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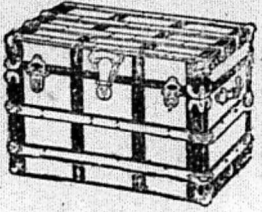
THE JOHN GREAR
LIBRARY
JUN 6 1904
IN THE PARTY
OF YOUR CLASS.

VOL. 6—NO. 12

TERRE HAUTE, IND., FRIDAY, JUNE 3, 1904.

SIXTH YEAR

SEE OUR \$10, \$12 and \$15
BUGGY HARNESS.



You Can
Put Your Clothes
in Our Trunks

with the assurance that
you are getting the best
that man can make or
your money can buy.

OUR \$3 TRUNK

exceptionally good value
for the money—better
ones, \$5, \$6, \$8, \$10, \$1
up to \$25. People who
know how and where to
buy Trunks, Bags, Suit
cases, Telescopes, etc.,
come to us. We have
never disappointed them.

PETER MILLER,

No. 22 South Sixth Street.

Sign of Dapple Gray Horse.

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and Dyeing Co.

LARGEST IN INDIANA.
EMPLOYS MORE PEOPLE.
OPERATES MORE WAGONS.
DISBURSES MORE MONEY.

This plant has attained its standing and
popularity through
Perfect Work.
Prompt Attention to its Patrons.
Decent Treatment of its Employees.
The building is the best lighted, best ven-
tilated and most sanitary laundry build-
ing in the state.

SIXTH AND CHERRY

Agents
Wanted

Throughout Indiana to look
after the interests of The
Toiler. Union men or Socialists
who are out of employment
may accept an agency from us
and make fair wages.

Write for terms
THE TOILER,
422 Ohio St. Terre Haute

SPEER'S
PORT GRAPE WINE
ALSO
OLD BURGUNDY WINE
And *** Climax Brandy.



SPEER'S PORT GRAPE WINE
NINE YEARS OLD.

THIS CELEBRATED WINE is the pure juice
of the Gporto Grape, raised in Speer's vine-
yards, and left hanging until they shrink and part-
ly raisin before gathering. It is invaluable
Tonic and Strengthening Properties
are unsurpassed by any other wines in the world,
being produced under Mr. Speer's personal super-
vision, at his own vineyards, the past forty years.
Its purity and genuineness are guaranteed by
the principal Hospitals and Boards of Health who
have examined it. It is particularly beneficial to
the aged, debilitated and the weaker sex. In every
respect it is A WINE TO BE RELIED ON.
[See that the signature of ALFRED SPEER, Pas-
sac. N. J., is over the cork of each bottle.]

Speer's (Socialite) Claret

Is held in high estimation for its richness as a Dry
Table Wine, specially suited for dinner use.

Speer's P. J. Sherry

Is a wine of Superior Character and partakes of
the rich qualities of the grape from which it is
made.

Speer's *** Climax Brandy

IS A PURE distillation of the grape, and stands
unrivaled in this country for its purpose,
and equal in every respect to the high price Old
Cognac Brandy of France, from which it cannot
be distinguished.

SOLD BY DRUGGISTS AND GROCERS WHO
KEEP FIRST CLASS WINES.

NOTES AND COMMENT.

The final word has been spoken. An
alleged labor paper published in Penn-
sylvania, and dependent largely upon
the republican campaign fund for its
support, has proved to its own satisfac-
tion that Socialists and the Socialist
Party are opposed to the trades unions.
As proof of its contention it says
Socialists are proving every day that
they are enemies of trades unions. It
may be that a small portion of them
are not, but as a body they are. Some
of them are open and bold enemies
while others are more cowardly and das-
tardly foes. Socialistic parties must be
looked at by trades unionists from this
standpoint.

That surely settles the question. A
party that stands for the interests of
the working class and the working class
alone, is certainly dangerous to such
sheets as this. Such a party is liable to
open the eyes of the workers to the fact
that they are being used by such men as
the editor of this paper in the interests
of the Quays, Baers, Peabodys and Steu-
wenbergs of the republican and democ-
ratic parties. There are here and there
Socialists who do not favor trades uni-
ons, but they do so because they believe
that the efforts of the industrial orga-
nizations are futile, and not because they
favor the exploiting class that this al-
leged labor paper stands for. He fails
to tell of the many democrats and repub-
licans that are avowed and deadly en-
emies of labor. He belongs to the same
party as D. M. Parry, of the Manufac-
turers Association, Governor Peabody
who is waging a war of destruction on
the unions in Colorado, "Divine Right"
Baer, the anthracite coal baron and hun-
dreds of thousands of other exploiters of
labor.

The annual report of Chief Mine In-
spector Roderick of the department of
mines, of Pennsylvania, will show that
67,171,951 tons of anthracite coal were
mined in that state last year. Of this
60,231,000 tons were shipped by rail or
otherwise to market. At the mines this
coal was valued at \$135,000,600 but at
the points of distribution it had more
than doubled in value, the valuation
being placed at \$300,000,000.

During the year 151,827 persons were
employed in and about the anthracite
mines who worked an average of 211
days. The miners of the Fifteenth of
Dauphin-Schuylkill county district work-
ed the most days of any of the districts,
averaging 261 working days. There
were 518 persons killed in and about the
mines, and 1,325 non-fatal accidents.
In the loosening of the coal the miners
used 1,701,176 kegs of powder and 5,317-
422 pounds of dynamite. There are 16,-
782 horses and mules in use in the an-
thracite mines, some of which never see
the light of day except when there is a
strike and they are taken out to be
turned loose.

Great business men these capitalist
aldermen! Printer Keogh, who has
held up the city and county of Milwau-
kee for years with dishonest printing
bills and who is now under indictment,
put in a bill of \$275 for a printing job
that any printing house in the city
would do for \$30, then cut it down to
\$175 when he thought it was being
looked at too closely, and the majority
of the Printing committee, Aldermen
Barry of the Seventh, Sikora of the
Fourteenth, Kushbert of the Second
and Rittleat of the Third ward moved to
allow it at that price, says the Social
Democratic Herald.

Great business men these capitalist
politicians! And the capitalist alder-
men in the council, in spite of the mo-
tion of one of the Socialist aldermen to
cut the bill down to \$30, passed the mi-
nority report giving the printer \$60,
which is about twice what the work was
worth. Great business men! It is no
wonder cities like Milwaukee haven't
funds enough to properly keep up im-
provements.

Scare heads in the daily press an-
nounce that last week an American and
a British subject were kidnapped by ban-
dits in Morocco. The warships of the
two nations are hurrying to the port of
the Sick Man of the East to force him to
secure the release of the captives. In

VOICES.

Rev. H. S. Geneva Lake.

How the voices rise and mingle
'Bout our things and state and place!
How they jar upon the senses,
How they jingle in the space!

All the voices, wise or foolish,
All the words of sound or sense,
How they make a mighty river,
Vibrant, moving, clear or dense!

O the voices of the Future,
And the voices of the Past,
'Bout the things and states and stations,
Where our souls are somehow cast.

Now we murmur, mad or peevish,
Now we pray in whining tone;
Evermore our voices vary,
All together or alone.

Voices, voices, vibrant voices;
Everywhere I hear them rise
Like a restless, rushing current,
Neath the calm benignant skies.

O the clamor and the quiver!
Will it ever change the thought
Of the grasping and the callous,
Who such havoc have outwrought?

Will they listen, listen, listen,
And each one be made to KNOW
JUSTICE is the rock and fountain
From which EVERY GOOD MUST FLOW?
Olympia, Wash.

small type in some of the same papers
we may find that in Colorado work-
men are being kidnapped and forced to
leave their homes by the "best" citizens.
Other workmen are held in prison
without charges and refused trials. The
Washington government is not concern-
ing itself about these kidnappings. The
reason for the different action in the two
cases is that the men kidnapped in Mo-
rocco belong to the exploiting class
while the men kidnapped in Colorado
belong to the working class and their
kidnappers belong to the exploiting class.

If anything else were required to show
the utter contempt in which the working
class is held by capitalist politicians, it
is furnished by all this talk about nomi-
nating Grover Cleveland for president.
The capitalist press of the country has
itself taught the workers to despise him.
His name has been a by word in Ameri-
can politics. He has been destitute of
political friends. Even the gold democ-
rats in 1896 dared have nothing to do
with him. He has been repudiated and
denounced by all parties, and yet it is
taken for granted that workingmen in
the democratic party will support him if
his coating of mud is well covered with
a coating of sugar.

I was arguing Socialism with a man
the other day. My opponent remarked
that if my father had left me \$50,000 I
would drop my Socialist talk. He
seemed to think this was a knockout
blow.

Of course such an assertion had noth-
ing to do with the question at issue, but
it seemed to me to contain more or less
truth and, what is far more important, it
revealed the class struggle.

If I was heir to a \$50,000 legacy I
could get along very nicely without So-
cialism (although many people can easi-
ly demonstrate to you how it is going to
benefit the rich), but the fact is that I
am not heir to nor have I possession of
any such amount, and I belong to a class
of which practically none can hope to
ever possess such a sum.

It's just because I belong to a class so
situated that I am a Socialist. I am a
Socialist too because I know that the ac-
quisition of large fortunes comes about
through the theft of a part of the product
of my labor and that of my class. Con-
sequently the fact that I might have
been born heir to \$50,000 does not pre-
vent me from realizing the disadvantage
at which I am placed. Nor does it make
it any more comfortable for me to endure
the exploitation by which the wealth of
the other class is piled up.

The man with \$50,000 may not make
a good Socialist. He don't belong to
my class. Our interests are not identi-
cal, but that is all the greater reason I
should be conscious of the interests of
my class.

A recent number of the Baptist Young
People contains the peroration of Gom-

pers' speech against Socialism at the
Boston convention of the A. F. of L.
This would seem to be an indication
that the church is opposing Socialism
instead of Socialism opposing the
church. If the church allows itself to
be used as a shield by capitalism in this
struggle it need not cry out if it is at-
tacked. All the allies of capitalism look
alike to us. Workingmen, keep your
eyes open.

The United States Supreme Court last
Tuesday decided against the State of
Indiana in its suit to recover \$913,905.01
due the state for taxes. This sum has
been due the state since 1873. Secretar-
ies of State have since repeatedly made
demands for a settlement which the leg-
islature could demand a settlement.
Year after year lobbying prevented the
legislature from making a demand.

This delay in making a legal demand is
the ground on which the decision is
based. The state school fund is the
chief loser. Great is private ownership
of courts, railroads and legislatures.

You can choose between Socialism and
barbarism now. You will be compelled
to choose between them later.

BORROWED OPINIONS.

If I owned the land and machinery
that you had to work on in order to live,
couldn't I make you crawl around and
lick my boots before I gave you a chance
to live. That's capitalism.—New Time,
Spokane.

A commercial sponge is lower in the
scale of true respectability than is the
sponge known as the tramp. The tramp
absorbs less of other people's earnings,
and never bribes legislators and courts
to give him a cinch on his graft.—Work-
ers' Gazette.

The third annual convention of the
United Cloth Hat and Cap Makers of
North America, held in New York city
last week, adopted unanimously a reso-
lution in favor of supporting the Socia-
list movement morally and financially.
The convention indorsed the Socialist
spirit of the Cap makers Journal, and
pledged support to the Colorado strikers.
—Worker.

Socialism means that all those things
upon which the people in common de-
pend shall be by the people in common be
owned and administered. It means that
the tools of employment shall belong to
their creators and users; that all produc-
tion shall be for the direct use of the
producers; that the making of goods for
a profit shall come to an end; that we
shall all be workers together; and that
all opportunities shall be open and equal
to all men.—Socialist Platform.

Colorado union men are bellyaching
because the daily papers seem to be in
"conspiracy to maintain silence toward
the Cripple Creek strike." They per-
mitted the best labor paper in the coun-
try to starve to death—they supported
the daily paper—and now they whine
because the daily papers do not become
labor papers. In this respect Colorado
deserves all she is getting.—Toledo La-
bor union.—Ex.

The reason that the workingmen were
fooled into voting for Peabody who they
know is now against them, was because
he said he was for the workers' interests,
as well as for the capitalists. Now if
the workers had known, as the Socia-
lists know, that a man can't stand for la-
bor and capital at the same time, they
couldn't be fooled. If a man stands
against the capitalist class, because the capi-
talist class lives by robbing the working
class. When you understand the truth
of this statement you will be what the
Socialists call "class conscious," and
you will never vote for a man who says
he stands for both labor and capital.
You will know that he can't do it any
more than as Eugene V. Debs says "a
man can go up in one elevator and down
in another at the same time."—The New
Time

GLEANINGS.

All union machinists on the Santa Fe
are locked out and blacklisted.

A bitter struggle is on between the
machinists at Chicago and the firms in
the Chicago Metal Trades association.

Four companies of militia have been
sent to Hanging Rock, Ohio, and mar-
tial law has been declared. Negroes
have been imported from Virginia to
take the place of striking furnace men.

The census bureau's last bulletin states
that there are employed in the cotton
mills of the southern states 28,000 child-
ren at an average of less than \$1.50 per
week. The mills are all "open." There
are no "socialistic unions" to make "un-
reasonable demands." Surely the Parry
crowd of union smashers ought to feel
highly pleased with such results, and if
the children received only one half the
amount stated the open shop advocates
would probably go mad with joy.—Cleve-
land Citizen.

The supreme court of Kansas has
handed down a decision declaring that
the law to prohibit the employers from
discharging their employes for being
members of a union is unconstitutional.
In other words the blacklist is a per-
fectly legitimate weapon to use. Noth-
ing else could be expected. In nearly
every test case these laws are declared
null and void. The reason is plain.

The second biennial convention of the
United Brotherhood of Railway Employes
met in San Francisco May 8th. Over
150 delegates were present. Officers
were elected and matters of vast impor-
tance to railway employes were consid-
ered. This brotherhood embraces every
branch of the service, and is a type of
the coming unionism.

A correspondent of the Typographical
Journal is responsible for the story that
left is an "open shop."

Samuel Parks, the business agent of
the structural iron workers of New York
died in the prison hospital of consump-
tion May 4th. He came to New York
in the employ of the Fuller Construction
company. He was used by this company
to embarrass its competitors. They made
him largely what he was. Those who
were ten times guiltier than he continue
to move in the "best" society. They
have money.

The American Federation of Musi-
cians has declared against the employ-
ment of government bands in competi-
tion with civic bands, and adopted a res-
olution refusing to admit enlisted men
of the army or navy to its ranks.

The Peruna Drug company of Colum-
bus, Ohio, one of the largest advertisers
in the country, has withdrawn its pat-
ronage from the Los Angeles Times,
the notorious anti-union paper of the Pa-
cific Coast. This is the second time the
Peruna company has been compelled by
organized labor all over the country to
take this action.

Gompers recommends a gigantic strike
fund. The leaders want to handle the
cash or their followers. What would a
great strike fund amount to against men
who control billions and own the houses
the workers live in? It would mean
placing all their money where the capi-
talist courts could swoop it all in.—Ex.

The success which has attended the
American Labor Union in Chicago has
necessitated the opening of branch head-
quarters there. They have accordingly
been opened at 52 South Halstead street
with T. S. Mahoney as the Chicago rep-
resentative. The A. L. U. unions are
said to be the only ones who have been
able to accomplish anything of a pro-
gressive nature in the Windy city the
present year.

The Socialist program is not a theory
imposed upon society for its acceptance
or rejection. It is but the interpretation
of what is sooner or later inevitable.—
Socialist Platform.

THE TOILER.

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LOCAL LABOR NOTES.

The Blacksmiths hold a special meeting tonight to arrange for Labor Day.

A special meeting of the Iron Molders was held Tuesday evening at C. L. U. hall.

A national organizer for the Clerks is expected to come to Terre Haute to work among the clerks in the near future.

The newly formed Structural Iron Workers union now has a membership of 28 and is awaiting the arrival of its charter.

John Hutson, who has been employed at Lakeview park as a carpenter, lost the end of the second finger of his right hand by a piece of steel falling on it Saturday afternoon.

A new hod carriers' union (composed of white men only) was organized at C. L. U. hall Tuesday night. There are 32 charter members. Edgar Horton is president and Frederick Worth secretary.

The regular meeting of the Central Labor union will be held next Thursday evening. A reply from the Vincennes C. L. U. in response to the invitation extended that body to celebrate Labor Day here is expected and will be made public.

Harry Mackinaw, national vice-president of the Glass Blowers surprised the local organization Saturday night by arriving unexpectedly and delivering an address before the local. Mr. Mackinaw is from Alton, Ill. and is one of the youngest national officers in the United States. He is quite successful in his work.

Louis Heller, employed at the brewery, fell into a big vat containing hot beer mash while at work Tuesday evening. His fellow workers rescued him with a ladder. The flesh fell from his arms when he was taken out. The doctors say his condition is serious but not necessarily fatal.

The bartenders have elected the following officers: Edward Brown, president; Jas. O'Donnell, vice-president; E. West, recording secretary; Joseph Fria, treasurer; T. P. Conauly, corresponding secretary; Thomas Shaughnessy, chaplain; A. Powers, I. J. Doty and Jas. Sheehan, trustees.

Judge Piety yesterday made permanent the injunction against the Plumbers. The adverse decision was unexpected by the men. They are confident of being able to prevent the repeal of the license ordinance, however. It is to be hoped that in this case their expectations are based on better grounds. The scab firms are in a very tight place yet, and would like to violate the ordinance. Interesting developments are expected.

Trouble is brewing between the Big Four and the operators employed on the St. Louis division because of an attack by the company against the Order of Railway Telegraphers. Within the past two weeks two of the best operators on the road have been discharged for reasons not given, and as both have never had any complaints registered against them they feel that it is because they are members of the O. R. T. that they have been discharged.

Molders' and Machinists' unions, employees of the Prox & Brinkman company, took a trip of 40 miles down the river on the Fairy Queen Sunday to visit an old shop mate, John Lock. Fish in abundance was supplied by the host. Recently the Lock home was destroyed by fire, and the hostess was made the recipient of a fine dress pattern by her guests. The following made up the party: Sam Garvin, Gabe Young, G. W. Bihlmaier, John Thompson, Joseph Joslin, John Deming, John Lee, Wm. McCluskey, John Steinmeyer, George Miller, Martin Garvin, Herman Garvin, Fred Uncell and Charles Kupferer.

Have your Umbrella covered with a 60c guaranteed cover by J. P. Hardisty, 1234 Main. Old phone Brown 742. New phone 863.

Crushed By Falling Slate.

Bert Ward, a colored miner, was painfully crushed Tuesday afternoon in the Sugar Creek mine across the river by falling slate. He was taken to St. Anthony's hospital.

Be Not Deceived.

The forty-five years experience of Alfred Speer, president of the Speer, N. J., Wine Co., has resulted in the production of grape Brandy that rivals Hennessy and Martell of Cognac, is known as Speer's "Climax Brandy made in 1878."

For the best quality and latest styles, no one can sell you Carpets or Furniture cheaper than John G. Dobbs, 635 Main street.

The Man Who Labors With His Hands

Is entitled to the lowest possible prices on his Carpets and Furniture. He should not be compelled to pay the enormous prices charged by the installment stores.

If you are worthy you can get credit at **FOSTER'S** and still buy at the cash price

True Virtues.

True love, faith, hope and charity;
When we all these possess,
What perfect peace flows in our lives,
Our faithful hearts to bless.
If they dwell within our hearts
We little have to fear,
For we shall bless and e'er be blest
And to God's heart be near.
And if these virtues fill our hearts
Sin cannot enter there;
For all temptations of the wrong
Our souls will cease to care.
In only pure and noble thoughts
Our minds will pleasure find.
We'll only wish to do or think
That which we know is kind.
—MARTHA SHEPARD LIPPINCOTT,
Moorestown, N. J.

MINES AND MINERS.

The executive board of district 11 met yesterday.

A misunderstanding at the Billtown mine No. 1 was straightened out by Secretary Kennedy Wednesday.

William Blakely, who is now a special representative of the national headquarters, was a visitor here this week.

Vice President Walters has returned from the Willow Grove mine in the Clinton field, where he arranged some troubles.

John Mitchell will leave Indianapolis Monday for New York from whence he will go to Paris to attend the international congress of miners.

McIntosh mine No. 6 which has been tied up for three weeks resumed work yesterday, the trouble being adjusted by a conference between the miners' district board and the block coal operators. The discharged man will be reinstated, but must wait for his turn.

President Boyle, of the Mine Workers, returned Saturday from a trip through the southern Indiana field, where he settled several difficulties. At Booneville a driver was discharged and the drivers complained of it. Mr. Boyle decided in favor of the company, however. He also made decisions at Chandler and Winslow.

Reinhold Klant Dead.

Reinhold Klant, for the past ten years a well known employe of the Terre Haute Brewing company and a charter member of the Brewery Teamsters union, died Saturday night at his home at Seventh and Voorhes streets. He was 57 years of age and is survived by his widow and three children, two sons, Frederick and Frank and one daughter, Mrs. B. L. Logne. Death was due to congestion of the lungs.

Glass Blowers Strike.

The entire blowing room force at the Lippincott Glass company's factory in Alexandria struck Saturday, 200 men being involved. Ten shops of three men each were imported from Fostoria, O., for the bulb-making department, and the men resented it, as they say that work has not been regular and they claim the right to all the extra work that the company can give them.

The Motorman's Hard Lot.

Rev. W. S. Rainsford, the well known New York clergyman, has been investigating the conditions under which motormen are obliged to work. He says:

"One cold, sleety day I made up my mind that I would find out for myself what their suffering was like. I rode from Twenty-third street to Seventy-second street with the motorman, and then I was out of it. By that time I was not only wet through on the legs, but at the chest as well. Now, I am a young man, only fifty-three years old, and it didn't hurt me. The motorman told me, however, that he had done that for eleven hours. I believed him. God knows I did not care to prove it."
"For the money he gets he suffers too much. He should be at least as well paid as are the men who run the engines on our great railroads."

Legislation Against Labor.

Senator Dixon of Talbot county has introduced a bill into the Maryland legislature to prohibit picketing and boycotting. The measure is sweeping in its provisions. It prohibits two or more persons from conspiring together to boycott any person or persons or making any public notice of such boycott. Boycotting in the bill includes unfair lists and black lists. It prohibits any firm from maintaining a black list to prevent any person from obtaining employment. Labor leaders say the bill is undoubtedly aimed at labor unions and if enacted into a law would make the average strike ineffective.

FOSTER AND ELIOT.

THE TRADES UNIONIST ANSWERS THE COLLEGE PRESIDENT.

How Judgment is Affected by the Point of View—Trades Unions Raise Wages—Unions Do Not Apologize For Strikes or Boycotts.

On Feb. 7 in Faneuil hall, Boston, President Eliot of Harvard college delivered an address on the question of trades unions, in which, while the speaker was generally friendly, he criticized severely some of the acts which unionists recognize as entirely legitimate. On Feb. 21 in the same hall Frank K. Foster of Typographical union No. 13 replied to President Eliot. Both meetings were held under the auspices of the Boston Central Labor union. Following is a liberal extract from the address of Mr. Foster:

The point of view! What judgment is so infallible as not to be affected thereby? The old legend of the two knights and the gold and silver shield finds its daily analogy. The lenses of all our faculties are focused by our environment. We each of us look out upon the world from an individual pedestal formed by the influences of heredity, of birth, of training, of station.

The objective universe wears a different aspect when viewed from the tenement house window from that which it presents when seen from the home of wealth, leisure and culture; hence it is not to be marveled at that the professor's study and the factory workroom generate two distinct philosophies of life.

"It is seldom," said President Eliot, referring to college professors in general, "that a man brought up in so utterly different a manner can understand the real conditions under which the members of trade unions work."

If the conditions which produce trade unionism are not understood, is it not a reasonable inference that in theorizing about the results of these conditions, as manifested concretely in trade union methods, our academic friends may sometimes be guilty of assuming things not in consonance with the facts, the very error President Eliot charged some of his questioners with?

We understand President Eliot admits that trade unions have raised wages. To use his own language in his main argument: "There is some clear gain to the whole community from the progressive rise in the prices of labor and of materials since labor unions began to put up wages. Invention has been strongly stimulated thereby."

But President Eliot assures us—and here is where the arch of our wide ranged trade union policy is supposed to fall—provided you do get thorough organization, create your labor monopoly and place your union label on all products, you will neutralize your own efforts and there will be "no advantage to any."

One of two conclusions seems inevitable, i. e., that under a more perfected organization of trade unions wages will be relatively higher or they will not be higher.

If they are higher, as we believe and contend they will be, then our purpose will have been so far realized.

If they are not higher, then the solicitude of our academic friends for the public interest will have been most manifestly wasted.

The influence of "the point of view" is possibly no more strikingly shown than in that portion of the address under consideration, dealing with the question of wages. "The men in my business," said the president of Harvard, "believe that seeking only the highest possible wages is not the principle on which any great combination of men ought to work." He also says there is joy in doing all the work one can.

An insistent demand of labor is for higher wages, but it is not true that the demand is pressed irrespective of circumstances. The difference of a dollar a day means a great deal to the average seller of manual labor.

To the high salaried professor whose remuneration increases with length of service and who has hanging over him no sword of Damocles in the form of fear of a penniless old age this difference may have little meaning.

But the average wage earner is fortified by no such consolation. The overwhelming chances are that increasing years will bring to him decreasing wages. He is only sure of the present, for some new machine may at any moment destroy the demand for the particular kind of labor commodity he has to sell.

But the remedy which trade unionists seek for this condition of affairs is not to be found in the system of pensions advocated by President Eliot, but in a present rate of wages which will enable them to establish their own savings bank account and, if necessary, a union superannuation fund, as is now done by some of the strongest trade unions.

We are fully convinced that the pension system would restrict and cripple the mobility of labor and that it is manifestly undemocratic and paternalistic.

If there is a portion of the joint product of the laborer and capitalist which is due the laborer and which he does not now receive—and the recognition of this fact is implied by the advocacy of any system of old age pensions—we most respectfully submit that we prefer to get it now, and we will save it or spend it according to our own judgment.

Is it not conceivable, therefore, that to the workman, particularly the workman who has a family, the difference of a dollar or so a day in wages, a mere bagatelle to the salaried man, means the difference between a squalid tenement and a comfortable dwelling, between a meager and an ample education for the children, etc.?
As to the joy of doing all the work

you can, it is conceivable that a college president may find joy in directing the intellectual development of youth, but the drudgery of the workshop scarcely affords an equal inspiration.

Trade unionists seek such a reduction of the hours of labor as will (1) distribute among the wage earners the advantages accruing from improved processes of production, from labor saving and profit making machinery and from the results of applied science; (2) absorb the surplus of unemployed labor and (3) increase to the normal the "chance of life" of those whose existence is now shortened through unhealthful or dangerous conditions of employment.

"The process of determining what prices a given industry will bear," said President Eliot, "is now a process of combat. The weapons have been chiefly strikes, boycotts and lockouts. This is certainly a very stupid way of arriving at the determination. Conference and discussion between the workman and the capitalist are the rational modes of arriving at the practical answer to the question."

We agree to that, but until recently the reply of the greater number of employers has been, "I intend to run my business as best suits me." Abram S. Hewitt said that labor never had a hearing till it was able to compel it. In a speech delivered in Hartford in 1860 Abraham Lincoln said, referring to a strike of shoe workers, "Thank God, we have a system of labor where there can be a strike."

It may be remarked in passing that in the light of recent judicial decisions Abraham Lincoln would find himself dangerously near the dead line of "contempt of court" were he alive today and repeated this utterance.

But here again let us be perfectly frank. The trade union has absolutely no apology to make for the exercise of the principle involved in the strike and boycott or—if as a member of Typographical union 13 I may venture to say it—in that of picketing and peaceable persuasion.

Trade unionists hold that the virtue of the strike principle depends entirely upon its application. Of and by itself the strike is neither moral nor immoral. It is an instrument, a weapon, a piece of economic machinery. The strike is rarely used against a fair employer.

Under the workings of the cherished academic principle of letting alone, it is evident that, other things being equal, the employer who pays least for the commodity of labor can undersell his competitors.

Thus twenty fair employers in any given industry may be placed at the mercy of some skintight competitor.

But it is just here that the trade union steps in and says to the Harpagon of industry: "If you have superior inventive, executive or commercial faculty profit by it, but you shall not make your profit out of our wages, for our wages represent to us the kind of a life our families must lead. Pay like wages to your employees with your competitors; otherwise we shall refuse to work for you."

It would be unjust to leave this phase of our subject without registering a vigorous protest against the statement that the trade union relies chiefly upon strikes and boycotts to accomplish its purpose. This is absolutely an error. It is not true of a single organization of labor in the United States.

The strike is the weapon of last resort. Its frequency diminishes as the trade union increases in strength and discipline. Conciliation, conferences, joint agreements, the doing away with unnecessary competition among labor sellers, collective bargaining, orderly deliberation and considered action—these are the methods upon which the trade union chiefly relies and to which it resorts in cases of controversy.

Lewis Will Follow Mitchell.

Announcement that the long predicted resignation of John Mitchell as president of the United Mine Workers is practically assured has stirred interest in several questions pertaining to that body. First, it is not believed Mitchell will resign in the face of a possible fight. If he does, it is firmly believed he is pretty well assured the miners' interests will be protected in case of a conflict. And this stirs interest in his possible successor.

Thomas L. Lewis of Bridgeport, O., vice president, would succeed the president. If the resignation comes before April 1 he will succeed him just the same as though it came after the date. Mitchell's new term for the last reelection does not begin until that date, but Lewis will succeed to the place, filling out the present unexpired term and serving the complete full term to which Mitchell was elected a few weeks ago at the Indianapolis convention.—Pittsburg Dispatch.

To Make a Joint Agreement.

The officers of the International Brotherhood of Stationary Firemen are considering the advisability of making a joint international working agreement between the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butchers' Workmen International union, the Boot and Shoe Workers' International union and the Mineral Mine Workers' organization. Each local union of the firemen's organization is asked to send all information to the international officers showing the good or bad effects of such an international working agreement.

Fighting Child Labor in Jersey.

New Jersey labor leaders are pursuing the same course in their support of the Bacheller bill for the prevention of child employment that the Children's Protective alliance has adopted. They have issued an appeal to all the labor organizations of the state, asking local unions to use their influence with the senators and assemblymen from their localities to come to the aid of the measure.

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COLORADO ATROCITIES.

Press Reports of Further Outrages. Tyrant Bell Resigns. Parry and Associates Endorse and Thank Peabody.

Trinidad, Col., May 19.—Eighty striking miners were marched on foot from Berwind to Trinidad this afternoon by a troop of cavalry. The men had all refused to register at Berwind and have their descriptions written for future reference, according to the order issued a few days ago by Major Hill.

The men were brought to military headquarters here and photographed in groups and registered according to the Bertillon system, after which they were turned loose. They had been marched a distance of twenty miles over the mountains in a scorching hot sun.

Several fell by the roadside from fatigue. They were given water by the military authorities when they arrived here, but no food. The strikers were all orderly and made no outward sign of the suffering they must have endured.

All the men arrested are Italians and have created no disturbance whatever. They were either living at home or in the strikers' camp. One man through an interpreter told the following story of their trip:

"A troop of cavalry 11 in all, on horseback, herded us like cattle and started from Berwind about 10 o'clock this morning. The troop drove us as I see men drive cattle, and they repeatedly struck us and several times when men would lag behind they would run their horses against them and compel them to run or stagger out of the way to keep from being killed. The troops cursed us all the time; it was like pictures I see in the American newspapers of Russian Cossacks running over people in Siberia. One Italian about 60 years old became so weak he could not walk and two of the soldiers struck him on the head until he fell by the roadside where he was left in the broiling hot sun, and I do not know but what he is dead. He had been sick and was not fit to walk and only got a few miles when he fell. Several men became weak, but they bore up rather than take the blows of the troops.

"We were not given anything to eat all day, but were driven to a trough at Bowen, five miles from Trinidad, and allowed to drink. After arriving at Trinidad all registered except three, and they were thrown in jail and the rest of us turned loose. None of the men had any money or any place to go to and were fed by friends at the strikers' camp at Trinidad and at homes of our countrymen. Several of the men will not be able to walk back to their homes for several days."

Dr. John Grass, who was republican candidate for governor at the time Peabody was nominated and who is still a staunch republican, openly denounced the action of the military authorities and of Governor Peabody on the streets tonight. Dr. Grass is very bitter against prevailing conditions, and went to the military camp this afternoon to see how the men were being treated by the soldiers. He said nothing there, but came down town and openly denounced Peabody's administration in language more forcible than polite, as he was white with rage when he saw the condition of the 80 miners after being driven over roads for 20 miles on the hottest day of the year in Southern Colorado.—Denver Times.

Parry Congratulates Peabody.
Governor Peabody yesterday received a telegram from D. M. Parry, president of the National Manufacturers' association, congratulating him upon the stand he has taken in the labor troubles in Colorado, and the persistent manner in which he has carried out his policy in dealing with the strike situation.

The telegram embodied resolutions passed by the association in session in Pittsburg yesterday. The governor at once replied to President Parry's telegram. The two telegrams follow:

"Pittsburg, Pa., May 19.
"To Governor Peabody of Colorado:
"The National Manufacturers' association passed the following resolutions today:

"Resolved by the Manufacturers' Association of the United States, in annual convention assembled, that this organization most heartily approves of the wise and honorable stand taken and steadfastly maintained by Governor Peabody of Colorado in suppressing by all power at his command, all forms of violence and violations of the laws in that state.

"Resolved that this association extend its thanks to Governor Peabody for his patriotic performance of a great public duty, and for the thorough and persistent manner in which he has done it.

"D. M. PARRY, President.
MARSHALL CUSHING, Secretary."
"Denver, Colo., May 19, 1904.
"Hon. D. M. Parry, President National Association of Manufacturers, Pittsburg, Pa.:

"Your telegram of this date received. I beg to personally thank you and your association for the splendid words of approval therein stated. The labor strikes in Colorado are ended save a slight rebellion led by professional agitators. Law and order has been re-established and obedience to our constitution and laws must and shall be maintained. The principle of guaranteeing to every citizen of Colorado the right to labor in a lawful manner, without fear of intimidation or violence, will hereafter be maintained by the people of this state.

"JAMES H. PEABODY,
"Governor of Colorado."

The Thieves Fall Out.
Denver, Colo., May 22.—"I shall resign the office of adjutant general probably Monday, and by July 1 there will be another man in my place," said Adj. Gen. Bell yesterday. "I don't approve of using the militia of the state to help any political movement," said the general warmly,

WOMEN IN THE SOCIALIST MOVEMENT.

That woman is slowly emerging from her long night of life in the kitchen and nursery, and is at last taking her place in the world's work is evidenced by the fact that among the delegates to our recent national convention were eight women representing seven different states. From Pennsylvania to California they came. Bertha Wilkins of California, Ida Crouch Hazlett of Colorado, Irene Smith of Oregon, Eleanor Grace Cogswell and Luella Kraybill of Kansas, Carrie F. Johnson of Iowa, Miss Thomas of Wisconsin and Miss Forbes of Pennsylvania.

So far as immediate results are concerned, no especial benefits are yet visible from their presence in this deliberative assembly.

One thing is certain: None of them occupied five minutes of the valuable time of the convention in calling to order a comrade who had only three minutes in which to speak.

Their presence was more valuable in an educational way than otherwise. It proved conclusively that the Socialist Party means what it says when it declares for equal civil and political rights for men and women.

Even the capitalist press, which ignored the convention as much as possible, took some notice of the women delegates.

A lady introducing herself as a reporter for the *Enter Ocean* attempted to interview the woman from Iowa on "the Socialist position in regard to monogamic marriage."

Did you ever hear of anything quite so absurd?

Think of going into a republican or democratic convention and asking how those parties stand in regard to monogamic or any other kind of marriage! Has such a thing ever occurred? And wouldn't it make a donkey laugh if it ever should occur?

Under the present industrial system, which is upheld by both the old parties, wives are bought as well as mistresses. Women are sold into slavery either with or without the sanction of the law; she harters her body for bread. But let no one cast a stone at her for this—we are none of us free from guilt. Woman today is the result of her economic environment, but as this convention indicates she is coming out of her lethargy and will begin to take a hand in her own emancipation.

Socialism has made no declaration either in the platform or elsewhere of its position on the marriage relation.

The lady reporter and all others interested in this point may inform themselves by studying the conditions of woman past and present under the profit system of industry that now prevails, and follow this by a little study of Socialist philosophy, wherein they will learn that through the abolition of private profit and the achievement of the economic independence of women, woman and man alone will make ALL the marriage laws, and they will be pure and sweet and holy. Man must stand on his merits and not on his bank account or the size of his salary, if he would have a wife, and with the free and independent mother comes a new born race to earth that will put to shame all the races of the past. The present slave mother under capitalism will give place to the future free mother under Socialism.

A free motherhood! Think what it means! That is the most potent benefit to be gained from Socialism.

Women are awakening to this fact. Eight women were delegates to this convention! Who can predict the number at our next in 1908? Watch us wake up. We have not really got started yet; but have patience—we are in the fight for the co-operative commonwealth and will never give o'er till the cries of victory are heard from every hilltop and valley, from ocean to ocean and from pole to pole.

Presbyterian Moderator's Views.
Retiring Moderator Robert F. Coyle of Denver preached the moderator's sermon at the general assembly of the Presbyterian church at Buffalo May 20th. In it he gave utterance to the following views:

"Few things are more in evidence at the present time than the unrest of the masses. Their discontent increases. Their complaints grow louder and louder. The gulf between labor and capital widens, and unless some solution is found, it is not pleasant to think what the outcome will be.

Nothing on the horizon at this hour is more significant than the rising power of the people. The era of the common man has come. Democracy is shaking thrones and compelling attention everywhere. The age-long mutterings of the masses have found a voice. They are speaking, and both the church and state are deaf if they do not hear. This is not something to lament, but something to thank God for, serious as it is.

There are no sinners any longer, and especially in the high places of respectability. The Ten Commandments are not supposed to apply anywhere above the submerged tenth. Our ideals of the home have gone down. We talk of Mormonism and affect a horror of it as an unclean and loathsome thing; but as between a system that allows a man to have three or four former wives or a woman to have three or four former husbands, and a system that permits a man to have his plural wives all at once, there is very little to choose. I am not sure but the odds are on the side of the Mormon.

Adj. Gen. Bell, of Colorado, who is an officer of the state, is in reality, hired to command the state troops by the mine owners. The state pays a salary of \$1,500 which Bell, being himself a mine manager, said was not enough. But the mine owners wanted him to take the position for obvious reasons, and so they piece out his salary each year and make it \$5,000 instead of only \$1,500. A nice state of things truly, and sure to lead to bull pens and military despotism over the working class.—*Social Democratic Herald.*

Monopoly Throttles Labor.
In the Forty-fourth Street Methodist church, New York, the Rev. G. W. Grinton, talking on "The Shadows of a Great City," said immigrants, instead of herding in large cities, should be asked to "move on" and "pioneer the way for the building of the cities of the future, the same as our fathers did before us.

"It is not capitalism that takes the laborer by the throat," he continued, "but monopoly. Our railroad and lighting systems should be placed under government control. If the complexity of our life has deepened the shadows it has broadened our sympathies. The poor are driven into tenements, many spend their time in the saloons, the children in the streets, while the poor housewife and mother toils uncomplainingly day and night."

PEONAGE IN THE SOUTH.

The Newest Form of Slavery. Forced Servitude. The Only Alternative to Socialism. Do You Want It?

In the Appeal to Reason a few weeks ago was an article by their special representative in the South, J. L. Fitts, which gave a graphic description of peonage as it exists at the present day.

Let no workingman imagine that he or his are safe from the danger of a like fate. That proud spirit that boasts of freedom may be subdued. In the degraded, servile Italian of today where can be found that proud spirit that animated the man who said "There are no noble men but Romans!"

The miners of Cripple Creek and Telluride asserted that they could not be subjected to such indignities as were the miners of the Couer d'Alenes, but when the time came they too submitted to military domination.

The conquest of the powers of government by the proletariat enlightened as to its class interests is the only thing that will forever dispel this danger. Following are extracts from Comrade Fitts' article:

In this section peonage was practically unnoticed until a few months ago. It existed but the peons were too ignorant or too cowardly to complain. Or else the masters, in control of the means of communication, the press and the courts, prevented exposition of it.

The usual method is this: A poor man borrows money from a farmer, generally to get medical attention, to pay a fine or to use in a law suit. Such suit is often trumped up for this very purpose. As security for the money, he gives the farmer a labor contract, binding himself, his wife or children—perhaps all of them—to work for the farmer, generally at ridiculously low wages, until the debt is paid. Sometimes the account is so kept that the debt is never paid, and the man is held indefinitely. That is what one of my farmer neighbors advocated as the best way to manage labor.

The treatment of the peon as that of the chattel slave, depends almost entirely on the character and ability of the master. The law is seldom regarded unless it suits him, as the worker is usually unable to prosecute, and if he were able, could get but little justice, especially from the lower courts. The courts here, like those in Colorado, and elsewhere, are the tool of the ruling class, used for the benefit of that class.

The Brooks Case.

Weldon P. Brooks lives in Oglethorpe county, Ga., about 10 miles from the railroad. I walked 24 miles one day to see him and others from whom I hoped to get information. Brooks is a wealthy farmer about 35, large and powerful, rough in manner and language, profane and vulgar. After telling him of labor conditions in South Carolina and how we manage the negroes there, he opened up and we talked for more than an hour. I give here his ideas about laborers and negroes. The language is mostly mine. His is unprintable.

"Labor is scarce and trifling. The negroes have gone to the railroads, mines and the cities. They won't keep anything and would rather loaf, gamble and steal than to work. They don't fear disgrace, and all chain gang hold no terrors for them as they are fed there. They are impudent and education makes fools of them. The federal courts won't allow us to whip them, and it claims they are just as good before the law as we are. Some low white men, lower than the negroes, associate with them drink and gamble with them and find paramours among them. These men who work and get paid as the negroes do, stir them up and put the devil in them, and if a white man whips a negro, he tells his wife, she tells her paramour, and the latter gets the negro to bring suit in the federal courts. This is an outrage. It interferes with our labor. We must keep our labor in submission. The trouble is that the white people are divided. Some will pay a negro too much and take too much impudence from him. This negro question is a hard one, and I don't know how it will be settled. We may have to kill them off, but they are the best laborers we can get, and we must have laborers. We can't use machinery. The federal courts and the low whites make the negroes think they are as good as you and me, as good as my sister, and they want to prove it. They come rape and lynch. Of course the white men are free with the negro women, and compel submission from them by force, if necessary, but it is an unwritten law that no matter what the white man does to the negro woman, the negro man must not so much as look at a white woman; if he does he can take the consequences."

It is said that Brooks' wife left him on account of his relations with negro women, but that economic dependence forced her back.

About five years ago, according to the statement of neighbors, Brooks whipped Mary Jackson and her husband. Ever since then he has kept her on his place, and has paid her only three dollars in cash for her work. Not long ago her husband went off, taking their children with him. After that she was half starved, and kept nearly nude to prevent her escape. However, she left and Brooks had her arrested for "cheating and swindling," saying she owed him money. Her

brother offered to pay it, and asked for the account. Brooks said he did not have it made out, but would make it out. However, he dismissed the case instead, and while Mary was leaving the Justice court, he struck her and then whipped her with a buggy trace. It is claimed the officers of the court tied her across a chair, in which position she received the whipping, the trace making large gashes in her flesh. White people brought suit against Brooks and the officers, who waived trial and gave bond as Pittman did. The peons in both cases were sent to the federal prison in Atlanta as witnesses in default of bond of \$200 each. These negroes will stay in jail about 60 days.

White Peons.

Alabama probably has more cases than Georgia. On January 19th the federal court in Montgomery had ten indictments, two of the peons being white, a lame old man and son who had been held for several years. South Carolina also has her share.

At Lina, Ga., a few months ago, A. J. Orr, a prominent and wealthy planter, sent some white men to another farmer's place to beat a negro. They battered the door down, but the owner of the place interfered, trouble resulted, one narrowly escaped being killed, and a lawsuit is now on. The trouble is that they failed to get the farmer's permission to beat the woman.

A few days ago a young man in Athens boasted of "stomping an old negro" because he slept in the field, and of knocking a negro bride down before her husband who could not resent it. She had allowed a negro to drink some water she had brought before the white man came up. In Jasper county in one day, three negroes were killed and one laid up for six months. They "kill negroes like rabbits." An old man said he would never be too old to volunteer to fight negroes.

A 12 year old white girl, an orphan, was sold in West Virginia last April. A few years ago Allee —, a 16 year old white girl of Savannah, was convicted on the testimony of a negro, and was sentenced to the chain gang for life. She was chained to a negro and forced to work in the field while chained. She is said to have borne several children begotten by her guard.

White workers of America, capitalism regards not age, sex, race or color. The evils you think threaten only the negro, threaten you and your families also.

A "Mob" Cartridge For Strikers.

The many strikes of late years have led army officers to direct their inventive skill to the devising of a bullet that will be not mere deadly to armed mobs, but much less dangerous than the one now in use. A bullet from the present rifle will pierce eighteen inches of pine at 500 yards, the human body has only a resistance of three inches of this wood. The ordnance department has therefore devised what is now popularly called the "mob cartridge," but which the department euphemistically terms "multi ball cartridge, calibre 30."

The cartridge is composed of a service case charged with a full charge, about 34 grains of smokeless powder, and two round balls held in the neck of the case by a cannular at the lower end and a crimp at the upper. The balls are made of a mixture of lead and tin in the proportion of sixteen to one, and are slightly coated with paraffine. The diameter of the balls is .308 inch and the weight is 42 grains. The cartridges have sufficient accuracy for effective use at 200 yards, at which distance a slight elevation is required. At 100 yards it is necessary to fire point blank.—*Scientific American.*

A REVOLUTIONARY DECISION.

Highest Tribunal in Country Denies the Liability of Employers.

The United States Supreme Court decided a case last week that was hardly noticed and certainly not commented upon by the daily papers, but it was nevertheless one of the most important decisions rendered in the history of American jurisprudence. The Supreme Court holds that a fellow servant is responsible for either the carelessness, the negligence or the incompetency of another employe. The case at issue was one in which the operator failed to give orders which resulted in the death of a fireman. His wife brought suit for damages against the company. The case was carried to the Supreme Court. The court held by a vote of five to four that the railroad company was not responsible, holding that the wife should seek redress from the operator who was in error.

If this decision stands, and it will, now that the highest tribunal has spoken, it means that employers' liability acts are not worth the paper they are printed on, and that henceforth capitalists need pay no more attention to damage suits that are filed by unfortunate victims or their relatives who are compelled to suffer because of the greed of a calloused employer. This is the decision that every corporation in the country will hail with delight. Now Money Bags is no longer liable for the murderous method in which he dictates his shop, railroad or mine must be run. He has unloaded that responsibility on labor, of course, and can now speed up the machinery and turn any industry into a veritable hell. Patient labor will carry its load as usual and perhaps kiss the hand that smites it. Why will the workers arouse themselves, smash the political scoundrels who enslave them, throw off the yoke of capitalism and stand erect? Echo answers, When!—*Cliveland Citizen.*

Is your subscription to The Toller paid.

Grafting Foremen.
The Iron Molders' Union of North America has begun proceedings to put a stop to a system of extortion which, it is claimed, is practiced by foremen of foundries in several sections of the country, of making men pay for their positions. It is asserted that the foremen, not satisfied with receiving money for giving a man a place, demand further payments from employes who wish more profitable piecework.

The Toller would like its Socialist readers, as a matter of accommodation, to send in news items of interest to the Socialist and labor movements throughout the state; also newspaper clippings.

In arranging for public meetings never fail to have Socialist papers for distribution. A hundred copies of The Toller cost 50 cents.

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How Are You Going to Vote?

We elect a president next November. Are you going to vote with the Democrats, the party of the little capitalists, and try to put things back where they used to be? Or are you going to vote with the Republicans, the party of the big capitalists, and help keep things as they are?

Or will you vote with the Socialist Party, the party of the workers, and help change things so that those who do the work will own what they produce?

But possibly you do not know about the Socialist Party. Then send four cents in stamps, and receive by return mail three books, *Easy Lessons in Socialism*, *The Socialist Party*, and *What to Read on Socialism*. Address

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"I want to say a few good words for Dr. Miles' Restorative Nervine. I have been troubled very much with insomnia since I made the change to the new paper and on account of this I have tried various remedies without relief. I was finally induced by a wholesale druggist, a personal friend of mine, to try Nervine. I can assure you it has done me a lot of good. I do not find it necessary to use it regularly now but occasionally when I find that I am excessively nervous and restless, I again take it up as I always keep a supply on hand. It has never failed to give me the desired relief."—A. Husglin, Publisher "Daily Free-Press" Milwaukee, Wis.

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Socialist Party State Platform

The Socialist Party of Indiana in state convention assembled reaffirms its unalterable adherence to the principles of International Socialism and renews its determination to educate the members of the working class to a consciousness of their rights and interests and organize them into a political party for the purpose of getting control of government and using its powers to abolish capitalism and wage slavery and establish in place thereof Socialism or the collective ownership and control of all the means of wealth production for the use and benefit of all.

In explanation and support of its position the Socialist party makes the following fundamental declarations:

- (1.) That wealth is the product of labor, either manual or mental, and rightfully belongs to the producer.
- (2.) That every individual should have a free and equal opportunity to work and should get the full proceeds of his toil.
- (3.) That in order to have an equal opportunity to work, the implements or means by which wealth is produced should be accessible to the workers without hindrance or interference from any individual or class.
- (4.) That the means of wealth production have changed from the simple and inexpensive machinery and processes to those of great cost and complexity, necessitating large capital to own and great numbers of men to operate.
- (5.) That these expensive machines and great factories, together with the most valuable land and the means of transportation and communication, have become concentrated within the ownership and control of a comparatively few individuals.
- (6.) That the vast body of the people have no power to employ themselves; but must go to those who own the means of wealth production for a chance to work; and in the intense competition engendered by the great number of wage workers, wages constantly tend to the point of a bare subsistence.
- (7.) That as a result of the concentration of wealth in the control of a few and of widespread poverty and dependency of the many, society is being rapidly divided into two antagonistic classes. On one side a few fabulously rich, known as the capitalist class, who are buyers of labor power; while on the other side is the vast body of the people known as the working class, who have nothing but their labor power to sell.
- (8.) That the capitalist class have full control of the government and use its powers to subvert the interests of the capital-

ist class. They invoke the aid of the courts and military to resist any attempt of the workers to better their conditions; where on the other hand the government permits the men, women and children of the working class to be despoiled of their products without redress.

(9.) That in order to abolish the present iniquitous conditions and establish equality of opportunity, the members of the working class and those in sympathy with their interests and with the welfare of society must unite politically and get control of government and use the powers to convert privately owned capital into collectively owned capital, managed in accordance with the system of direct legislation.

(10.) That when all forms of capital such as land, machinery, factories and stores, and the means of transportation and communication shall be owned and operated by the people collectively, each and every member of society shall be afforded a free and equal opportunity to work and shall receive the entire product of his labor. Every member of society must then become a producer and all waste and extravagance that necessarily inheres in the capitalist system will be eliminated and the total amount of wealth will be increased many fold, giving to each an abundance of the necessities and luxuries of life and everyone ample time for physical, intellectual and moral development.

(11.) The Socialist Party is organized to effect these changes and invites all who recognize the facts embodied in the foregoing declaration to join the party and support its nominees. It appeals to all who recognize the necessity for a radical change in the present industrial, social and political conditions to aid it in this great and necessary movement.

Being conscious that the interests of the capitalists as a class are opposed to the best interests of the workers, and realizing that it is but the natural consequence of the existing competitive system for parties as well as individuals to sink any consideration of the claims of friendship to the advancement of business interests, we call attention to the fact that while both the republican and democratic parties claim friendship for labor, they are a unit in advancement of the capitalist class' interests by perpetuating the competitive system.

We call attention further, that the Socialist Party does not pose as "the friend of labor," but is essentially the workingman's party, and is therefore the only party the working man can consistently uphold.

THE UNIVERSAL EXPOSITION

The Achievements of Individuals and Nations Faithfully Recorded by This Encyclopedia of Society.

By FREDERICK J. V. SKIFF, Director of Exhibits, World's Fair.

"The wisdom of all ages is none too great for the world's work." In this single salient sentence, uttered in his famous address at Buffalo in September, 1901, President McKinley described the object and the result of expositions.

A modern universal exposition is a collection of the wisdom and achievements of the world, for the inspection of the world, for the study of its experts, by which they may make comparisons and deduction and develop plans for future improvements and progress. Such a universal exposition might well be called an encyclopedia of society. It constitutes a classified, compact, indexed compendium of the achievements and ideas of society in all phases of its activity, extending to the most material as well as the most refined. It offers illustrations covering the full field of social performance, from the production of the shoes on our feet and the pavement beneath them to a presentation of the rarest and most delicate creations of the brains and hands of men in what are called the fine arts of civilization.

The Universal Exposition in St. Louis in 1904 will be such a social encyclopedia in the most comprehensive and accurate sense. It will give to the world in revised and complete details "a living picture of the entire and industrial development at which mankind has arrived" and will actually provide "a new starting point from which all men may direct future exertions." It will present for the inspection of specialists in all lines of industrial and social endeavor and for the public an assembly of the best which the world has done and has to show in industry, art and science, and what is very important, it will offer these achievements of society, these trophies of civilization, in a highly selected, accurately classified array.

The creators of the St. Louis Exposition have had the experience of all previous great expositions by which to plan and effect its high organization. The continuous and repeated burden of the message of experience handed down by all expositions has been more perfect, more effective classification and arrangement of exhibits.

The classification of the St. Louis Exposition has been prepared to present a sequential synopsis of the developments that have marked man's progress. On its bases will be assembled the most highly organized exposition the world has yet seen.

The St. Louis classification is divided into 16 departments, 144 groups and 807 classes. These grand departments in their order will record what man has accomplished at this time with his faculties, industry and skill and the natural resources at his command in the environment in which he has been placed.

At the head of the Exposition classification has been placed Education, through which man enters social life. Second comes Art, showing the condition of his culture and development. Liberal Arts and Applied Sciences are placed third, to indicate the result of his education and culture, illustrate his tastes and demonstrate his inventive genius, scientific attainment and artistic expression. These three departments equip him for the battle and prepare him for the enjoyments of life. The raw material departments, Agriculture, Horticulture, Mining and Forestry, show how man conserves the forces of nature to his uses. The Department of Manufactures will show what he has done with them; the Department of Machinery the tools he has used. The Department of Transportation will show how he overcomes distances and secures access to all parts of the world. The Department of Electricity will indicate the great forces he has discovered and utilized to convey power and intelligence. And so through the several departments to Anthropology, in which man studies man; and to Social Economy, which will illustrate the development of the human race, how it has overcome the difficulties of civilization and solved problems in which society is involved.

Last is placed physical culture, in which man, his intelligence having reached the supreme point, is able to treat himself as an animal, realizing that his intellectual and moral constitutions require a sound physical body to prompt them to the proper performance of their function.

Education is the keynote of the Universal Exposition of 1904. Each department of the world's labor and development will be represented at St. Louis, classified and installed in such manner that all engaged or interested in such branch of activity may come and see, examine, study and go away advised. Each of the separate sections of the Exposition will be an equivalent of—or, rather, will be in actuality a comprehensive and most effective object lesson in—the line of industrial and social achievement and progress which its presents.

Cost of Seeing the World's Fair. From any point within 300 miles of St. Louis a person may travel to the World's Fair this year, view the wonders of the Exposition for three days and expend the same money he would pay in any other year for train fare alone. This is an absolute fact.

The Western Passenger Association has agreed on a ten day excursion rate, 250 miles or more from St. Louis, for one and one-fifth fare for the round trip.

COWS TRAINED FOR THE TEST

Jerseys at the World's Fair Are Expected to Show That They Are Superior to All Other Breeds.

The herd of Jersey cows assembled at the World's Fair at St. Louis to represent the Jersey breed in the universal dairy test has been inspected and has been pronounced in perfect condition and ready to start upon their six months' grind on a day's notice.

W. R. Spann of the Burr Oak Jersey farm, Dallas, Tex., was the inspector, and he was thorough in his work. He passed a week on the Exposition grounds, and much of the time was spent in and around the Jersey cattle barn, and the condition of each individual of the herd of forty cows was definitely ascertained.

Never was more intelligent and careful treatment lavished on animals. No athlete was ever better trained for a contest requiring the development of speed, skill and endurance than has been this herd of Jerseys. When it is known that this herd is to compete with selected herds of Holsteins, Short-horns, Brown Swiss and Devons, and the herd making the best score for the production of butter, milk and cheese is to establish the standing of the various breeds, the importance of the cows being in perfect condition may be understood.

For a solid year the Jerseys have been in constant training. Twenty-five cows will participate in the contest. Cows were selected from the best herds in the United States.

Dr. J. J. Richardson, president of the American Jersey Cattle Club, under whose auspices this entry is made, toured Europe and visited the famed Isle of Jersey, where the breed originated. He was seeking the best cows, but returned satisfied that Europe could show no cows that were better than those bred in America.

Though only twenty-five cows will participate in the test, forty cows were selected. They were assembled at Jerseyville, Ill., a year ago. This is near St. Louis, and the cattle have become acclimated. Last December they were removed to St. Louis. The cows are the property of individual members of the club and are loaned for the term of the test. C. T. Graves, a breeder at Matland, Mo., was selected as the superintendent to have charge of the cattle, and he has been highly complimented by Dr. Richardson and Inspector Spann for the wonderfully fine condition in which he has placed the herd.

A series of model dairy barns have been built for the breeds competing in the test. The barns are octagonal in form, and are so arranged that the cows are in the center and a wide promenade permits visitors to pass around and view the cows as they stand in their stalls.

The milking and feeding are to be done in plain view of the public, and representatives of the various herds will at all times have access to all the barns to see that no sharp practices are indulged in.

The test not only consists in showing the amount of butter, milk and cheese produced, but the cost of production is taken into consideration. Every ounce of food given each cow is weighed and carefully recorded. When the cows are milked, the milk is conveyed to a model creamery in the Agricultural building, where it is tested and made into butter and cheese and where all records are carefully kept.

The Jersey cattle participated in a similar test at Chicago during the Columbian Exposition and carried off first honors.

Superintendent Graves is sanguine over the result of the present test. He says that the Jerseys have always demonstrated their superiority over all other breeds when placed in competition, and this time they will show to better advantage than ever. Not only is the Jersey milk richer in butter fat than the milk of any other breed, says Mr. Graves, but it can be produced at a less cost. The Jersey cows are the smallest of the standard breeds, and he asserts that they consume less feed. They assimilate their food, and it is converted into milk and butter and is not used in building up and sustaining a large carcass.

"We are going to make all other breeds take to the woods after this test," said Mr. Graves. "A few days ago I was testing some of our Jersey milk, and my hands were all sticky and greasy from the enormous amount of butter fat the milk contained. Mr. Von Heyne, who is in charge of the Holsteins, sent over a quantity of his milk for me to test. Of course, from a commercial standpoint, there was no comparison between the milk, but it was a pleasure to test his milk, for when I got through there was no grease on my hands. After this I will have a bucket of Holstein milk around handy to wash my hands in after testing our own rich Jersey milk."

The test begins May 16 and continues 120 days.

Unique California Map. A unique exhibit at the World's Fair was prepared by the agricultural department of the University of California. It is a large map, so colored as to show the character of the various soils of the state. It gives a clear idea of the situation and the extent of the arable and unutilized sections. In the localities that cannot be cultivated are shown the Sierras, the lava beds and the desert. The map indicates the location of the cultivable portions of the mountains and Mohave plateau and shows the nature of the foothills and valleys of that wonderful state.

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MAILLEY'S REPORT

Weekly Socialist Bulletin of National Secretary.

Mrs. Ella Reeve Cohen is doing special organizing work for the national party in Delaware.

National Organizer Wilkins will spend the next two months in West Virginia and Maryland, getting those states ready for the national election.

National Organizer Goe. H. Goebel enters Arizona early in June and after a month's work there will go through California to the Pacific coast.

The National Secretary is able to furnish half tone cuts of Debs and Hanford to Socialist papers for one dollar apiece, mail prepaid. Orders can be filled immediately.

Arrangements are being made for a southern trip for Harry H. McKee under the direction of the National Secretary. McKee covers South and North Carolina on the trip.

The state Quorum of Missouri has issued a stirring appeal to the Socialists of that state to contribute enough to keep one or more organizers at work during the campaign.

The circular letter issued by the National Secretary to local secretaries under date of May 20th should be given prompt attention and read at next local meeting after its receipt.

Local secretaries everywhere should see that they receive from their state secretaries contribution lists for the half day's pay donation during the third week in June to the National campaign fund.

State conventions of the Socialist Party are scheduled to meet as follows: May 29, Kentucky at Covington; Pennsylvania at Pittsburgh; Washington at Seattle; May 29 and 30, New York at Albany; Ohio at Columbus; May 30, Connecticut at Waterbury; June 4, Vermont at Barre; July 4, Iowa at Marshalltown.

Comrade George D. Herron's article, "The Social Opportunity" published in the April International Socialist Review, has been revised by the author and will be published in pamphlet form under the title, "The Day of Judgment." Comrade Herron has donated the royalties to be derived from its sale to the National Campaign Fund. The price of the pamphlet is ten cents and orders can be sent to the National Secretary, 239 Dearborn street Chicago, Ill.

The most complete and valuable report of the recent National Convention is the one being gotten out by the National Headquarters. The debates upon important questions are given in detail, and every act of the convention is presented so that a faithful record and vivid picture is given. Readers are thus able to see the convention as it was, without exaggeration or discoloration. The report will be in book form, strong paper covers, clearly printed and of good typographical appearance, containing also portraits of the presidential and vice-presidential candidates and other interesting matter. Price, paper covers, 50 cents; cloth, \$1.00.

Order direct from the National Secretary, William Mailley, 209 Dearborn St., Chicago, Ill.

Robert Saltiel, German organizer, completed his work in Pennsylvania May 22, and after filling ten dates in New York, entered Massachusetts June 2 for about two weeks' engagements. At Wilkes-Barre, Pa., where the movement has been inactive owing to fusion, Saltiel organized a local of 15 members, all of them entirely new material. At Bethlehem, a former stronghold of the S. L. P., 32 members owning a fine labor lyceum free of debt, joined the party in a body. Comrade Saltiel will return west through Rhode Island, New Jersey, Connecticut, Pennsylvania and Ohio.

STATE SOCIALIST NEWS.

By State Secretary William Bowlen.

Many locals have made donations to the state headquarters, and I trust that all will follow the example.

The national headquarters has promised to put Comrade Wilkins in this state about the first of August and great results are expected from his work as he is one of the best organizers on the national staff.

It is the duty of every comrade to push the work now so that Indiana may make a showing which will compare favorably with the larger states. This can be done if the comrades will only co-operate with the state organization.

The call for the state convention will be made early in June. All members in good standing are entitled to a seat in the convention. Delegates may carry credentials and vote for those not attending. The hall for the convention has not been selected. From all reports the convention will be the largest ever held in the state.

Locals that have not filled out and returned the agreement I sent out relative to the circuit speakers will please do so at once as I must arrange the routes for the speakers as soon as possible. I must get a large number of towns on the circuit before I can start the speakers out. Any sympathizer who is interested in this work will please correspond with me and I will give them full information concerning this most necessary work. As the meetings of the circuit speakers will cost next to nothing, all Socialists should avail themselves of this opportunity to hold Socialist meetings in their vicinity.

With the May report will be sent out the subscription lists for the National Campaign Fund which the national headquarters has sent to all state secretaries for distribution to the locals. The lists call for all members and sympathizers to contribute a half day's pay during the month of June, one-third of which is to be retained by the local, one-third by the state organization and one-third is to go into the National Campaign Fund.

Here is an opportunity for the comrades everywhere to loosen up so we can carry on a campaign that will be a surprise to the capitalist politicians everywhere. I trust Indiana will do its part in this work.

Patronize our advertisers, and be sure to tell them you saw their advertisement in The Toller.