been carried on within the party organization has been a fight against capitalism in some one of its many and subtle forms. Good and true comrades may and do fight on both sides of every contest, and, in the heat of an argument, may denounce each other as dishonest. But when the battle is over, that is when the votes are counted, they line up with the majority and carry on the fight against the common enemy—capital, when the majority continues to wage that fight.

I believe the party fights should be classed as propaganda. The members who take this or that side of a dispute, no matter how serious it may be, are necessary to the development of the Socialist movement, and that so long as the present party organization is brave enough to meet every issue squarely, and as often as it may arise; and fight it out on democratic lines, capitalism cannot stop nor even impede its progress.

W. E. CLARK.

National Quorum Meeting

Held June 11, 1904.

The national quorum of the Socialist party was called to order by National Secretary Maily at 11 a. m., June 11, 1904, in the office of the national headquarters, Chicago. Victor L. Berger of Wisconsin, B. Berlyn of Illinois, John M. Work of Iowa and S. M. Reynolds of Indiana being present, Chas. G. Towner of Kentucky absent.

On motion of Comrade Berger, Comrade Berlyn was elected chairman. W. L. Oswald of the national office was elected secretary.

Letter from Comrade Towner explaining his absence was read by Secretary Maily, and same was ordered on file.

Secretary Maily further reported as follows: Referendums on platform and trades union resolutions are now before the membership. Seriatim vote on constitution will go out today and close by July 25th. Some demands have been received for the submission of the state and municipal program to a referendum, but in accordance with the action of the national convention the program was first to be revised by the national committee and then submitted to a referendum. Comrade Oswald, of New Jersey, has been engaged as bookkeeper in the national office. Comrade Martin having taken charge of literature department and newspaper plate matter. Comrade Clark is on a vacation, Comrade Oneal being temporarily in charge of his work. Contribution blanks for the half day's wage donation to the campaign fund have been sent out, and by this time the comrades should be energetically circulating them and the outlook is for a generous response.

Comrade Maily then gave a systematic

review of the situation in the various states and territories, taking them up one by one. In the course of the statement the following actions were taken:

Secretary Maily advised sending H. M. McKee through Tennessee, North Carolina and South Carolina, in order that we might have an electoral ticket in each state. The suggestion was endorsed by the quorum.

Suggested by Comrade Berlyn that the Quorum issue a concise statement of our position on the Colorado situation.

On motion it was so ordered and Comrade Berger was instructed to draft same.

On suggestion of Secretary Maily Comrade Berger moved that the national secretary be instructed to telegraph all state secretaries that the quorum recommends them to notify all locals in their respective states to arrange for public protest meetings against capitalist anarchy in Colorado and that at such meetings collections be made to assist the Western Federation of Miners in Colorado. Adopted.

Adjournment for recess.
Quorum reconvened at 2 o'clock.

Continuing his review by states, National Secretary Maily submitted correspondence from W. Harry Spears, of Chicago, claiming recognition as temporary state secretary of the Socialist party of Illinois, as the result of action reported to have been taken by the state executive committee. Also letter from Jas. S. Smith, state secretary, notifying the national secretary not to recognize W. Harry Spears, as the latter is a suspended member of Local Cook County.

Comrade Spears, having asked an opportunity to present his case, Comrade Berger moved that each of the two claimants to the state secretaryship be given one-half hour in which to present their arguments

to the quorum, and that they be notified to appear at 4 o'clock. Carried.

Correspondence from the state secretary of Indiana presenting the necessity for an organizer in that state was read, and Secretary Maily recommended sending an organizer as requested.

On motion of Comrade Work it was decided to send Comrade Towner into Indiana for a period of from six weeks to two months.

Letter was submitted from the state secretary of Vermont asking that an organizer be sent into that state. Moved by Comrade Reynolds to send Comrade Hanford to Vermont for a short period previous to the state election in September. Carried.

The national secretary was instructed to procure information as to the cost of maintaining the present state organizer in Florida, with the intention of lending assistance to that state.

On motion of Comrade Reynolds the action of the national secretary in approving Local Laurium, Mich., in the matter of expelling John B. Rastella for having accepted a nomination from a capitalist party, and on demand refusing to withdraw his name from the ticket, was approved.

The national secretary reported that Mrs. Ella Reeve Cohen was performing organizing work in Delaware for the national headquarters, receiving sufficient financial aid to cover her traveling expenses and those of speakers engaged. Approved.

The national secretary recommended that a referendum be initiated in the Indian territory on the question of territorial organization. On motion of Reynolds, he was empowered to take such a step.

The action of the national secretary in calling a convention of the Socialist party of Maryland to nominate electoral ticket was endorsed.

The national secretary reported having called a state convention in Rhode Island for June 12th, upon request of locals, and presented correspondence from locals relative to conditions in that state.

Berlyn moved that in view of the special circumstances existing in Rhode Island, the locals of that state be authorized to form a state organization if they deemed it necessary, and that they be telegraphed to that effect.

The national secretary reported having agreed with Comrade Chas. E. Randall after the national convention not to recommend that a national organizer be sent into Utah within at least sixty days, upon promise of Comrade Randall that he would, upon his return to Utah, recommend unattached locals in that state to apply for charters direct from the national headquarters. The secretary also reported that in response to request in letter from Comrade Randall, blank applications for charters had been sent to unattached locals in Utah. Secretary Maily's action was endorsed.

The national secretary reported having issued calls for the Wyoming state convention to be held at Laramie, June 19th, in accordance with referendum. A call had been issued by F. W. Ott, signing himself "State Secretary." Comrade Ott explained that this call had to be published to comply with the law of Wyoming.

Moved by Comrade Reynolds that the national secretary be empowered to take necessary steps toward securing an electoral ticket in every state. Carried.

The subject of general organizing work was then taken up.

The national secretary reported Organizer W. M. Wilkins to be in West Virginia, G. H. Goebel in Arizona, Robert Saltiel in Rhode Island, and that Geo. E. Bigelow

would begin a tour of South and North Dakota in July.

Proposition was submitted from Wm. A. Toole, Baltimore, Md., offering his services as organizer during his two weeks' vacation in July, at the same terms as last year. Comrade Work moved to accept the offer. Carried.

Correspondence between national secretary and National Organizer Goebel on matters in April financial report was submitted and the quorum voted to allow the charges of Comrade Goebel up to May 1st, but to establish hereafter the principle of not paying for baths, laundry and similar items.

Four o'clock having arrived, it was, on motion, decided to admit the Illinois contestants. Comrade Berlyn resigned the chair in order to avoid the charge of exercising a biased judgment, he being a resident of Illinois. Comrade Reynolds was elected in his place.

Comrade Spears not having appeared, Comrade Jas. S. Smith began to speak at 4:08. A few minutes later Comrades W. Harry Spears, J. H. Bard and Chas. Erickson of the opposition were admitted. It was then decided by unanimous consent that Comrade Spears should begin speaking at once, and Comrade Smith should follow him. Comrade Spears spoke for thirty-five minutes. Comrade Smith then made a brief statement, after which cross questions began and continued till 6 o'clock. Owing to the length and involved nature of the debate, the secretary did not attempt to record same.

At the close of the debate the meeting adjourned for recess.

The quorum reconvened at 8 o'clock. A communication from Comrade M. V.

Continued on Fourth Page.

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National Socialist Ticket

For President,
EUGENE V. DEBS,
Of Indiana.

For Vice President,
BENJAMIN HANFORD,
Of New York.

HERESY HUNTING

When the new platform, which is now being voted upon by the members of the Socialist party, was almost unanimously adopted by the Chicago convention it was remarked that its adoption without opposition or amendment was quite eloquent of the faithful and painstaking work of the committee which drafted it.

But more eloquent than even that is the fact that the only criticism of the platform which has appeared (with one or two exceptions) is a criticism of its literary diction and brilliancy of style, unless personal abuse of the writer of the platform—by a few who are perhaps intellectually incapable of understanding it—may be considered criticism of the document itself. And in passing we might suggest that while there are now certain qualifications required of the applicant for membership in the Socialist party it might be well in future to add another restriction—an educational test as to the applicant's knowledge of the relative merits of personal abuse and calm argument in discussion.

It is true, there is objection to the immediate demands in the platform, but as these were also contained in all previous platforms—American as well as German—this is not so much an objection to the platform as it is an objection to the program or tactics of the party. It is the ghost of impossibilism again.

From Local Omaha comes a long manifesto criticizing the platform. After wading through columns of facts and figures proving that the American revolution had an economic cause (which perhaps some of us outside of Omaha also knew before) and that it was waged in the interest of the then rising capitalist class of America; after a final thrust at "this creature with its democratic and single tax tail thrown in;" after reading with bated breath a thrilling and blood-curdling appeal to the wage workers of the Socialist party to "Resent this insult offered to your class; sink this middle class document; bury it so far in the realms of oblivion that the trumpeters who heralded its coming can never more recall it;" after surviving all this, what do we find? We find "love's labor lost;" that all this ado is about nothing, for the whole thing is based on a curious misinterpretation of a clause in the opening paragraph of the new plat-

form. This paragraph is as follows:

"The Socialist party, in convention assembled, makes its appeal to the American people as the defender and preserver of the idea of liberty and self-government, in which the nation was born; as the only political movement standing for the program and principles by which the liberty of the individual may become a fact; as the only political organization that is democratic, and that has for its purpose the democratizing of the whole of society."

The principal objection of the Omaha comrades to the platform is based on the assumption that in the third clause of the above paragraph the "American people" are called the "defender and preserver of the idea of liberty and self-government in which the nation was born." As a matter of fact, it is the "Socialist party," not the "American people," which is called "the defender and preserver of the idea of liberty and self-government in which the nation was born." That this is the meaning of this clause is made clear by the balance of the paragraph: "as the only political movement standing for the program and principles by which the liberty of the individual may become a fact; as the only political organization that is democratic, and that has for its purpose the democratizing of the whole of society."

Surely the "American people" were not referred to in this paragraph as "the defender and preserver of the idea of liberty and self-government" any more than they were referred to as "the only political movement standing for the program and principles by which the liberty of the individual may become a fact," or as "the only political organization that is democratic, and that has for its purpose the democratizing of the whole of society."

Up to the time we read the Omaha manifesto we thought the style of the platform simple enough to be understood by every workingman, but we must object to its style now. If the scientific-Marxian-proletarian-revolutionary-militant-dyed-in-the-wool members of famous Local Omaha—as well as the astute editor of The Worker, who reviewed this "manifesto" and failed to note the blunder of its authors, evidently having read the same meaning into the clause in question;—if these misconstrue the very first sentence of the platform how can we expect the unsophisticated workingman to understand it? Has he escaped the enigma of "proletariat" and "bourgeoisie" only to lose himself in the labyrinths of the abstract as well as abstruse question of whether it is the American people or the Socialist party, or both, that are the defenders and preservers of the idea of liberty and self-government? What's that? The American people the defenders of liberty? Base treason! The word "people" has become anathema to the Socialists. Poor "scientific" Daniel DeLeon and his daily and weekly "People," and the r-r-revolutionary Ford and his "Referendum," how dare you banner such middle class words as these at your mastheads? Verily, your "science" is but milk and water thrice diluted!

And the idea of appealing to the "American people" instead of to the "working class and those in sympathy with it!" What if Karl Marx did say the working class cannot attain its emancipation from the sway of the capitalist class, "without, at the same time, and once and for all, emancipating society at large from all exploitation, oppression, class distinctions and class struggles." Perish the idea.

Truly, there is more truth than fiction in Bernard Shaw's statement that "Socialism is growing in

spite of the Socialists," and the statement of another that everything is making for Socialism except the comrades themselves.

Poor Omaha! O what a fall was there, my countrymen!

Yes, "we must marshal our phalanx of facts and logic in such a way as will shatter into fragments every opposing force and opposition." But be sure you know the position and strength of the opposition.

We believe with Comrade Clark that factionalism is a sign of life and that criticism is wholesome and necessary, but we do not believe we need any heresy hunters in the Socialist party. Let us leave heresy hunting to the capitalistic institutions to which it is peculiar. "Our institutions we are bringing with us." Let us watch our officers and those to whom we delegate the writing of our platforms, etc. Let us criticize their work if necessary. But let us not criticize merely for the sake of criticizing. Let us criticize honestly and with minds unwarped by bias or prejudice, lest in seeking to confuse, we fall into "confusion worse confounded."

We agree with The Worker that this Omaha manifesto is "well worth reading," and that it is the "utterance of men who are studying and thinking for themselves." We only regret that this "phalanx of facts and logic" was not created to defend us against the attacks of the common enemy instead of being built upon a false premise and turned against ourselves.

THE LATEST DISASTER

In the mad race for dollars, what do a few hundred lives signify? Nothing at all under capitalism.

The world stands aghast for awhile over the awful disaster, and serious things are threatened by way of investigations, punishments, regulative legislation, and what not, but no effort is made or contemplated toward getting at the root of such outrageous inroads upon human life. The merry competitive game still goes on, leaving behind it a bloody trail of hundreds and thousands of human victims.

One paper comments upon the Slocum disaster as follows:

The disaster also directs attention to the inflammable nature of the boat's construction. It was built of seasoned wood through which the flames made rapid progress. Gen. Dumont, supervising inspector at New York, says he has maintained ever since 1880 that all passenger boats should be of steel construction and the boilers sheathed with steel. This recommendation will go to congress the coming winter, but, as its adoption would greatly depreciate the value of thousands of boats now in existence, powerful influences will doubtless be used to defeat it.

There we see the futility of trying to legislate for the protection of life; it changes values on "private property," hence will be strenuously opposed. Even if this recommendation, or others, should be favorably passed upon by congress, what good would come of it? The editor quoted above says:

It is another case of violation of law with fatal results. Had the government's regulations been observed by the captain or enforced by the inspectors there would have been no such loss of life and probably none at all.

Which goes to show that it is quite possible to violate any law that is made, and while the violator may be severely punished, it does not bring to life the hundreds of victims.

Another editor says:

A spasm of reform will now seize the authorities and corrective legislation will be the order of the day. This is all right in its way, and, if closer inspection of all marine craft, and more stringent rules of navigation come out of it, our sad lesson will not have been in vain. The deplorable feature is that such

a slaughter of the innocents must be found necessary to awaken us to a sense of existing conditions.

But it does not "awaken us to a sense of existing conditions." When even the editors who to such a great extent mold public opinion, do not "awaken to a sense of existing conditions," or at least do not see fit to allude to those conditions in their editorials, what can we expect of the great majority of the people who are ever willing to take their opinions at second hand?

So long as competition rules the world, we must expect just such occurrences. Industrial and commercial lines are so sharply drawn, that to succeed in any line of business necessitates dishonest methods and violations of the law.

The most unscrupulous business man, the one who cares the least about "regulations," honor, the safety and welfare of his employes or customers, sets the pace which all others must keep or be crowded out of the field.

In this way we put a premium on crooked methods and invite disasters.

In this case, the captain, the crew, the inspector will come in for the condemnation of the public, and possibly for punishment in the courts; while all the time this same public is to blame more than those few individuals, who are but the natural outgrowth of this competitive industrial system which is so strenuously upheld by this same outraged public, and which gives more consideration to the accumulation of dollars than to the preservation of human life. So long as this system lasts, we will continue to have fire-trap theaters, rotten life preservers, and the like. Is it not time you gave some thought to protecting the children by voting to abolish the system that sacrifices them?

You will have a chance next fall to register your emphatic disapproval of all disasters and sacrifices of life.

See that you do it.

The day before the republican convention Chauncey Depew said: "We of New York have held a convention which will be ratified tomorrow and next day. We have nominated Roosevelt for president and Fairbanks for vice president and they will be endorsed. We have written a platform of principles and that will be ratified tomorrow or next day. We are the people who have received grate and are absolutely sure of salvation." Right you are, Chauncey, old boy. The "dear people" are so "easy."

The Telegraph-Herald says that while there are "many and gross evils today attending the marriage relation; there is adultery, cruelty, child desertion and the sacrament is made the subject for jest," yet "it is impossible to conceive of any good results from the adoption of the advanced Socialists' ideas of the marriage relation." It is now up to the T.-H. to explain what those "advanced ideas" are which it fears would "steep the age in the iniquity of Pompeii." Ugh! Turn on the light.

According to a Chicago paper, there will be four women delegates to the republican convention—one from Utah, one from Idaho, and two from Colorado. What will our good republican friends (?) do with them? The republican party has never been known to favor woman suffrage—not to any alarming extent, you know, and the situation may become a trifle awkward.

It is said that merchants of Moscow and other Russian cities have secretly subscribed for the Japanese war loan. Patriotism is only for fool workmen.

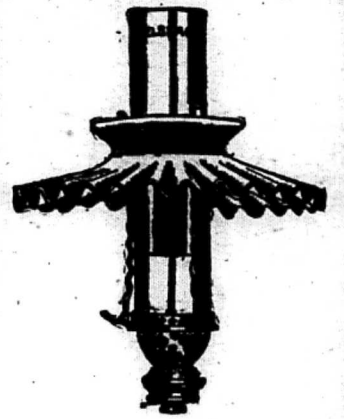
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Are You a Real or a Sham Socialist?

We hear a good deal of the unselfish devotion of Socialists to their cause. It is claimed that there is no other organization whose members have shown such a self-sacrificing spirit for the good of a cause as ours. I heartily wish that this was true, but the facts do not bear it out. It is true of a very limited number in our ranks, and to them all honor and appreciation. But of the great mass of men claiming to be Socialists it cannot be truly affirmed. A couple of years ago nearly 300,000 votes were cast for our party, but of that number only about one in thirty was a dues paying member of the party. Of those who pay dues scarcely more than one in ten can be depended upon to pay his dues without urging, and much fewer than that will lift a finger to do their fair share of the work necessary to be done of their own accord.

It is a sickening and disheartening thing to know that this is true, that men who know the tremendous import of passing events and the magnificent hopes and prospects which are held out to suffering and crucified humanity through the adoption of Socialism, can be guilty of shirking the work that they could and ought to do to help bring in the day of redemption that Socialism promises and be looking for excuses for their conduct, instead of gladly and willingly doing their little mite for so grand a cause. It is a revelation of petty meanness and amazing fatuity that almost surpasses belief. A man who is ignorant of Socialism may be excused for not embracing it and doing his part, but a man who knows its aims and purposes can only be excused for not active work in its behalf by some overpowering reason that not one man in one hundred can set up.

There is no doubt in the world in my mind that if but half the men who vote the Socialist ticket would do even a small part of their duty towards the cause, we could poll at least 4,000,000 votes the coming fall.

As it is, the whole burden of the movement is deliberately thrown on the devoted and undaunted few who are struggling to advance Socialism. In my judgment this is a most shameful and disgraceful thing. "Faith without works is dead," and Socialism without work is an impossibility. Whoever imagines that we are going to drift into Socialism without the most strenuous exertion to attain it by all who call themselves Socialists, is making a most fearful mistake that will cost us all dearly.

We will, without doubt, drift into chaos and slavery if we are too mean to do what we can to inaugurate Socialism, but no liberty or other good thing has ever been attained in that way; and after any liberty has been secured at the cost of blood and suffering "eternal vigilance is the price" that must be paid to perpetuate it.

Now every Socialist knows, if he is enough of a Socialist to understand the very first principle of Socialism, that co-operation is the foundation principle from which has sprung every good that has come to humanity. Without it man never would have been more than a savage, and that too of a very low degree.

No society, no civilization, no advancement of any kind would have been possible without it. Its power is almost beyond belief.

Adam Smith, the father of political economy, whose book, "The

Wealth of Nations," has been a standard work among orthodox professors for over 100 years, says that one man making pins could scarcely make ten pins a day, whereas, ten men working together each performing a single operation, can make 48,000 pins in a day, thereby increasing the productive power of the individual 480 fold.

Modern industry has shown this to be true in all branches of human production. This fact is the stronghold of Socialist philosophy, and every man who has any claim to calling himself a Socialist knows it.

Now organization is the body and soul of co-operation. Without it an army becomes a mob. With it an army of one hundred can overcome thousands who are not organized. Socialists without an organized party cannot hope for success, and every Socialist worthy of the name is perfectly aware of it. Why is it then that we find twenty-nine out of thirty who dub themselves Socialists deliberately avoiding joining the party ranks and adding their assistance, small though it may be individually, to make the movement a glorious success? A very, very few no doubt have some acceptable excuse for failing to join us, but as for the great majority there seems to be no reason but pure cussedness and selfish meanness that ill becomes one calling himself a Socialist. If the whole rank and file would frankly join us and manfully do what they could to help the work along, we would bound ahead with an irresistible momentum that would carry all before it. Instead of having a weak and dying local in any place we would have a vigorous and aggressive organization in every precinct in the state. Three just men would have saved Sodom from destruction, and five "good men and true" can form and maintain a local in any small place which will set the whole neighborhood aflame for Socialism if they will make a decent and persistent effort to do so. But the work must be done persistently, and not merely as a passing fad; or it will not have its full effect.

"The steady work that never stops
Is stronger than the fiercest shocks:
The constant fall of water drops,
Will groove the adamant rocks."

A regular and sustained pressure will overcome all opposition and effect the most wonderful results. Try it.

Let me tell you something. This is YOUR fight. If the people of this country fail to realize this fact none of us will live to see Socialism, but most of us will see a bloody chaos and appalling suffering.

What possible reason can you offer why you yourself should be excused from doing your fair share in this fight for human liberty? Why should you expect that a few devoted men should carry on this battle in your behalf? It is your battle as much as it is theirs or anyone's. I want to tell you right now that Socialism cannot be achieved in that way. However honest and true the comrades who are now bearing the burdens of the struggle may be, unless the whole people take hold of it and keep it under their joint control, sooner or later, corrupt and selfish men will get control of the party organization and it will go the way of all parties left by the voters to the management of a few men. Thomas Jefferson said that no body of men outside the whole body of the people had ever been found that when entrusted with power had not

abused it, and this is everlastingly true.

In all cases liberties have been betrayed whenever the people have shirked their responsibilities and have handed over their government or other affairs into the keeping of a few men. Unless the majority of the American people can be brought to see this and that they must THEMSELVES keep in charge of their affairs, neither Socialism nor liberty of any kind can be maintained.

"Who would be free, himself must strike the blow," and who would remain free, himself must also keep his freedom in his own hands.

Everything, excepting the comrades themselves, is working to bring in Socialism. The capitalists with a fatuity that seems inspired by a higher power, with their hired thugs under the guise of militia, their "riot cartridge," their bull pens, injunctions, lock-outs, blacklists and other enginery of murder and outrage are doing their utmost to drive the workers into our fold. The unemployed and starving workingmen are every day becoming more numerous. The workers are learning their power and the solidarity of their interests. The great Chicago convention has given us for national standard bearers men who in true manliness and nobility of character are the superiors of any ticket the other parties can put up. It has given us a platform without any of the meaningless formalities, "whereases," "resolves," and "demands" which the old parties have worn threadbare by endless and idiotic repetition for generations, and has given us instead a simple and candid statement of Socialist ideals and purposes with a pledge at the end to carry them out faithfully so soon as the people clothe us with the power to do so. It has given us a clear and plain constitution that can be understood by all, and a state and municipal program to guide whoever we may elect to office as to what is considered the proper course of action in every probable emergency during their terms of office. In short, the way has been blazed out for the advent of Socialism so that none may miss the road, and nothing is now left but that the comrades should start the ball and keep it rolling until we can achieve our desires and hopes.

The present year marks the most important epoch in the world's history. One event, big with weal or woe to our people, "doth tread upon another's heels, so fast they follow." Already the constitution, the laws, the writ of habeas corpus and all our traditions of liberty have been overthrown in one of the states in this union without one word of protest from the capitalist press, in the desperate attempt by the capitalists to stem the tide of Socialism. Unless rebuked by the people, this condition of military despotism and anarchy will surely spread to every state and we will become its victims.

A mighty vote for the Socialist ticket next fall will do more than all other forces combined to give these desperate and criminal capitalists pause in their wild career. To secure it requires immediate ORGANIZATION by all Socialists. The more quickly it can be effected and the more complete it can be made, the greater the result will be.

Now what are YOU going to do to help effect this? Are you going to sit supinely down with folded hands and let this all important crisis and opportunity slip by you unheeded or are you going to take the manly part of a true Socialist and join with the faithful few who are now struggling to overthrow the criminal and dangerous capit-

alist hosts or will you play the cowardly part of a snake and traitor to Socialism in this critical period? These are the questions that are up to every man who claims to be a Socialist and is not yet enlisted in the fight. And remember this: A Socialist who merely stands aloof and refuses to do his full duty in this contest, whatever he claims, is doing more to discourage and retard Socialism than an open enemy.

So let every man who claims to be a Socialist at once buckle on his armor and enlist, resolved to do his utmost in the contest that is now on until the sun goes down on the day of battle next November, or forever after hold his peace about his Socialism. — Wm. C. Green in The Worker.

Printer's Ink, the recognized authority on advertising all over the civilized world, after a thorough investigation on the subject, says: "A labor paper is a far better advertising medium than an ordinary newspaper in comparison with circulation. A labor paper, for example, having 1,000 subscribers, is more valuable to the business men who advertise in it than an ordinary paper with 6,000 subscribers."

LOCAL MEETINGS

Des Moines Local No. 6 meets second and fourth Sunday afternoons of each month at 3:00 o'clock in Yeoman Hall.

Davenport local meets every first and third Friday in the month at Turner hall. Visitors always welcome. B. W. Wilson, Sec., 821 East 14th street.

Dubuque Local meets every Tuesday evening at 8:00 o'clock at Socialist Headquarters, 6th and Iowa streets.

Sioux City Local meets every Thursday at 7:30 p. m. in Trades and Labor Assembly Hall, fifth floor Opera House Block.

C. W. CROSBY
OPTICIAN
205-206 Security Building

How to be Happy in Love

Explained in Book
"The Folly of Being Good."
Illustrated. 10 cents. Mailed on receipt of price by
LANG'S SUPPLY CO.,
703 W. 8th St. Muscatine, Iowa

STUDY SOCIALISM BY CORRESPONDENCE.

Socialism is the greatest subject of the greatest age of history. It may be studied by correspondence. The American Socialist College provides excellent facilities at a low cost. Address for information, THOMAS E. WILL, Pres., 209 Sedgwick Building, Wichita, Kans.

Journeymen Tailors Union Label
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Wilberding, Tailor

1524 CLAY STREET.

Homan & Roehl

Furniture

Carpets, Rugs, Stoves, Refrigerators and Crockery

Town Clock Bldg.

I CURE DISEASES PECULIAR TO MEN



I positively cure Lost Vitality, Weakness, Varicocele, Stricture, Racial Trouble, Blood Poison and all Urinary Diseases of men and women. I will guarantee to cure you.

My treatment will overcome all weakness and restore strength, vitality and nerve power. I have made a specialty of treating chronic, nervous and private diseases of men and women for several years. I positively cure without cutting or dangerous surgical operations. Consultation, examination and advice free. Call or write.

DR. HARMANN,
ROOMS 212-208 B. & I. Bldg., Dubuque, Iowa. Hours 9 to 11 a. m. 1 to 4 and 7 to 9 p. m. Sunday 9 to 11 a. m.

Headquarters

FOR THE BEST MAKES OF

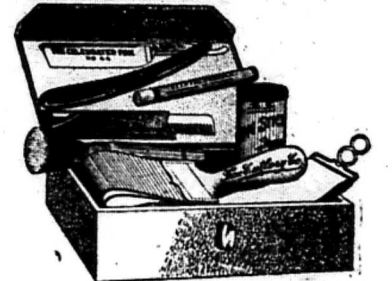
Union-Made Spring Suits Spring Overcoats

HATS, CAPS AND FURNISHING GOODS.

THE MODEL

One-Price Clothing House,
438-446 MAIN STREET.

\$3.00 for this Set.



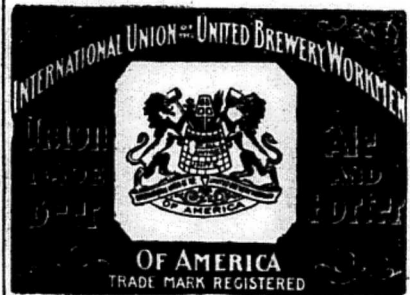
Fox Cutlery Co., (Of New York.)
Dubuque, Iowa.

A. R. Knights & Co.

Jewelers and Opticians

Finest Store, Largest Stock and Lowest Prices on same quality of Goods and Work in the State of Iowa.

708 to 714 Main St.



Demand this label on packages Beer, Ale, Porter

CALL ON

H. C. Bechtel

177 Main St., Bet. 1st and 2d.

FOR YOUR

...SHOES...

He carries the largest and best line of Union Made Shoes in the city. Exclusive Agent Douglas \$3.00 and \$3.50 Shoe.

C. P. Mettel & Co.

Fancy Groceries

Corner Twelfth and Iowa Sts

James Levi & Co.,

DRY GOODS, CLOAKS and FURS.

7TH AND MAIN STS.

IF YOU WANT GOOD MEAT at Reasonable Prices get it at

M. Kohn's Meat Market

341 TWELFTH ST.

SPARE RIBS EVERY DAY REGULAR

F. L. EGELHOF,

Undertaker and Embalmer

Open Day and Night. Both Phones.

Wittmer's Drug Store..

IMPORTED and DOMESTIC Perfumes

1347 Clay St. Of all Kinds.

C. O. D. Laundry Co.

Up-to-date, Modern Equipped. High Gloss or Domestic Finish.

Hotel and Restaurant Work. 24-6 8th St., Dubuque, Ia.

National Headquarters Bulletin

CAMPAIGN FUND.
Total to noon, June 18.....\$ 42 91
Previously reported.....112 94
Total.....\$ 155 85

The weekly bulletin is brief this week in order to provide for the publishing in full of the report of the quorum meeting held June 11.

The first returns from the organized states upon the contribution lists for the half day's wage donation to the national campaign fund came through the state secretary of Montana, who reported \$12.75 collected upon one list alone. This is a good start. If every list would bring as much what a campaign for Socialism could be carried on this year!

The national secretary has had prepared a single column combination cut of Debs and Hanford suitable to run at the head of the editorial column of Socialist papers during the campaign. One of these cuts will be furnished free to each paper upon application, on condition that the cut be returned when the campaign closes. Address the national secretary direct.

"Who is Responsible for Anarchy in Colorado?" This is the title of the statement issued by the national committee of the Socialist party. One hundred thousand copies have already been printed and sent out to the various party organizations. Orders to any amount for this timely leaflet can be filled by the national secretary. Thirty cents per 100 up to 500, postpaid; 500, 60 cents, and 1,000, \$1, express paid by purchaser. These figures are cost.

Beginning next week the national secretary will send out a special bulletin relating to the national campaign and this bulletin will be continued until after election day. Editors are requested to set aside space in a conspicuous part of their papers for this bulletin and run same under a special headline, such as "News of the National Campaign." The bulletin will contain announcements regarding literature, speakers and other matters of interest to the campaign and it is intended that the party membership be kept thoroughly posted on all the plans and movements of the national headquarters.

National Quorum Meeting

Continued from First Page.

Konda, offering to act as Slavonic speaker in the east, providing his railroad fare is paid, was read, and the national secretary was instructed to procure full particulars.

Communications from and to Comrade Spargo, relative to a western tour, were read and the national secretary was empowered to arrange a tour for Comrade Spargo, not to extend beyond election day, the national office to assume responsibility for any financial loss.

Moved by Berger that all speakers and organizers be informed that the national committee will not assume the responsibility of employing them after election day. Carried.

The national secretary reported that he was preparing a report for the International Socialist and Trades Union Congress in accordance with a request of the secretary of the International Socialist Bureau, and had requested and received the assurance of the co-operation of Comrades M. Hillquit, Alex. Jonas and Ernest Untermann. The secretary also recommended that same be gotten up in printed form in English, German and French, for distribution among the delegates to the congress. The report would accede to the request of the International Bureau as much as possible and give an outline of the growth and development of the Socialist and trade union movements in America since 1900.

The resignation of Comrade Ernest Untermann as delegate to the International Socialist and Trade Union Congress was read, and, upon motion, accepted.

The national secretary was instructed to notify Comrade M. Hillquit, the alternate delegate, of Comrade Untermann's resignation.

Applications for credentials to the congress were received from Comrades Nicholas Klein and Mrs. Corinne S. Brown, and both were granted.

The quorum then took up consideration of national campaign matters. Comrade Berger suggested that various committees be appointed to conduct the campaign. After discussion, in which Comrades Work, Reynolds and Berlyn expressed themselves against the suggestion, the matter was dropped.

The national secretary reported that Comrade Debs would rest as much as possible from lecturing during June, July and August, filling only dates that were either arranged for or promised before he was nominated for president. That Comrade Debs would be prepared to open his cam-

paign in September, and work unremittingly until election day. Also that Comrade Debs had placed his entire arrangements in the hands of the national office and would carry out whatever plans were made for him to the best of his ability.

Comrade Hanford had notified the national secretary that he would be ready for active work in the field July 15, and placed his arrangements under the entire direction of the national office, and would do everything possible to make the campaign successful.

An outline of the campaign tour of Comrades Debs and Hanford, as he had planned them, was then presented by National Secretary Maily. Briefly, they were to route Comrade Debs from Chicago southward through the southern states, then the southwestern section, to the Pacific ocean, up the coast to Washington, then through the northwestern and central states back to Chicago. From this point he would work east, returning in time to close the campaign in Terre Haute on Nov. 6. In the meantime Hanford would fill dates in Maine and Vermont before the state elections, afterwards going into the southwest. He would then work in the eastern and central states and close before election in the Pacific states.

After considerable discussion the general plan was approved with the modification that Comrade Debs should not go into any state south of Kentucky and Missouri. Consent was given Comrade Maily to go on record as believing that Comrade Debs should go into certain cities of the south, which the modification of the quorum would exclude.

The national secretary's plan of charging a definite sum to locals for the services of Debs and Hanford and furnishing advertising matter with the speakers was endorsed.

Moved by Comrade Berger that each candidate receive \$500 toward their expenses during the campaign, and more if necessary. Carried.

The Illinois case was then taken up and it was moved by Work: That having listened to the presentation of both sides and given the matter due consideration, the quorum decide to recognize James S. Smith as state secretary of Illinois. The motion being put to a vote resulted as follows: Yes—Work, Reynolds and Berger; Berlyn not voting; none against.

Berger wished his opinion in the case to go on record as follows:

"I vote as I do because the national committee deals with state committees only and not with any minority fraction of same. Furthermore, we have never been notified that the majority of the state committee of Illinois has removed Smith or has assented to his removal."

The national secretary submitted a list of pamphlets in English and other languages which he proposed should be issued during the campaign and his plans in the matter were approved. A sketch for a colored lithograph containing portraits of Debs and Hanford was also approved.

Secretary Maily reported in regard to the literature bureau, that the same was being got into shape pending result of referendum on constitution; the report of convention proceedings would be ready in a few days, orders are coming in and there is probability of a good sale.

The national secretary also reported that account books for local and state officials were mentioned in a circular to local secretaries and orders are coming in. As soon as the number of orders warrant, books will be printed. Circular letter to locals upon plate matter had been sent out. Responses are beginning to come in. Also that he had written to papers that had already promised to take plate matter and majority had agreed to take from the national office. That 100 papers were needed before the American Press Association would handle same, and he hoped soon to have sufficient to begin sending out plates. Articles by Debs, Simons, Martin, Oneal and others are ready for the first issue.

The national secretary submitted forms for proposed resignation blanks for Socialist candidates for use by state, county and city committees, and suggested that same be issued by the national office for the convenience of the various organizations. These forms were prepared in response to numerous demands. Approved.

Quorum adjourned at 12:45 to meet again July 9 at 8 p. m.

W. L. OSWALD, Secretary.

Thornwick Rye
Equal to the Best
And Better than the Rest.

P. C. Murray, the lawyer in the office building, makes a specialty of drawing wills and settling estates.

The Iowa Socialist in bundles at fifty cents per hundred. Express prepaid.

Roshek Bros.,

The Store of Real Economies.

NEW CARPET DEPARTMENT NOW LOCATED IN THOMPSON STORE.

This Week's Special Bargains.

LADIES' \$12.50 SILK SHIRT
WAIST SUITS

\$6.98.

LADIES' \$15.00 FANCY TAFFETA
SHIRT WAIST SUITS

11.98

200 WALKING AND DRESS SKIRTS
WORTH \$3.50 TO \$6.00

EACH FOR

2.98

ALL CHILDREN'S COATS AT
HALF PRICE.

LADIES' SILK ETON JACKETS AT
HALF PRICE.

Big Special Sale of
Carpets.

200 ROLLS OF BEST ALL WOOL ONE
YD. WIDE INGRAIN CARPETS
VALUE 85c PER YARD

THIS SALE

59c.

5,000 PAIRS LACE CURTAINS ON SALE
AT 33 1/3 PER CENT DISCOUNT.

General Notes

Waterloo, Iowa, June 17.

Local Waterloo meets every Thursday. Visiting Socialists are cordially invited to attend. At our last meeting four new comrades were admitted. We expect to be one of the top notchers of the state by Aug. 1.

E. D. HAMMOND.

Des Moines, Iowa, June 20.

Dear Comrades: I view with alarm the leading editorial in last week's Socialist, and hope something can be done at state convention to keep the paper afloat. I don't know of a paper in existence that has done and is doing as much for the organization, and it would simply be impossible for the Iowa movement to get along half as well.

J. J. JACOBSEN.

Iowa Notes

All aboard for Marshalltown.

The state committee has decided to meet in Marshalltown July 3, the members in actual attendance being empowered to act for the whole committee.

A sufficient number of ballots for a referendum vote on the national constitution have been forwarded to the Iowa secretaries. The vote closes July 25.

Subscription lists have been returned from a R. R. employe in Cedar Rapids, Wm. Bateman, Seymour; C. Thorgrimson, Decorah; Wm. M. Wellous, Clarkson; J. C. Frazey, Shelby; J. M. Higbee, Manson; R. S. Spurrier, Tingley, and M. H. J. de Crane, Orange City.

Delegates to the state convention should be prepared to give a fairly accurate estimate of the number of speakers desired during the campaign. The Iowa secretary has been requested to furnish the national office with an estimate of the demand for speakers the Iowa organization will be likely to make.

J. J. JACOBSEN, Secretary.

Local Notes

Comrades John Enser and L. A. Miller have taken out another bunch of sub cards.

"Is your name written there?" We mean on the half day's pay subscription blank.

Comrade Holtz will address the Local next Tuesday evening. Comrades, friends, and seekers after Socialist knowledge are especially invited to be present.

Comrade E. D. Hammond, of Waterloo, Comrade E. Ericson, of Des Moines, and Comrade W. F. Shaw, of Marshalltown, are among those who clubbed us this week.

If there is anything in mental suggestion it is not to be wondered at that Local Dubuque has no orators. At every meeting the comrades—several of them—are constantly reiterating the statement that we have no members who can make a speech. This may be true, but no one ever became an orator before attempting a speech, and this mental attitude on the part of these comrades is not calculated to inspire any one with a desire to try any oratorical flights. These comrades lack faith in themselves, do not want to exercise the ability they have, and thus add to it; neither are they willing to lend the inspiration of their presence while other comrades do what they can on the soap box. The result is that there will be nothing doing by Local Dubuque to reach the outside world for some time; for people will not come to a hall at this time of year, and the only way to get their ear is to go to them on the street.

David S. Cameron, carpenter. Terms very reasonable. 2130 Pine street.

Call for Convention

To the Party Membership, Socialist Party of Iowa—

Dear Comrades: The state convention of the Socialist party of Iowa will be held in Reform Hall, corner First avenue South and Church street, Marshalltown, July 4, at 9 a. m., and you are urgently requested to assist in making this as representative and memorable a gathering as possible.

OBJECT.

The adoption of a state platform and the nomination of the following officers:

1. Two Presidential Electors at Large.
2. One Presidential Elector for each Congressional District.
3. Secretary of State.
4. Auditor of State.
5. Treasurer of State.
6. Attorney General.
7. Judge of Supreme Court.
8. Clerk of Supreme Court.
9. Reporter of Supreme Court.
10. Railroad Commissioner.

And such other business as may properly come before the convention.

REPRESENTATION.

Each local of the state organization in good standing is entitled to as many delegates as it has members in good standing, the delegates in actual attendance being entitled to cast the full vote of the local they represent.

Members at large in good standing are entitled to all the privileges accorded delegates representing locals.

CREDENTIALS.

Credentials in duplicate are sent to all secretaries, the originals to be presented delegates and the duplicates to be forwarded to the state secretary not later than July 1. Delegates, as well as members at large, are requested to also present their membership due books to the committee on credentials.

Fraternally yours,
J. J. JACOBSEN, Secretary.

Directory of Secretaries

Wm. Maily, National Secretary, Boylston Building, 269 Dearborn St., Chicago.

J. J. Jacobsen, State Secretary, 1129 12th street, Des Moines, Iowa.

Secretaries of Iowa Locals

Atlantic, Chas. D. Beers.
Avery, F. J. West.
Beebeetown, J. O. McElroy.
Bloomfield, B. H. Osterhoudt.
Boone, John H. Cook, 1021 Meridian St.
Burlington, Wm. Strauss, 2007 Agency Ave.
Centerville, D. E. Hayes, 121 N. 21st St.
Clarinda, T. F. Willis.
Clinton, A. R. Kolar, 511 2d St.
Correctionville, John Tangborn.
Council Bluffs, I. Goldberg, 208 W. Pierce St.

Cresco, W. A. Fisk.

Davenport, B. W. Wilson, 821 E. 14th St.

Deloit, Stanley Browne.

Des Moines, E. Ericson, 86 E. Grand Ave.

Dubuque, L. J. Rieck, 154 First St.

Fairbank, L. J. Diets.

Ft. Dodge, E. J. Elliott.

Frazier, Eric Bowman, box 153.

Fredericksburg, A. R. Potter.

Grinnell, W. Fierbaugh.

Hamilton, Louis Paulling.

Hiteam, Wm. Truman.

Hocking, Thomas Love.

Lake City, Oakley Wood.

Lester, Joseph Brucken.

Little Rock, W. H. Attlesea.

Logan, A. D. Wilson.

Lost Creek, Lovel Talmage.

Madrid, C. J. Peelstrom.

Manson, J. M. Higbee.

Mapleton, Ezra DeWolf.

Marshalltown, Myron F. Wiltse, 610 Frederick St.

Mason City, Leslie A. Tillitson, 119 West Miller St.

Missouri Valley, John T. Culavin P. O. Box 124.

Monroe, Henry Bewans.

Muscatee, J. W. Zeller, 115 W. 9th St.

Mystic, W. B. Bedinger.

Newton, W. J. Porter.

Ottumwa, W. C. Minnick, 635 W. Main

Pisgah, Walter Cook.

Polk City, Nevin A. Lee, Box 4.

Rock Rapids, George Monlux.

Ryan, Chas. Hickethier.

Sac City, W. J. Martin, Box 475.

Shambaugh, W. A. Wolf.

Sheldon, E. W. Farnsworth.

Sigourney, Edward J. Rohrer.

Sioux City, Miss Carrie Yeager, 414 Pearl St.

Stratford, Fred Lundberg, R. F. D. No. 2.

Van Horne, Dr. C. Wirth.

Waterloo, E. D. Hammond, 1412 W. 4th.

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Spring Suit or Top
Coat until you see

THE NATIONAL
CLOTHING AND
SHOE HOUSE ::

Cor. 5th and Main Sts.

We are Headquarters
for Union-made
Clothing.

Peter Meyer,

1564 CLAY ST.

Union-Made
Shoes.

"BIFF! BING!"

This is the motto of the new Socialist Monthly,

BOSWELL'S NUGGETS,

Published at Springfield, Ill. No long winded articles. Everything bright, crisp and full of meaning. Each number brim full of Cartoons. 15 cents per year. Send for sample.

Note—Send 50 cents to The Iowa Socialist for both papers for one year.

MACKENZIE,

PHOTOGRAPHER.

The Hottest Socialist Propaganda Paper Published.

THE NEW NATION

Every Week. Subscription 25c for 26 weeks. Send for sample.

THE NEW NATION, DAYTON, OHIO.

LEISER & SON,

Refreshment
Parlors.

Germania Hall and Eighth St.