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National Platform of the Socialist Party

Adopted by the National Convention at Chicago, May, 1904

T

We, the Socialist party, in convention assembled, make our 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.

To this idea of liberty the republican and democratic parties are equally false. They alike struggle for power to maintain and profit by an industrial system which can be preserved only by the complete overthrow of such liberties as we already have, and by the still further enslavement and degradation of labor.

Our American institutions came into the world in the name of freedom. They have been seized upon by the capitalist class as the means of rooting out the idea of freedom from among the people. Our state and national legislatures have become the mere agencies of great propertied interests. These interests control the appointments and decisions of the judges of our courts. They have come into what is practically a private ownership of all the functions and forces of government. They are using these to betray and conquer foreign and weaker peoples, in order to establish new markets for the surplus goods which the people make, but are too poor to buy. They are gradually so invading and restricting the right of suffrage as to take unawares the right of the worker to a vote or voice in public affairs. By enacting new and misinterpreting old laws, they are preparing to attack the liberty of the individual even to speak or think for himself or for the common good.

By controlling all the sources of social revenue, the possessing class is able to silence what might be the voice of protest against the passing of liberty and the coming of tyranny. It completely controls the university and public school, the pulpit and the press, and the arts and literatures. By making these economically dependent upon itself, it has brought all the forms of public teaching into servile submission to its own interests.

Our political institutions are also being used as the destroyers of that individual property upon which all liberty and opportunity depend. The promise of economic independence to each man was one of the faiths upon which our institutions were founded. But under the guise of defending private property, capitalism is using our political institutions to make it impossible for the vast majority of human beings to ever become possessors of private property in the means of life.

Capitalism is the enemy and destroyer of essential private property. Its development is through the legalized confiscation of all that the labor of the working class produces, above its subsistence wage. The private ownership of the means of employment grinds society in an economic slavery which renders intellectual and political tyranny inevitable.

Socialism comes so to organize industry and society that every individual shall be secure in that private property in the means of life upon which his liberty of being, thought and action depend. It comes to rescue the people from the fast increasing and successful assault of capitalism upon the liberty of the individual.

H

As an American Socialist party, we pledge our fidelity to the principles of international Socialism, as embodied in the united thought and action of the Socialists of all nations. In the industrial development already accomplished, the interests of the world's workers are separated by no national boundaries. The condition of the most exploited and oppressed workers, in the most remote places of the earth, inevitably tends to drag down all the workers of the world to the same level. The tendency of the competitive wage system is to make labor's lowest condition the measure or rule of its universal condition. Industry and finance are no longer national but international, in both organization and results. The chief significance of national boundaries, and of the so-called patriotisms which the ruling class of each nation is seeking to revive, is the power which these give to capitalism to keep the workers of the world from uniting, and to throw them against each other in the struggles of contending capitalist interests for the control of the yet unexploited markets of the world, or the remaining sources of profit.

The Socialist movement, therefore, is a world-movement. It knows of no conflicts of interest between the workers of one nation and the workers of another. It stands for the freedom of the workers of all nations; and, in so standing, it makes for the full freedom of all humanity.

III.

The Socialist movement owes its birth and growth to that economic development or world-process which is rapidly separating a working or producing class from a possessing or capitalist class. The class that produces nothing possesses labor's fruits, and the opportunities and enjoyments these fruits afford, while the class that does the world's real work has increasing economic uncertainty, and physical and intellectual misery for its portion.

The fact that these two classes have not yet become fully conscious of their distinction from each other, the fact that the lines of division and interest may not yet be clearly drawn, does not change the fact of the class conflict.

This class struggle is due to the private ownership of the means of employment, or the tools of production. Wherever and whenever man owned his own land and tools, and by them produced only the things which he used, economic independence was possible. But production, or the making of goods, has long ceased to be indi-

vidual. The labors of scores, or even thousands, enters into almost every article produced. Production is now social or collective. Practically everything is made or done by many men—sometimes separated by seas or continents—working together for the same end. But this co-operation in production is not for the direct use of the things made by the workers who make them, but for the profit of the owners of the tools and means of production; and to this is due the present division of society into two distinct classes; and from it has sprung all the miseries, inharmonies and contradictions of our civilization.

Between these two classes there can be no possible compromise or identity of interests, any more than there can be peace in the midst of war, or light in the midst of darkness. A society based upon this class division carries in itself the seeds of its own destruction. Such a society is founded in fundamental injustice. There can be no possible basis for social peace, for individual freedom, for mental and moral harmony, except in the conscious and complete triumph of the working class as the only class that has the right or power to be.

IV.

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. Capitalism is already struggling to its destruction. It is no longer competent to organize or administer the work of the world, or even to preserve itself. The captains of industry are appalled at their own inability to control or direct the rapidly socializing forces of industry. The so-called trust is but a sign and form of the developing socialization of the world's work. The universal increase of the uncertainty of employment, the universal capitalist determination to break down the unity of labor in the trades unions, the widespread apprehensions of impending change, reveal that the institutions of capitalist society are passing under the power of inhering forces that will soon destroy them.

Into the midst of the strain and crisis of civilization, the Socialist movement comes as the only saving or conservative force. If the world is to be saved from chaos, from universal disorder and misery, it must be by the union of the workers of all nations in the Socialist movement. The Socialist party comes with the only proposition or program for intelligently and deliberately organizing the nation for the common good of all its citizens. It is the first time that the mind of man has ever been directed toward the conscious organization of society.

Socialism means that all those things upon which the people in common depend shall 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 production shall be for the direct use of the producers; that the making of goods for profit shall come to an end; that we shall all be workers together, and that opportunities shall be open and equal to all men.

V

To the end that the workers may seize every possible advantage that may strengthen them to gain complete control of the powers of government, and thereby the sooner establish the co-operative commonwealth, the Socialist party pledges itself to watch and work in both the economic and the political struggle for each successive immediate interest of the working class; for shortened days of labor and increases of wages; for the insurance of the workers against accident; sickness and lack of employment; for pensions for aged and exhausted workers; for the public ownership of the means of transportation, communication and exchange; for the graduated taxation of incomes, inheritances, and of franchise and land values, the proceeds to be applied to public employment and bettering the conditions of the workers; for the equal suffrage of men and women; for the prevention of the use of the military against labor in the settlement of strikes; for the free administration of justice; for popular government including initiative, referendum, proportional representation, and the recall of officers by their constituents; and for every gain or advantage for the workers that may be wrested from the capitalist system, and that may relieve the suffering and strengthen the hands of labor. We lay upon every man elected to any executive or legislative office the first duty of striving to procure whatever is for the workers' most immediate interest, and for whatever will lessen the economic and political powers of the capitalist and increase the like powers of the worker.

But, in so doing, we are using these remedial measures as means to the one great end of the co-operative commonwealth. Such measures of relief as we may be able to force from capitalism are but a preparation of the workers to seize the whole powers of government, in order that they may thereby lay hold of the whole system of industry, and thus come into their rightful inheritance.

To this end we pledge ourselves, as the party of the working class, to use all political power, as fast as it shall be entrusted to us by our fellow-workers, both for their immediate interests and for their ultimate and complete emancipation. To this end we appeal to all the workers of America, and to all who will lend their lives to the service of the workers in their struggle to gain their own, and to all who will nobly and disinterestedly give their days and energies unto the workers' cause, to cast their lot and faith with the Socialist party. Our appeal for the trust and suffrages of our fellow-workers is at once an appeal for their common good and freedom, and for the freedom and blossoming of our common humanity. In pledging ourselves, and those we represent, to be faithful to the appeal which we make, we believe that we are but preparing the soil of the economic freedom from which will spring the freedom of the whole man.

Trade and Labor Union Resolution

The trade and labor union movement is a natural result of the capitalist system of production and is necessary to resist the encroachments of capitalism. It is a weapon to protect the class interests of labor under the capitalistic system. However, this industrial struggle can only lessen the exploitation, but cannot abolish it. The exploitation of labor will only cease when the working class shall own the means of production and distribution. To achieve this end the working class must consciously become the dominant political power. The organization of the workers will not be complete until they unite on the political, as well as the industrial field on the lines of the class struggle.

The trade union struggle cannot attain lasting success without the political activ-

ity of the Socialist party. The workers must fortify and secure by their political power what they have wrung from their exploiters in the economic struggle. In accordance with the decisions of the International Socialist and Trade Union Congresses in Brussels, Zurich and London, this convention reaffirms the declarations that the trade and labor unions are a necessity in the struggle to aid in emancipating the working class, and we consider it the duty of all wage workers to join this movement,

Neither political nor other differences of opinion justify the division of the forces of labor in the industrial movement. The interests of the working class make it imperative that the labor organizations equip their members for the great work of the abolition of wage slavery by educating them in Socialist principles.

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Socialist National Ticket

For President, EUGENE V. DEBS. For Vice President, BENJAMIN HANFORD.

CONVENTION ECHOES

To smoke, or not to smoke-that is the question

Whether it is nobler in the mind to suffer The pangs and hardships of a smoke deferred,

Or to take a sneak to hall or anti-room, And with a pipe subdue them.

The "smoke nuisance" came in for more than its share of attention. The motion to prohibit smoking during the convention sessions was made, seconded and carried by men. No doubt all women-visitors as well as delegates-were pleased with the rule thus adopted; that it gave satisfaction to most of the men is beyond question.

From these facts, it is plain to be seen that Comrade Kerrigan, of Texas, was out of order when he tried to make it appear that this motion passed as a concession to the ladies, and as though eight delegates had prought a hardship upon all the others.

It is safe to say that not one word of objection would have been heard from any of those eight women if the smoke had solidified or taken the form and consistency of granite boulders.

Those eight women were there for a purpose; the full extent of that purpose has not yet been made manifest-but it will be. Women have an important part to play in this great work for Socialism; they cannot be turned aside by the "smoke n isance;" so that when such a motion in a deliberating body is put and carried, it should be left to stand on its own merits, as an effort to provide an atmosphere that is fit for human beings to breathe, and not as a chivalrous concession of a majority to a hopeless minority, and when the next convention assembles, we trust the comrade from Texas will bear this The strength he gains is from the embrace point in mind.

Not the least important business transacted on the last day of the convention was the unanimous adoption of a resolution asking Comrade Mailly to reconsider his determination to resign as national secretary. Comrade Mailly reconsidered.

The recommendation of the press committee that a press bureau be established by the national commi tee for the purpose of furnishing Socialist plate matter should be acted upon as soon as possible.

The delegates were not allowed to smoke during the convention, but just watch their smoke during the campaign.

While the Chicago Chronicle was keeping its eagle eye on the Socialist convention at Chicago, Hearst stole a march on it and captured Iowa.

The unanimous adoption of the platform without debate or criticism is eloquent of the good work done by the committee.

The question that seems to be bothering the Socialists of Olathe, Kansas, is whether they want brick or cement sidewalks.

Labor produces all wealth, and the most valuable asset it produces for the capitalist is the chains it forges upon itself.

Hearst's yellow rags contained about a stickful in regard to the convention the day after Debs was nominated.

The convention also gave capi talist gossip mongers another opportunity to slander Comrade Her-

Our dream will never come true say our critics. Well, perhaps not. But Socialism isn't a dream.

Comrade Carey says Marx' "Capital" is easy compared with the time tables of this country.

As they were in the minority it was impossible for the impossibilists to carry the day.

Comrade Spargo, of The Comrade, is a good sized pocket edition of Gene Debs.

The capitalists also have a program that is "working"-overtime

Now that the candidates are nominated, get busy and help elect

The immediate demands should also be made imperative demands.

The motion now before the house is that we get together and hustle.

Wonder what Grover means by an explanation at this late day.

At any rate they can't say that Debs bought the nomination.

Zephyrs From Olympus

Have you heard that it was good to gain

I also say it is good to fall; battles are lost in the same spirit in which they are -Whitman.

O human heart

I perceive that thy home and mine are the same—one house, tho the doors be different. - Edw. Carpenter.

Give light and comfort to the toiling pilgrim, and seek out him who knows still less than thou; who in his wretched desolation sits starving for the bread of Wisdom. -Voice of the Silence.

Man; like the gen'rous vine, supported,

he gives.

On their own axis as the planets run, Yet make at once their circle round the

So two consistent motions act the soul And one regards itself and one the whole -Pope.

If ye lay bound upon the wheel of change, And no way were of breaking from the

The Heart of boundless Being is a curse, The Soul of Things fell Pain.

Ye are not bound! the Soul of Things is

The Heart of Being is celestial rest; Stronger than woe is will: that which was Good

-Light of Asia.

Thus, too, does an observant eye Cattle, of Hunger and Overwork; men is germinal in the Interna- Stratford, Fred Luncherg, R. F. D. No. 2.

the Rich, still more wretchedly, of Idleness, Satiety and overgrowth. -Carlyle.

The people is a beast of muddy brain That knows not its own force and there fore stands

Loaded with wood and stone; the power less hands

Of a mere child guide it with bit and rein; One kick would be enough to break the chain;

But the beast fears, and what the child de-

It does; nor its own terror understands, Confused and stupefied by bugbears vain Most wonderful! with its own hand ties And gags itself-gives itself death and

For pence doled out by kings from its own store.

Its own are all things between earth and

But this it knows not; and if one arise To tell this truth, it kills him uforgiven. -Campanella.

The International Bureau

Report Made by Prof. Herron, Secre tary for the United States.

Comrades of the National Conven-

The International Socialist Bureau was formed as a result of the Paris convention of 1900, and of previous conferences between the national representatives of the Socialist movement of Europe.

The purpose of its formation was to constitute an international bureau, through which the Socialist movement of the various nations of the world might communicate with each other in mutually understood programs, and, so far as practicable, in united action.

Brussels was selected as the seat of the International Bureau, and semi-annual meetings have been held since the bureau's formation.

But it cannot be said that the bureau has as yet accomplished much beyond keeping itself on record, or beyond the rather unimportant discussions of details that have occurred at its semi-annual sessions. Perhaps its most signficant action has been the securing of concurrent action on the part of the Socialist members of the different European parliaments concerning the war between Great Britain and the Boers. Resolutions were introduced by Socialist members into the national legislative bodies at Berlin, Rome and Brussels that created no little discussion, and considerable British indignation and protest. As a result, many public meetings of protest were held throughout the continent.

While, of course, the resolutions had no effect upon the war or its outcome, the pedagogic or propaganda result was very valuable. Some discussion has also been occasioned by the resolution passed by the bureau concerning the lynching of negroes in the United States. I feel obliged, however, to decline personal responsibilities for the resolution as it was worded. It is very different in statement and substance, and is much more extreme than the report which I sent to the bureau upon the sub-

But, on the whole, it does not seem to me that the International Socialist Bureau has as yet been at all equal to its opportunities. It is not worth while for Socialist men -all of them overworked in their own national movement-to gather together from the ends of the earth twice a year to hear statistical reports and minor discussions. But it is immeasurably worth while that the international Socialist movement be fused into one great dynamic world-body; that the Socialist movement of all nations shall act together as one voice and one power in every great question in every nation; that it shall hold and be the balance of power which discern everywhere that saddest every nation must reckon with. spectacle: The Poor perishing, The poet's dream of the federation like neglected, foundered Draught- of the world and the parliament of

tional Socialist Bureau, and it is only by the recognition of this, and by a larger sense of the bureau's opportunities and significance, that it can justify and develop its being.

I am afraid it ill becomes a member from the United States to speak with such emphasis concerning the possible need and importance of the bureau, as the Socialist movement of this country has taken practically no interest in the bureau's existence, and has paid nothing toward its maintenance. There seems to be some confusion even of the International Socialist Bureau, which is, in theory, in perpetual session, with the International Socialist Congress, which meets upon the call of the bureau, and is a convention, not a bureau, and which meets this coming August in Amsterdam, and to which this convention should elect delegates.

We should also at this convention adopt, or recommend, some method of making a regular annual contribution for the maintenance of the bureau. All that has been paid is the sum of 2511/2 francs in 1901, and that was by a private individual and for the Social Democratic party before the present unity of the Socialist forces had been accomplished.

The Socialist movement of the United States, as a movement, has paid nothing at all in the four years since the bureau was formed.

I would recommend that the sum of 1,000 francs, or \$200, be settled upon as our present annual contri-

> Fraternally submitted, GEORGE D. HERRON.

Eugene V. Debs, Geo. D. Herron, Edward Carpenter, Jean Longuet, Enrico Ferri, H. M. Hyndman, Karl Kautsky, Jack London, and many other well known Socialists have declared The Comrade to be excellent. The Socialist press is continually recommending The Comrade pointing out its great value to the Socialist movement. Thousands of subscribers have sent us letters expressing their appreciation. The Comrade is a publication you need, no matter what else you are reading Each number is beautifully illustrated. Published monthly. Subscription price \$1 per year, or 50c to shareholders of The Comrade Co-operative Co. Bound volumes of The Comrade of the first and second year are \$2 or \$1.20 to shareholders, post age 30c extra. Any Socialist may acquire by monthly payments of 50c a \$5 share and thereby enjoy special rates on The Comrade and other Socialist literature. To new subscribers we make this liberal offer: For 50c we will send The Comrade for six months, and Free, the first three issues of the third volume, if this publication is mentioned Comrade Co-operative Company, 11 Cooper Square, N. Y.

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Hanford's Acceptance

"Mr. Chairman and Comrades: You notice we went a long ways around to get here. I have noticed that Socialists sometimes do go a long way around to get a very short distance, but just so we get there. that is the main thing.

"I want to say briefly a word in relation to Comrade Debs, that for quite a long time past myself and many other comrades have considered with each other and in an entirely informal way as to who would, in all probability, be the best possible choice as a candidate for president, and while none of these comrades that I have mentioned was considering it from any other standpoint than the good of the party, every one of them was unanimous in the opinion that Comrade Debs would be the best possible man to nominate for president at this time.

"In relation to myself I do not know that there is much that I can say more than this: That I have never allowed myself to seek anything in the Socialist movement from a personal standpoint, or, for that matter, in any other movement, but at the same time I have always been in the position that whenever the party told me to do something, I always did it, no matter whether I liked it not. Comrade Titus made one mistake about me in placing my name before the convention. He spoke of my having made sacrifices for the Socialist movement. I want to say this, that the Socialist movement has done more for me than I can ever do for it. I do not know that I exactly agree with the philosophy that says that whom the Lord loveth he chasteneth, but I do believe that there is nothing that a man can do in the world, that there is no blessing that can be conferred-upon a man by any power on earth which will be of the immense benefit to him throughout his whole life such as that of following the conscientious convictions of his own mind in matters of right or wrong. I can say here that I very much doubt, so far from my having sacrificed anything for the Socialist movement, I very much doubt if I would have been alive today had it not been for the Socialist movement, and I will tell you why. As a man in my trade about nineteen years ago there came in what we call the linotype typesetting machine. They put one of them in a printing office, and one man got a job operating it, and he would do the work of as high as five or six men who were there before this machine was brought in. Well, strange as it may seem, just about the time that the typesetting machine was entering the printing offices I got tangled up in the Socialist movement. And every day when I was out of work, when I was a victim of any enforced idleness, instead of going to the gin mill and waste my time as others among the workingmen had done, instead of becoming despondent, I occupied all my time reading a book or paper, or making a Socialist speech on a soap box, or something of that kind. In other words, what was despair to other people was the star of hope to me.

"Two or three years ago I went down in the coal region in Pennsylvania, while the coal strike was going on there, and I spoke three or four times, and wherever I went all it needed was to put a little placard out, leave a notice on a telegraph pole for two hours, and there, as though they had sprung out of the ground, were 1,000 men, or 5,000 men, or 10,000 men, and I can say that they heard me gladly, and not only me, but other comrades who were with me, and they did so because the men knew that the Socialist party was in sympathy with the trades unionists as against the capitalists in their scraps with the capitalists. Now, there was another party that would like to have sent its speakers down to that field, but they would not have been favorably received, and that was the Socialist Labor party, and that party was not able to send speakers there just because of its attitude against the trades union. Now, you think it is terrible when trades unionists make mistakes, but good heavens, I would like to know down to this hour almost, when we have ever had a chance to make a mistake that we didn't make one. They have troubles, but, Lord, look at the troubles we have had. And, they are like us again in this further respect: They have no interest in perpetuating their mistakes, any more than we have in perpetuating ours, and if they are wrong today they have got to be put into the crucible of experience so that they may come out all right.

"Now, comrades, you have the greatest privilege, as Comrade Titus has pointed out, that any people on the face of the earth ever had before. All previous revolutions, none of them ever had it in its power to do anything more than liberate a certain group of people, or a little nation of people, but this movement proposes to free every man and every woman and every child on the earth, wherever they may be, for all time. This movement is not only worth living for, but it is better worth dying for than any other movement in the world. To bring about the furtherance of this thing I say to you let your hearts be as true as steel, be steeled to the very back, put your soul and your heart and your whole power into action, and we will have Socialism in our time and in our country.

General Notes

Sigourney, Iowa, May 1. Dear Comrades: Sigourney Socialists had a great series of meetings last week, with National Organizer M. W. Wilkins as speaker. We had challenged an attorney and ex-legislator to a debate with Wilkins, but he declined, pleading lack of time to prepare and lack of ability to speak in public, notwithstanding he has been debating Socialism with me is a local paper. The hall was packed the first nightwanted to see us licked-and the second and third nights was comfortably filled; best crowds we've had. Wilkins is a a broad, well-read man, scientific, revolutionary Socialist and can lay down fundamentals in clear, uncompromising 'wo:ds. It has been well worth our money to have him, if only for an address to the local. We know more about Socialism than ever before and also more about how to get it. His work with locals, is much needed judging from appearances in this state. The work of propaganda will go on with renewed effort and all members of the local will be enlisted in active work.

> EDW. J. ROHRER. Chicago, May 5, 1904.

Organizer Wardjon of the United Mine Workers of America, who was so brutally assaulted at Sargent by the hired assassins of the Colorado Iron & Fuel Company. is the latest victim of the horrible class struggle now being precipitated in Colorado. Wardjon was one of the men John Mitchell sent out to Trinitad to manage the coal strike. He was one of the national organizers of the United Mine Workers and has shown exceptional ability in bandling the trying situation in Colo rado. For this reason he has been es pecially obnoxious to the mine owners. He has had in charge a set of men peculiarly hard to handle at critical occasions. There are among the strikers in the southern coal district Italians, Mexicans, Indians, negroes and those of other nationalities; a motley lot to control in case of trouble, and yet in spite of the ardent desire of the mine owners to inaugurate anarchy and mob law the men have been held like steel to orderly conduct. Comrade Wardjon was a thorough Socialist and appeared as one of the speakers at the mass protest meeting against the outrageous conditions existing in Colorado, held in the Coliseum in Denver. He was assaulted once before. IDA CROUCH-HAZLETT.

Muscatine, Iowa April 30.

Dear Comrades: 1 Muscatine local held its regular meeting Thursday evening, April 28, at which there was a representative number of comrades present and also a few strangers. Dr. A. C. Briggs, of Elk Grove, Cal., wrote Muscatine local a letter, claiming we were wrong in passing the resolution against the Appeal, to Reason. The letter was fully discussed for the benefit of some of the members who wanted information regarding the resolution. The resolution still stands good and we believe that it has done no harm as the circulation of the Appeal is increasing right along and at the same time it has the effect of showing Comrade Wayland that the Socialist movement in the Unted States is advanced far enough not to be led by any one man and the propaganda should be clear working-class Socialism. Comrades of Muscatine have subscribed to the Daily Appeal because we know that union wages must be paid in Chicago and at this writing I have already read the Daily and believe it could be continued right along. I had hoped to be at the national convention, but on account of having a job could not get away. Muscatine comrades send their best regards to all Socialists attend-LEE W. LANG. ing the convention.

Smoke "The Iowa Socialist" 5c cigar. Best in the city. Give it a trial.

John Mitchell, president of the United Mine Workers of America, while attending the session of the executive board of the American Federation of Labor, made a public speech which will not rank with the orations of a Cicero or Demosthenes. John told the people of Denver that he was a republican, that he and "Teddy the First" were friends, and that as a rep: bican, he repudiated Peabody. The very day of the night in which John Mitchell hurled his denunciation of the official acts of the gubernatorial anarchist of Colorado, the wheel horses of the republican party of the state, in convention assembled, tendered an ovation to the man whom Mitchell repudiated and commended his administration. Another speech from Mitchell is now in order. - Miners Magazine.

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

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

Comrade McKee, organizer for the Northern district of California, will make tour of Iowa. What those who have heard him say;

"Mr. McKee is by all odds the ablest speaker that has visited our city."-Bloomington Bulletin,

"The clearest and most concise speaker we have ever heard on the subject."-Decatur World.

"I have heard most of the speakers who have been prominent in the movement during the past fifteen years, and can say without any mental reservation that none of them possess, in my judgment, so many of the essentials of a Socialist speaker as does McKee."-Albert Ryan, State Secretary of

For dates, terms, etc., address . J. Jacobsen, 1129 Twelfth street, Des Moines, Iowa.

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Clubbing Offer

The Iowa Socialist for one year and any of the following papers for one year or 60 cents: Wilshire's Magazine, Coming Nation, Chicago Socialist, The Vanguard; or the Iowa Socialist for one year and The Comrade for six months for 60 cents.

LOCAL MEETINGS

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

Davenport local meets every first and hird 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.

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State and Municipal Program

on state and municipal program was referred to the national committee for revision and adoption:

ist party, assembled in Chicago, Ill., May, 1904: To the National Convention of the Social-

Your committee on state Comrades: and municipal program beg leave to sub-mit the following report:

We wish first of all to call the attention of the convention to the fact that the report of this committee is unanimous. This is contrary to the expectations of the mem-bers of the committee, but is the appar-ently natural outcome of the discussion which took place in the sessions of the

committee.

We wish, secondly, to express the opin ion of the committee that nothing in this report, if adopted by the convention, is to be considered as otherwise than suggestive, or as being in any way mandatory or bind ing upon the various state and municipal conventions; since the various states and municipalities have their own characteristic economic development and political situa-

In view of the difficulties attending the work of those elected to public office to work of those elected to public office to represent the Socialist party, as already developed in the experience of such officials, and also in view of the problems attending the proper preparation of state and municipal platforms, your committee have adopted the following resolutions, and transmitted a copy of them to the committee on constitution. tee on constitution:

Whereas, The committee on state and municipal program regard it as essential that the Socialist party should have a per-manent committee on state and municipal affairs, with a permanent secretary, whose office shall be at the national headquarters;

therefore, be it

Resolved, That we, the committee on state and municipal program, recommend that in the constitution of the party, provision should be made for the organization of a committee on state and municipal affairs, with a permanent secretary, whose office shall be at the national headquarters, and recommend that the following provisions become a part of the constitution of

Section A: There shall be elected at each national convention a committee of nine on state and municipal affairs.

Section B: The committee shall have

power to fill vacancies occurring among its members during the interim between the meeting of the national conventions.

Section C: The object of the committee shall be that of an advisory committee to suggest lines of activity to local and state officers and to assist them in securing data and in the preparation of resolutions, or-dinances, bills and such other legal meas-ures for the carrying out of the Socialisi program as may be necessary, and also to advise the party, where it may desire, in the preparation of local and state pro-

Section D: The committee on state and municipal affairs shall, on the approval of the executive committee of the national committee, elect a permanent secretary, whose office shall be at the national headquarters, and his compensation shall be fixed by the executive committee.

Section E: The expenses of the committee on state and municipal affairs while attending its meetings shall be paid from the national treasury.

STATE PROGRAM.

SUGGESTIONS FOR THE ACTIVITY OF SOCIAL-IST MEMBERS OF THE STATE LEGISLA-TURES WHILE THE SOCIALIST PARTY IS A MINORITY PARTY.

PREAMBLE FOR STATE PROGRAM.

The principles of the Socialist platform cannot be carried into full effect while the Socialist party is a minority party. The work of Socialist members of the state legislatures and local administrations under present circumstances must necessarily be confined to efforts for the realization of such limited measures as they may be able to wrest from the capitalist majority for the benefit of and in the interests of the working class. In presenting and advocatof the state legislatures and of local administrations must bear in mind the fact that they are fighting on a parliamentary basis the class struggle which brought into existence the Socialist movement and the Socialist party. They must defend the interests of the working class against the encroachments of the capitalist class, and decline in their parliamentary work any trading with capitalist. trading with capitalist representatives for favorable legislation. Socialists in stat legislatures and local administrations may well be guided by the advice of the permanent committee on state and municipal program provided by the national constitution of the Socialist party.

The following suggestions are made as a

preliminary basis for the activity of Social ist members of the state legistures and local administrations, with the understanding that they are not mandatory, binding, or anything else than suggestive:

PUBLIC SCHOOLS.

Freedom of speech and expression of opinion by teachers and students

Free text-books for teachers and pupils uniform text books on all subjects to be furnished free to public schools, and to pri vate schools on request.

The choice of text-books to be left to a committee composed of teachers and students in all institutions above the grade of

high schools. In history and economics, the proletarian standpoint to receive equal consideration with the capitalist standpoint.

Compulsary education for both sexes up to the age of 18 years.

Co-education in all branches of science, and manual training for both sexes to be continued through all grades.

Adequate provisions for harmonious physical culture and development through a systematic course of gymnastics and open air exercises, a minimum time for such exercises to be made a requirement for stu-dents of both sexes throughout all grades. Extension of the public school system to

The following report of the committee assure equal educational opportunities to all classes in all branches of learning; public supervision of all educational instituto secure an equal educational

STATE MILITARY LAW.

The repeal of all militia law which surrenders the power of the governor over the militia to the federal authorities; and nembers of the state militia to be exempt from all other military service.

The right of privates of the state militia to elect their officers; and state militia to be confined within state limits.

Federal troops to be prohibited from in-terfering in disputes between capitalists and laborers.

The autonomy of all municipalities in the matter of the ownership and operation of all enterprises vital to the municipality

For the purpose of employing the unemployed and educating citizens in co-operation, the state inaugurate a system of good roads, a comprehensive system of drainage, forestry and irrigation, state farms in connection with agricultural experiment stations, and to build homes to be rented at a price not exceeding the cost of production and maintenance.

The contract system to be abolished in

all public works and such work to be done by the state directly.

OLD AGE PENSIONS.

All persons above the age of 60 to be exempt from labor, and to be entitled to pensions of not less than the current minimum wage.

SICK AND DISABLED.

Adequate facilities to be provided, at public expense, for the care and mainten-ance of all sick and disabled persons .

TAXATION.

A graduated income tax and graduated inheritance tax to be imposed, such revetue to be used solely in the interest of the working class, not to relieve the middle class of taxation.

LIQUOR TRAFFIC.

Public control of the entire liquor traffic. REGULATION OF CORPORATIONS.

Railroads and all other corporations operating under public franchises to be placed under state control, and to have their rates fixed by law.

THE COURTS.

The abolition of all court costs and sheriff's fees in the commencement of suits, and the abolition of all costs for appealing cases to the courts of last resort. The establishment of free legal depart-

Sufficient courts to secure speedy trials. PRISON SYSTEM.

The present brutal system of treating criminal persons to be replaced by a system of pathological treatment. This includes the abolition of the prison contract system, death penalties and isolated con-finement, and the substitution therefore of sanitariums in rural localities with adequate healthful open-air employment, and reatment corresponding to modern scientific psychological pathology.

SUFFRAGE.

The right to vote not to be contingent upon the payment of any taxes, either in money or public labor.

Women to have equal political rights with men.

Residence qualifications for all elections not to exceed sixty days.

LABOR LEGISLATION.

An eight hour day and a minimum wage,

uniform for both sexes. Free state employment agencies

All specific laws detrimental to the working class to be repealed, such as conspir-icy, anti boycott and anti-picketing laws; and the abolition of the injunction as a means of breaking strikes.

Trial by jury in all cases by which a person may be deprived of liberty.

INSPECTION

Public inspection of all factories and institutions employing labor.

All land held for speculation, and all land not occupied or used by the owners to be subject to purchase by the state at an a vance of 10 per cent on the assessed valuation, as fixed by the owner.

All public forest and mining lands to be developed under state direction and control directly, and farm lands to be open for use with public assistance.

DIRECT LEGISLATION.

The initiative, referendum and impera tive mandate to be put into operation.

MUNICIPAL PROGRAM.

SUGGESTIONS FOR THE ACTIVITY OF LOCAL SOCIALIST ADMINISTRATIONS WHILE THE SOCIALIST PARTY IS A MINORITY PARTY.

PREAMBLE FOR MUNICIPAL PROGRAM.

Socialist representatives in municipal administration should always bear clearly in mind the scientific basis of the Socialist municipal program. Under capitalism the municipalization of the public enterprises has been compelled in the interest of the business man. The graft of a few has come to interfere with the graft of the remainder of the business man. mainder of the business world, on account of the development of machinery vital to municipal life. There has followed as a result of this what might be called municipal capitalism, which would operate these publicly owned industries for the purpose of reducing the taxes of present property holders.

It must be borne in mind that Socialism will operate these enterprises in one of the three following ways:

First. All service absolutely free of cost

to the public, paid for out of the general fund. Instance, the roads and streets, police service, and the free water supply of

Second. Service at cost production.

Instance, the usual theory of water supply and of the United States postoffice.

Third, Service furnished at a profit to

New Orleans.

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Great Money Saving Sale of **CARPETS**

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500 pairs of Lace Curtains at Reduced Prices This Week. All Carpets Made, Laid and Lined Free of Charge.

the municipality, the profits to be used for the benefit of the whole community. Instance, the taking of water works profits for the perfection of fire department and extension of parks, bath and playground systems.

All other measures are to be considered in the light of their bearing upon the work ing class as such. Those which will prepare the working people for their part in the class struggle by increase of intelli-gence, strengthening of their bodies, securing independence or certainty of livelihood for them, are to be considered as so many weapons making for their victory. On the other hand, the taking away from the capitalist class of exclusive privileges, making the courts free to all and securing, as far as I ossible, the limitation of those powers financial, legal, social and political which have accumulated in the hands of the capitalist class will tend, of coure, to make the victory of the working class more easy

PUBLIC EDUCATION.

I .- CHANGES IN INSTRUCTION.

1. Sufficient kindergartens for all children of proper age.

2. Manual training (not trade schools)

in all grades.

3. General introduction of idea of development and freedom in education with

close connection with things, according to principles of modern pedagogy.

4. Teaching of economics and history with evolution of industry as base.

5. Establishment of yacation schools.

Adequate night schools for adults.

Instruction of children as to child labor legislation and rights of children before the law.

II .- CHANGES AFFECTING TEACHING FORCE. 1. Adequate number of teachers (small classes in all schools).

Normal school training required as minimum qualification for teaching. Right of trial for teachers before dis-

missal.

4. Pensions for teachers when superannuated or disabled.

III .- CARE OF CHILDREN.

Uniform free text-books for all

schools, public and private, on demand.

2. Free meals and clothing.

 Free medical service, inspection for eyes, ears, mental faculties (for educational purposes), and for contagion.

IV .- EQUIPMENT, 1. Adequate buildings, numerous, not

Ample playgrounds, with physical instructor in charge. 3. Museums, art galleries, libraries, etc., enlarged and accessible to all children through frequent visits accompanied by

teachers. Baths and gymnasiums in school.

5. All school buildings open evenings, Sundays and holidays for public assemblages.

MUNICIPAL OWNERSHIP,

I .- PRINCIPLES OF MANAGEMENT. 1. Reduction of hours and increase of wages to correspond with improvements in production.

2. No profits to be used for reduction of taxation. 3. Pension for all city employes when sick and disabled.

II .- INDUSTRIES SUGGESTED FOR OWNER-SHIP.

1. All in lustries dependent on franchises, such as street cars, electric and gas lighting, telephones, etc.

2. Bakeries, ice-houses, coal and wood yards, department stores, slaughter-houses where they are needed.

III .- MUNICIPAL AUTONOMY. Municipal autonomy for the owner-

ship and operation of all enterprises vital to the municipality as such.

2. Issuance of bonds for this purpose up to 50 per cent of the assessed valuation. Issuance of debenture bonds, secured by plants to be acquired or built.

WORKING CLASS GOVERNMENT. Police not to be used in interest of employer against strikers.

Free legal advice.

Abolition of fee system in all courts. Trial by jury without extra expense.

4. Abolition of fines as alternative to imprisonment.
5. Establishment of municipal labor

bureau for investigation, inspection and report upon conditions of labor.

2. Free medical service, including free during a recess of the convention in the

Adequate hospital service with no taint of charity.
 Homes for aged and invalid.

Night lodgings for men out of em ployment and without homes.

Pensions for all public employes. Free public crematory.

DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC HEALTH. Inspection of food, punishment of all harmful adulteration.

2. Public disinfection after contagious diseases. Publicly owned and administered baths, wash-houses, closets, laboratories, drug stores, and such other things as care

of public heath demands. 4. Adequate system of parks, public play-grounds and gymnasiums.

FACTORY LEGISLATION. 1. Special laws for protection of both women and children in both mercantile

and industrial pursuits.

2. No child under 18 may be permitted to work at any gainful occupation, includ-ieg selling papers, blacking shoes, etc.

HOUSING QUESTION.

Strict legislation against over-crowding, provision for light and ventilation in all rooms.

2. Building of municipal apartments to rent at cost of care of buildings and depreciation—no return for ground rent to be Condemnation and destruction by the city of all tenements not conforming to

proper standards of light, ventilation and over-crowding. . PUBLIC EMPLOYMENT.

Direct employment by the city-abo-

lition of contract system. 2. Fixing of minimum wage not lower

than standard trade union rate. TAXATION.

1. Progressive income tax, such revenue to be u ed solely in the interests of the working class, and not to relieve the middie class of taxation.

Taxation of ground rents.

Exemption of household furniture and laborers homes up to \$2,000. MISCELLANEOUS

1. Erection of "Labor Temple" by municipality as headquarters, meeting place and educational center for workers

2. Publication of municipal bulletin, containing complete news of all municipal

THE COMMITTEE.

E. UNTERMANN, Chairman.

JOHN M. WORK, Secretary. OMRADES: STEDMA LORD of Wisconsin, REYNOLDS of Indiana, KRAYBILL of Kansas, KELLY of Massa

chusetts, and ATKINSON of New York.

Iowa Notes

The Iowa organization has been fortu nate in securing the services of Organizer Harry M. McKee for a limited period. He can be secured at the usual popular terms, if application is made immediately. His dates for the next two weeks are as follows: Oelwein, May 13-15; Fredericksburg, 16; New Hampton, 17; Charles City, 18-19; Mason City, 20; Clear Lake, 21-22; Forest City, 23; Estherville, 24; Emmettsburg, 25; Spencer, 26; Sheldon, 27; Rock Valley, 28; Sfour City, 29 Valley, 28; Sioux City, 29.

Locals Shambaugh and Cresco have reorganized.

The call for the state convention, to be held at Marshalltown, July 4, is in the hands of the printer. Each local is entitled to as many delegates as it has members in good standing. J. J. JACOBSEN.

Local Notes

MARRIED-Mr. A. A. Triller, editor of The Iowa Socialist, to Miss Carrie L. Johnson, associate editor of The Iowa So-oialist, at Chicago, May 4, 1904.

The above "startling" news was conveyed to the comrades of Dubuque and Iowa last week by the Chicago press. Comrade Johnson-Triller was a delegate to the national convention and Comrade Triller was a visitor.

Comrade Mrs. Triller was attached to the staff of The Iowa Socialist last November, and the business relations of the two editors soon brought on a friendship which later developed into what even the editor of a Socialist paper cannot ward off —love. The happy couple were united Germania Hall and Eighth St.

resence of the Iowa delegation, Rev. F.

Strickland performing the ceremony.

Their co-worker and the comrades of Local Dubuque wish them a happy voyage on the matrimonial sea, and may they live to enjoy the fruits of their labors for the Co-operative Commonwealth.

Mr. and Mrs. Triller are at present in South Bend, Ind., where Mrs. Triller's brother lies at death's door.

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\$2.35

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