

LIFE AND PROPERTY BEFORE THE LAW

By FRANKLIN WENTWORTH

Extract from a speech delivered at a Moyer-Haywood protest meeting in New York January 20th

A few weeks ago, in the city of Boston, a little boy thirteen years old, was released from jail. He had been imprisoned for twenty-one months—almost two years—for stealing a quart of milk. On the day of his release it was announced in the public prints that a certain politician, who has no money of his own, had spent \$8,800 in compassing his re-election to the congress of the United States. I present for your consideration the law breaker; and the law maker.

A gentleman high in the official life of Massachusetts declared the other day that the greatest menace to the existence of the American republic is the unrestrained criticism of our courts of justice. To this declaration I would make a rejoinder,—that the menace does not lie in the criticism itself, but in such rulings of the courts as have provoked it.

The pure and impartial administration of justice is an ideal dear to the hearts of every people. It is the common faith in this ideal and the confidence in its approximate realization that have withheld all republican experiments in government from anarchy. The patience of the people with organized wrong has endured only because of this abiding faith in the existence of some tribunal before which, soon or late, the oppressor must appear for impartial judgment. Once, however, let this faith be shaken; once let the dignity of a high tribunal be prostituted; once let the sanctity of so fair an office be betrayed to bolster up an arbitrary action of government or the resentment of a ruling class, and there is no defense or explanation within the province of language that will root such faith anew.

Three times in its history the Supreme Court of the United States has handed down decisions which impeach either its integrity or its recognition of the principles of justice; once, when to please the slave power it ruled that the negro was not a man; twice, when to please the money power, it ruled that the income tax should not be held; and twice, when it now evades jurisdiction of a case in which the fundamental right of free citizens is grossly violated by a conspiracy of capital using the official machinery of two state governments as its instrument. Of its first delinquency we have immortal testimony in the Dred Scott speech of Charles Sumner in the senate of the United States; of its second, the possession by thousands of individuals of receipts for income taxes levied during the civil war is a sufficient voucher; and of its third, who could desire a more trustworthy and splendid exposition than is set forth in the dissenting opinion of a member of the Supreme Court itself?

Few indeed are the instances in which a man high in the political service of a parasitic society can earn a word of praise from those in industrial servitude below him; and yet I cannot refrain from saying that the brave words of Justice McKenna, spoken at a time of such dire human need, entitle him to the admiration of every lover of justice. In this case which we are met to consider, the Supreme Court of the United States has succeeded in evading all judgment of official man-stealing; but it has not succeeded in evading judgment of itself. It stands convicted of the crime of omission, an offense which, either in courts or in man, arouses always as much indignation as contempt will allow. The Supreme Court of the United States, the sole authority to which appeal may legally be made when a state itself is the offender, declares inferentially, by evading jurisdiction, that in such a case the only recourse of violated and outraged citizenship is revolution!

Will the working class of this country, just awaking to a sense of its solidarity and its tremendous latent power, rest content with a government which has ceased to offer any legal redress for invasions of the most sacred rights of its citizens?

There are those who will assert that the Supreme Court of the United States is an institution which should be preserved. There are those who do not agree with Thomas Jefferson that the mere existence of a body so constituted is a denial of republican liberty. To such I would say that the present performance is the most dangerous of all the rulings ever made by this high tribunal, and the most subversive of its dignity.

Better, by far, would it have been for this court to have ruled that all the infamous proceedings of the two western states in the kidnaping of these workmen were constitutional. Better, far, an insolent pronouncement that a negro is not a man, than such an evasive and impotent opinion as the one written by Justice Harlan.

There must be no halting in the service of a ruling class. The Russian grand dukes have not maintained the supremacy of the Romanoffs by negotiations. Undecisive, evasive, qualifying measures disgrace a government more than open violence. Besides satisfying nobody they cannot fail to excite contempt. "Of what good are the bishops?" asked Lord Shaftesbury, when that great Englishman found the "lords spiritual" so sunk in sloth that they would neither aid nor oppose his noble efforts in behalf of the working people. If, then, in this conjuncture, we assume to ask "Of what good is the Supreme Court?" is it too much to expect an answer?

If our cry for justice for our brother is to be ignored by this high authority,

to what court then are we recommended? There are five hundred thousand of us and we wish to know. Will the answer be hazarded that in this unsuccessful appeal to the Supreme Court we have exhausted our legal resource?

Let us remember that the justice of our contention was not considered or passed upon by this court. The question is still open. To whom then are we to appeal? Does the asking of this question disclose for the first time an ugly and embarrassing fissure in the foundation of our government? If there is no resource in the legal machinery of the nation to which we may turn to save an innocent and valuable life from unlawful violation by public authorities, then indeed are we at the hazard of new political fortunes.

I would send a word to penetrate the consciousness of the ruthless rulers of Colorado and Idaho and convince them that they are upon dangerous ground. I love the American republic. I have dreamed since my boyhood that Divine Providence may have saved this great continent out of the blood-red track of history for the world's first noble trial of free men. I hope I may live to see the increasing application of democratic principles, under manhood suffrage, until all North America contains one people, prosperous and happy in social democracy. I would like to see this change made without violent disruption of our present republican forms. But human life is of greater value than forms of government, and the present reckless exploitation of the working class of America may prete them beyond their patience.

The working class have no interest in disorder. Their welfare and their happiness depend always upon the arts of peace protected by a well-ordered state. History records not a single rebellion of the producing classes under conditions which were in any way tolerable. If the working class ever turns to force of arms, it is for its own salvation; and because force has been used against it.

"When the people do wrong," said Edmund Burke, "it is their error, and not their crime." But can this be said of the authorities of those western states, who, at the behest of entrenched privileges, are seeking the lives of men whose only offense is fidelity to the cause of toilers? Ah, no. This is no error. It is consistent, malevolent design. It is class hatred expressing itself through the official function of the state. It is revolution already rampant; revolution countenanced by the nation's chief magistrate, and the nation's highest tribunal.

And what is it hoped may be accomplished by the persecution of three men? The wrongs the working class in the west rebel against are fundamental wrongs. Their class-conscious rebellions of the past few years are not the offspring of accidental discontent. Particular punishments of their leaders will not allay these heats; they will only inflame them. Let the master class tread softly; let them question themselves, before seeking a blind revenge for paltry money losses, whether no adequate provocation has been given for so wide-spread a discontent.

If the great monopolistic corporations which are sucking the blood of the people today—of which corporations those entrenched in the States of Idaho and Colorado are of the most insolent and malignant type—if the possessors of the legal privileges upon which these corporations rest value the form of government under which their right of possession is conceded and at present legally upheld; then let them beware. By violating the constitution, and by their subtle influences emasculating the Supreme Court, they are exhibiting a contempt for the law and order it would seem to be their first interest to uphold. The people are looking on, and will not long hold in reverence the forms their masters violate with such open impunity.

It is a rash and purblind spirit which attempts today the destruction of working-class organizations by the legal assassination of their leaders. Such action evinces a singular ignorance of the present consciousness of the working class. For the working class does not today carry its brains in the head of any one man. Its leaders are chosen for their executive efficiency and their integrity; they are not expected to do the thinking for the organization.

For the first time in human history the working men of the world are basing their action upon a settled philosophy; a philosophy which it will require something better than a seventeenth century intelligence to combat. In the light of this philosophy no spirit of divinity any longer resides in so-called courts of justice. Courts are very human institutions, and judges, like preachers, are seen to reflect the prejudices of their class.

A thousand years ago, as only yesterday, they were consigning the little thieves to prison; and the big thieves to Congress. So dull and conscienceless and sudden became the legal hacks who serve capitalist society by "judging" their fellow human beings, that I am convinced it was only the limitations of the law that saved the little Boston boy who stole the quart of milk from being sentenced to the electric chair.

Those who possess the power in every country possess the courts. The laws are theirs and the interpreters thereof. It is power alone to which the

courts respond in every case involving a conflict of class interest.

It was the power of the slave aristocracy which gained the Dred Scott ruling. It was the power of the money interests which forced the income tax decision; and it is the power of the money interest, too thinly disguised, which leaves William D. Haywood to languish in an Idaho jail.

But these principles and proceedings, odious and contemptible as they have always been, take upon themselves today the aspect of egregious blunders. With the vanishing of that reverence for courts within which the errors and frailties of magistrates have so long been successfully hid, vanishes also the disposition of the people to credit them either with superior insight or superior morality. They descend from their time-honored pedestals and take their places in the crowd as the mere paid administrators of a department of a social system which rests upon a basis of injustice.

The common life has never failed to be roared by any appearance of oppressive, unconstitutional measures, whenever such measures have been supported openly by the powers of government.

It is sufficient voucher of a growing and wider intelligence that these same measures now provoke similar protest and revolt, even when masked under the imposing forms of a court of justice. Let the present offenders against this common sense of the people not assume that the effects of their proceedings in Idaho and Colorado can be confined to those states alone; or to the Western Federation of Miners alone. Nor is it only the wage working class that will enter the arena for preservation of constitutional liberty; once the basis of our public protests is thoroughly comprehended. Prudence and the instinct of self-preservation will induce also many of the middle class to make common cause, even with men whose conduct they censure, if they see such men persecuted in a way that the real spirit of the laws will not justify.

It does not require much political sagacity, nor any extraordinary depth of observation, to understand that where the public machinery may be prostituted to serve the purposes of private or corporate revenge in one state, it may not be long before such practices may pass unrebuked in another. Of what value to the working class are constitutional guarantees against violation of their rights, when the entire public machinery, executive, legislative and judicial, charged with the preservation of those rights is in the hands of their capitalist enemies?

That this is the case in Colorado, and has been for the past three years, no well-informed citizen will undertake to gainsay.

Long previous to the present unhappy circumstances under which we protest; in conflicts with the working class, in face of referendum pronouncements of the will of the people; and in the heat of contested elections, the governor, the legislature, and the courts of this state exhibited a spirit of shameless mendacity unparalleled in American history. At the behest of the entrenched and insolent powers of plutocracy each of these several departments of state has been discovered in manifestations of a despicable and fawning treachery against which no prudence can guard, no courage can defend.

If constitutional guarantees of the rights of the people may be trampled under foot in one state without national interference, of what value are they in any other? But the evil which must come to face at last lies deeper than these present administrative and judicial complexities with which it seems our duty now to grapple. These things are but surface things; the noise and fury of which confuse the common mind, and hide the basic wrongs. They are but the shifting readjustments of a huge and complicated fabric built upon the foundation of the unjust laws of private property.

Beyond those puppets of the privileged class which strut their hour as governors, or law makers, or sit clothed in the voluminous emptiness of a judge's gown; beyond these instruments of objective performance lies the stupendous network of the law itself, built step by step in the interest of the owning class. Every just and moral principle which has at last found place in this complicated structure has been sanctified by the heart's blood of some lover of the race.

The supreme object of the law today despite its specious pretenses of greater dignity is to guard the possession of property at the expense of human life. I know but too well that in the preamble of its various enactments the words "life" and "property" are invariably coupled. I know, too, that from long familiarity with this phrasing the people have fallen into the assumption that laws which protect property naturally protect life.

But they do not. It is an ingenious but specious deception worthy of the craft which perpetuates it. It is the life which possesses property that the law protects; the propertyless life wanders drearily outlawed. The law is against it not for it. A month ago, at Christmas, your New York newspapers proudly chronicled the fact that 37,000 people in your city had generously been fed by charity. Thirty-seven thousand! It is a mighty army

of poverty. By whom is it fed the remaining 364 days of the year?

Thirty-seven thousand people, each one, man, woman and child, a prey to poverty, to filth, to disease, to the thousand ills that spring from poorly nourished bodies! What, I ask you, have these laws, these wonderful enactments for the preservation of "life and property" done for such as these?

Against violent assault I will grant they are secure. The law looks out for that! A violent assault and a crime against property may incidentally unite! But what law shields them from the attack of bitter poverty—the vast un-muscular assassin who slays with such pitiless hate? What law of "life and property" helps here? Give any one of these human beings a pistol and he can protect himself from violent attack; he can protect his family from assault; but where is the weapon with which the law has furnished him whereby he can put bread into the starving bodies of his wife and babe?

Let him but seize a loaf of bread at the corner bakery—he will then discover the real functions of the law. Against the right of property in that loaf of bread, the life of his wife and babe are a cipher.

It is an offense against this law of property, the heartlessness and infamy of which I have attempted to exhibit, that confines Moyer, Haywood and Pettibone in the jails of Idaho tonight. What do their capitalist captors care for the life of Steunenberg, whose assassination was the excuse for the silly and unfounded charge of conspiracy against these working men? What regard have they for any life that stands in the way of their profits?

Does not the same capital which operates the smelter trust in Idaho operate the railroads of the country? Who, then, is to be tried for the conspiracy of murdering ten thousand people in the railroad wrecks of last year? Is it life that they care about, I ask you? The soul stifles before such stupendously insolent hypocrisy!

It is regard for life that led the Russian aristocracy two years ago to perpetrate the ghastly massacre of Bloody Sunday?

It is regard for life that banishes the greatest, the noblest, the most devoted of the Russian people to the wastes of Siberia? Ah, no! It is only the life of a Grand-duke, the personification of privilege and property, whose assassination stirs the plutocratic sympathy.

It is private property, and its hideous offspring, private profit, that slays, and burns, and banishes, and blights the aspirations of the Russian people! Do we need proof of this? Why does the death of a Russian Grand-duke evoke plutocratic sympathy, the sympathy which passes with indifference the slaughter of a thousand peasants? I will tell you. The death of a Grand-duke affects the market in Russian bonds, and Russian bonds are private property in every Christian nation of the world.

There is no incongruity, therefore, in this meeting of tonight. It is based upon a common recognition of a common enemy. The same spirit and interest which have blotted a sacred year of life out of the calendar of these men of Colorado, have been flogging naked patriot women to death in the streets of Warsaw. It is one common foe, the insanity of property and power, which, since the dawn of intelligence in man has made the earth a shambles. But, thank God, its final recognition is its doom! Century after century has dragged its weight of chains and blood across the page of history, crushing and blighting every aspiration of the slaves of toil, without discovery of the truth we hold tonight.

Century after century the working class has been craftily entangled and shot to death in dynastic wars; stifling their sufferings and discontent by killing and destroying their own class in other nations. Patriotism, love of home distorted into hatred of the neighbor; Patriotism, the fatuous belief that one people can prosper by the undoing of another; Patriotism, degraded into red-handed crime with a flag over it; this has been the betrayal of the working class throughout the world!

But a new day has dawned. Step by step as the working class has risen to higher intelligence it has come to discern that the conflict does not lie between nation and nation. The interests of the working class are everywhere the same. The struggle is of the working class of all nations against the master class of all nations. It is no longer confined to one country alone. It is of every country. It is as wide as the world. And it is the beginning of a mighty conflict that will never cease until the names of master and slave are banished from the earth.

In the darkest days of the last century there flourished in continental Europe a compact of kings called the Holy Alliance. It was an agreement of three separate despots to use their armies in conjunction to crush the uprising of the people. This unholy compact was called the Holy Alliance because it was blessed by the Pope. It succeeded; it endured; it maintained its tyranny;—but that was not all. It taught the people something. It was the first modern object-lesson in the class consciousness of tyrants; and it developed the class consciousness of the people. If kings and their hireling mercenaries could stand together irrespective of country, so then might the people!

Never in human history out of the night of despotism gleamed there so clear a light of liberty! It is this light we are following tonight; and it grows brighter and brighter as the years advance. Wherever a little band of men and women are met to resist injustice, upon them its rays are shed. It flickers

and dances upon the walls of the prison in Idaho and nerves the hearts of our comrades to bear their sufferings in silence; it flashes from the eyes of the Russian student girl as she hides the bomb in her hair which is to send her soul, with the soul of the tyrant, into eternity.

It is a new and holier sign than the cross! It is the brightening signal of a joyous Christ, who sees at last the coming of the thing He died for.

It is a portent and a promise. A new Holy Alliance! A Holy Alliance of God and the people against the popes and kings; against all outward forms of privileges and tyranny. It is the dawning of the day of human liberty. It is the belated coming of the Prince of Peace!



At the recent session of the national executive committee a letter was presented from Local Seattle, Wash., containing a proposal for the establishment of a lecture circuit covering the larger cities of the West and Northwest. Said letter, by direction of the national executive committee, was published in the minutes (which appear in the Official Monthly Bulletin for December), together with the request that the locals notify the national secretary if they are willing to co-operate in carrying out the suggestions. State Secretary Graham of Montana reports that five cities in that state will join such a lecture circuit if it would be established. Locals are again called upon to give this a consideration.

Under date of Jan. 10 S. M. Holman, national committeeman of Minnesota, reports having filed his resignation with State Secretary J. E. Nash, the same to take effect as soon as a successor can be chosen.

John M. O'Neill, editor of the Miners' Magazine, is filling a number of dates in the Eastern states, speaking at Moyer-Haywood-Pettibone protest meetings.

Local Globe, Arizona, reports having adopted drastic resolutions condemning the Colorado-Idaho capitalist conspiracy, and that they are preparing for a monster protest meeting on Feb. 17, the anniversary of the kidnaping of Moyer, Haywood and Pettibone. Mother Jones will be one of the speakers, and efforts are being made to secure Debs and O'Neill.

By a recent referendum in Connecticut, Ernest DeWitt Hull, at Naugatuck, and Samuel Ely Beardsley, of Shelton, were elected members of the national committee.

Harriman Harnessing the Mountains

The Sierra Nevada Mountains must go to work," says the "Technical World." "Mr. E. H. Harriman, the 'little wizard' of the railroad world, has decided that they have been idle long enough. Worse than that, they have been an absolute obstruction to transportation. "It has taken three or four panting locomotives to painfully pull a short train of loaded freight cars up the steep grade from Truckee, Cal., on the Southern Pacific, to the summit of Emigrant Pass, about 5,000 feet above sea-level. That climb up the mountain side has cut the heart out of profits and diverted considerable freight to other lines. "Henceforth mountains themselves are to haul the freight trains to their own summits. Harriman has found out how to lift himself by his boot-straps. "The little mountain streams, starting from the melting glaciers which cap the highest peaks, are to be 'ribbed, cabled, and confined' and forced to furnish electric power for pulling Harriman's freight trains up and over the mountain passes. "At the start a third rail electric system is to be put in over about eighty miles of the road. A huge power house is to be built on the California side of the pass, where a practically unlimited supply of water is always available. Once the enormous initial expense of building the power plant and equipping the road is out of the way, electric motors will take the place of steam locomotives, in the trip over the mountains, at a great saving in cost and time. It will no longer be necessary to make up short and light trains. The roaring mountain streams will furnish plenty of power to pull the heaviest freight trains over the mountains at a rate of speed impossible heretofore."

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MY CASTLE IN SPAIN

By JACK LONDON in "The House Beautiful"

Perhaps it is because of the practical life I have lived that I worship utility and have come to believe that utility and beauty should be one, and that there is no utility that need not be beautiful. What inner beauty there is—whether it be airy steel, or massive masonry, or a delicate woman's hand? A plain black leather strap is beautiful. It is all strength and all utility, and it is beautiful. It efficiently performs work in the world, and it is good to look upon. Perhaps it is because it is useful that it is beautiful. I do not know. I sometimes wonder.

I bought a house in a hurry in the city of Oakland some time ago. I do not live in it. I sleep in it half a dozen times a year. I do not love the house. I am hurt every time I look at it. No drunken rowdy or political enemy can insult me so deeply as that house does. Let me tell you why. It is an ordinary two-story frame house. After it was built, the criminal that constructed it nailed on, at the corners, perpendicularly, some two-inch fluted planks. These planks rise the height of the house, and to a drunken man have the appearance of fluted columns. To complete the illusion in the eyes of the drunken man, the planks are topped with wooden Ionic capitals, nailed on, and in, I may say, bas-relief.

When I analyze the irritation these fluted planks cause in me, I find the reason in the fact that the first idea for building a house has been violated. These decorative planks are no part of the construction. They have no use, no work to perform. They are plastered gauds that tell lies that nobody believes. A column is made for the purpose of supporting weight; this is its use. A column when it is a utility, is beautiful. The fluted wooden columns nailed on outside my house are not utilities. They are not beautiful. They are nightmares. They not only support no weight, but they themselves are a weight that drags upon the supports of the house. Some day, when I get time, one of two things will surely happen. Either I'll go forth and murder the man who perpetrated the atrocity, or else I'll take an axe and chop off the lying, fluted planks.

A thing must be true, or it is not beautiful, any more than a painted woman is beautiful, any more than a skyscraper is beautiful that is intrinsically a structural light, and that has a false massiveness of pillars plastered on outside. The true skyscraper is beautiful—and this is the reluctant admission of a man who dislikes humanity-festering cities. The true skyscraper is beautiful, and it is beautiful in so far as it is true. In its construction it is light and airy, therefore in its appearance it must be light and airy. It dare not, if it wishes to be beautiful, lay claim to what it is not. And it should not bulk on the city-escape like Leviathan; it should rise and soar, light and airy and fairy-like.

Man is an ethical animal—or, at least, he is more ethical than any other animal. Therefore he has certain yearnings for honesty. And in no way can these yearnings be more thoroughly satisfied than by the honesty of the house in which he lives and passes the greater part of his life.

Dishonest Materials
Last year I started to build a barn. A man who was a liar undertook to do

the stone work and concrete work for me. He could not tell the truth to my face; he could not tell the truth in his work. I was building for posterity. The concrete foundations were four feet wide and sunk three and one-half feet into the earth. The stone walls were two feet thick and nine feet high. Upon them were to rest the great beams that were to carry all the weight of hay and the forty tons of tile roof. The man who was a liar made beautiful stone walls. I used to stand alongside of them and love them. I caressed their massive strength with my hands. I thought about them in bed, before I went to sleep. And they were lies.

Stone Walls that Lie
Came the earthquake. Fortunately the rest of the building of the barn had been postponed. The beautiful stone walls cracked in all directions. I started to repair; and discovered the whole, enormous lie. The walls were shells. On each face were beautiful, massive stones—on edge. The inside was hollow. This hollow in some places was filled with clay and loose gravel. In other places it was filled with air and emptiness, with here and there a piece of kindling wood or dry-goods box, to aid in the making of the shell. The walls were lies. They were beautiful, but they were not useful. Construction and decoration had been divorced. The walls were all decoration. They had no construction in them. "As God lets Satan live," I let that lying man live, but I have built new walls from the foundation up.

And now to my house beautiful, which I shall build some seven or ten years from now. I have a few general ideas about it. It must be honest in construction, material, and appearance. If any feature of it, despite my efforts, shall tell lies, I shall remove that feature. Utility and beauty must be indissolubly wedded. Construction and decoration must be one. If the particular details keep true to these general ideas, all will be well.

A Bath-room and a Tent
I have not thought of many details. But here are a few. Take the bath-room for instance. It shall be as beautiful as any room in the house, just as it will be as useful. The chance is, that it will be the most expensive room in the house. Upon this we are resolved—even if we are compelled to build it first, and to live in a tent till we can get more money to go on with the rest of the house.

In the bath-room no delights of the bath shall be lacking. Also, a large part of the expensiveness will be due to the use of material that will make it easy to keep the bath-room clean and in order. Why should a servant toil unduly that my body may be clean? On the other hand, the honesty of my own flesh, and the square dealing I give it, are more important than all the admiration of my friends for expensive decorative schemes and magnificent trivialities. More delightful to me is a body that sings than a stately and costly grand stair-case built for show. Not that I like grand stair-cases less, but that I like bath-rooms more.

The Philosophy of Spick and Span
And because of the foregoing, one chief aim in the building of my house beautiful will be a house that will require the minimum of trouble and work

to keep clean and orderly. It will be no spick and span and polished house, with an immaculateness that testifies to the tragedy of drudge. I live in California where the days are warm. I'd prefer that the servants had three hours to go swimming (or hammocking) than be compelled to spend those three hours in keeping the house spick and span. Therefore it devolves upon me to build a house that can be kept clean and orderly without the need of those three hours.

But underneath the spick and span there is something more dreadful than the servitude of the servants. This dreadful thing is the philosophy of the spick and span. In Korea the national costume is white. Nobleman and coolie dress alike in white. It is hell on the women who do the washing, but there is more in it than that. The coolie cannot keep his white clothes clean. He soils and they get dirty. The dirty white of his costume is the token of his inferiority. The nobleman's dress is always spotless white. It means that he doesn't have to work. But it means, further, that somebody else has to work for him. His superiority is not based upon song-craft nor statercraft, upon the foot-races he has run nor the wrestles he has overthrown. His superiority is based upon the fact that he doesn't have to work, and that others are compelled to work for him. And so the Korean drone flaunts his clean white clothes, for the same reason that the Chinese flaunts his monstrous finger-nails, and the white man and woman flaunt the spick-and-spanness of their spotless houses.

For countless thousands of years my ancestors have lived and died and drawn all their breaths in the open air. It is only recently that we have begun to live in houses. The change is a hardship, especially on the lungs. I've got only one pair of lungs, and I haven't the address of any repair shop. Wherefore I stick by the open air as much as possible. For this reason my house will have large verandas, and near to the kitchen, there will be a veranda dining-room. Also, there will be a veranda fireplace, where we can breathe fresh air and be comfortable when the evenings are touched with frost.

I have a plan for my own bedroom. I sleep short hours—five and a half per night; but spend long hours in bed, reading, studying, and working. I have tried sleeping in the open, but the lamp attracts all the creeping, crawling, biting, flying, fluttering things to the pages of my book, into my ears and blankets, and down the back of my neck. So my bedroom shall be indoors. But it will not be of indoors. Three sides of it will be open. The fourth side will divide it from the rest of the house. The three sides will be screened against the creeping, fluttering things, but not against the good fresh air and all the breezes that blow.

It will be a usable house and a beautiful house, wherein the aesthetic guest can find comfort for his eyes as well as for his body. It will be a happy house—or else I'll burn it down. It will be a house of air and sunshine and laughter. These three cannot be divorced. Laughter without air and sunshine becomes morbid, decadent, demonic. I have in me a thousand generations. Laughter that is decadent is not good for these thousand generations.—The House Beautiful.

state delegate to cities the right to own and operate their own utilities unless the state itself has the power to own and operate public utilities.
"When it is suggested that the constitution will have to be amended before this power can be delegated to cities, these men reply that when the constitution is amended it will have to be so amended that the state itself has this power or the state cannot delegate the power to the cities. And of all this the Social-Democrats of the legislature are prepared to take advantage.
Sentiment for municipal ownership is not confined to Social-Democrats. It is to be found among all parties. More than that, it is to be found in the political platforms of all three of the political parties represented in the legislature.
"Even Gov. Davidson's message recommends that the sentiment for municipal ownership be encouraged. Out of this condition the Social-Democrats expect to make a master stroke for Social-Democracy, and they propose to bring the matter before the legislature in the form of a bill providing that the state shall at once take up the erection of long-distance telephone lines to be owned by the state.
"This is only one of many things which it may be expected that the Social-Democrats will spring.
Only a Minor Reform
"Of course this is only a minor and secondary point of the programme of the Social-Democratic members of the Wisconsin legislature. But this state telephone measure is alarming the capitalist politicians, because it is popular and has a show of being carried. This, moreover, would be an entering wedge for further state ownership. It is a step beyond municipal ownership. Hence the disgust and anxiety of the old politicians. And all this keeps the Socialist party before the public.
The annual report of the Milwaukee Social-Democratic Publishing Company is most encouraging. The new plant has proved a great success, and has saved a large amount of money which otherwise would have gone to the capitalist printing houses, as will be seen by the following figures:
Average deficit per month for 1905 \$226.35
Average deficit per month for 1906 (cash, \$487 depreciation of machinery (\$80.00)) \$4.87
It will thus be seen that the purchase of the plant has resulted in saving \$141.48 of the money of Socialists per month. If we add the savings on print-

ing the papers to the profits of the job department, it makes a total of \$2,853.36 saved to the movement. True, the plant is only partly paid for, and is heavily mortgaged. But in a few years we shall clear this debt, if things continue to go on as well in the future as during the past year.
The Republican candidate for clerk of courts in Milwaukee, having violated the election law by promising to turn over his fees to the city treasury in order to get votes, an act which the Supreme Courts have several times construed as a form of bribery to the voters, the question was considered whether it would not be advisable for the Social-Democratic candidate, Frederic Heath, of the Social-Democratic Herald, to contest the office.
"The decisions of the courts in other states were also in our favor, but the party decided that we could not consistently take up the matter, as our platform calls for the abolition of the fee system. It is also significant that neither this clerk of courts nor Mayor Becker, who promised to turn over his salary, have kept their promises after election.

16,000 JAP WORKERS STRIKE FOR INCREASE
Tokyo, Japan, Dec. 26.—Sixteen thousand workmen of the Osaka military arsenal went out on strike because they were refused a twenty per cent increase in wages.
The wages of the workers of Kure and Maizuru arsenals were raised recently and the employees of the Osaka arsenal at once appointed a committee to ask for an advance.
But as soon as this was learned by the authorities the ten employees who were on this committee were discharged. The strikers have provided an armed body of 500 workmen who will act as pickets for the union. Provisions have also been made to take care of the families of the strikers. The police and gendarmes are also on the lookout and the strikers are watched by disguised officers.

A BIG WINNER
The Chicago Weekly Socialist is a big winner at \$1.00 for four names for one year. Send in a trial order of four names and a dollar bill. The way to make Socialists is to set working men reading Socialist papers. The way to make more Socialists is to get them busy reading more Socialist papers.

St. Petersburg, Jan. 22.—General Spiridovitch, president of the Pan-Slavic league, an organization composed mostly of the members of the "black hundreds," is on his way to the United States.
General Spiridovitch goes to America to present Roosevelt with a cup for his efforts to bring about peace between Russia and Japan. He will also make a tour through the United States and try to win the friendship of the American people for the Russian government.
It is understood that Spiridovitch is in the Russian government to offset the effects which the tours recently of Russian revolutionists in America, and notably the tour of Gregory Gershuni, have had in setting the American people against the Russian government.

To Flatter Teddy
The government, always anxious to keep up some sort of appearance in the eyes of the civilized world, is amazed at the enthusiasm with which Russian revolutionists are received by the American people.
General Spiridovitch is one of the most trusted members of the reactionary party. He was always one of the first advocates for a struggle with the "inner foe," the revolutionists, rather than with outer enemies.
The government and the reactionary party lay great hopes upon his tour. They expect that this courtesy shown to President Roosevelt may soften the feeling of hatred for the Russian autocracy and may possibly have some effect upon the American bankers who have of late been shy in advancing any money to Russia.

A BLOODY YEAR'S RECORD FOR THE CZAR OF RUSSIA
St. Petersburg, Jan. 22.—Statistics issued by the government in its official paper "Pravitelstvenny Vestnik" show the activity of the police for the year 1906.
It is a record that the government can truly be proud of, and one which ought to inspire the civilized world with respect for and confidence in the Russian autocracy. During that year, which was, of course, a year of constitutional government in Russia, the government put to death 1,252 revolutionists.
To Siberia she exiled 2,029, and for a lifelong imprisonment in Siberia 186 men.
In the prisons of the interior of Russia, 5,945 men are being tortured. The small number of 563 newspapers were suppressed, and the still smaller number of 732 editors were arrested.
These statistics do not include the thousands of people who were killed by drunken soldiers, gendarmes and other officials "unofficially." Neither does the list of those exiled and imprisoned include the tens of thousands of people who were deported to Siberia under the administrative order, nor the hundreds of thousands of people who, through the Russian prisons for minor revolutionary charges or on mere suspicions.

THE WEEKLY SOCIALIST
The special price of 25 cents in clubs of four for the Weekly Socialist is bringing good response. Here is a splendid opportunity for the comrades to give wide publicity to the best weekly in the United States. Send in a dollar bill and four names and start the weekly on a fifty-two-times visit to some inquiring working man.

CIVIC MAC VEAGH AND HIS OWN EMPLOYEES

Forced by Competition He Adds An Hour a Day to Work—The Union's Experience

Franklin MacVeagh, the patron saint of the Chicago branch of the Civic Federation, is according to officers of Wholesale Grocery Employees' Union No. 71, one of the few men who have systematically sought to disrupt that organization.
"We approached Mr. MacVeagh four times in the last three years," said an officer of the union, "to induce him to unionize his shop. To this he would not listen.
"Mr. MacVeagh is one of the signers of the agreement which we made with the wholesale grocers of Chicago in April, 1906. But this agreement is only referring to those who are already members of the union and are at present in Mr. MacVeagh's employ. This, however, is a very small number. Less than a third of the men employed by Mr. MacVeagh are union men. The others are non-union.
"Rollin A. Keyes, Mr. MacVeagh's manager, does all he can to weaken the union.
"When we entered this agreement with the company some five years ago, Mr. MacVeagh worked his men only nine hours a day, while the other firms worked their men ten hours a day. According to the agreement those firms working only nine hours a day must pay for extra hours. Mr. MacVeagh not only got out of paying for this extra hour, but even made the men return to a ten-hour day.
"The agreement, which he consented to sign last year, meager as it is in its requests to the men, would not have been signed by him were it not for the fact that he with the rest of the firms feared the union might spring an agreement upon them in the busy season.
"According to this agreement 'specialty' men in Mr. MacVeagh's employ get, as the highest wage for their ten-hour day, \$16.
"There are, however, many ways and means of cutting a man's wages down by shifting a man from one department to another or by taking him on the list of temporary employes when he comes from another place.
"The wages paid by the wholesale grocers of Chicago to their union men for strictly skilled work is divided into six classes and runs as follows: Class 1, \$16 per week; class 2, \$15 per week; class 3, \$14 per week; class 4, \$12.50 per week; class 5, \$11.50 per week; and class 6, \$10.50 per week. The \$16 wage is for expert men in manufacturing departments.

BLACK HUNDRED CHIEF IS TO VISIT THE U. S.
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COUNTY CENTRAL COMMITTEE MEETING

Chicago, Jan. 23, 1907.

Regular session of the County Central Committee held on above date at 55 North Clark street. Comrade M. H. Taft elected temporary chairman.

On roll call delegates from all branches responded, with the exception of the following: Wards—Three, Four, Five and Twenty-nine; towns—Berwyn, Bloom, Leyden, Maine, New Trier, Proviso and Thornton; foreign speaking organizations—Finnish, Hungarian, Italian, Slovak, Slavonic, and the Twelfth Ward and Seventeenth Ward Scandinavian.
This being the first session of the new County Committee, on motion, the following officers and committees were elected for the term of the committee:
Chairman—M. H. Taft.
Secretary—G. T. Fraenkel.
Executive Committee—S. A. Knopfnagel, John Collins, Edward B. Cope, W. E. Rodriguez, Morris Siskind, Carl Strover, Andrew Latin, Charles F. Woerner and John Hansen.
Committee on Grievances and Appeals—E. H. Winston, L. W. Hart, William Behrens, L. A. Larsen and Richard O'Connell.
Auditing Committee—S. A. Knopfnagel, Charles W. Greene and C. E. Kirkland.
Entertainment Committee—H. B. Stewart, A. W. Hance, James S. Smith, M. B. Haver, Charles Erickson, G. T. Fraenkel, Charles L. Breckon, John Weaver and John T. Caulfield.
Applications for membership to the number of 188 were approved, while that of Rosenkilde of the Twenty-seventh ward being referred to, was laid over until next meeting, and the Fifteenth ward was requested to file its objections in writing. Two charters were granted for Bohemian branches, one in the Eighth and the other in the Tenth ward.

On recommendation of the acting secretary, it was decided that a call be issued to all branches and foreign speaking organizations within the limits of the city of Chicago to elect delegates to constitute the city campaign committee, and that the county committee be elected jointly with the campaign committee and be part of same during the period of the spring campaign.
A number of delegates having objected to the lawsuit to close up all clubs and theaters so as to show up the class question involved in the attempt to close up the amusement places of the workmen, and the prominent manner in which the matter was handled by the Daily Socialist, on motion Comrades Knopfnagel, Hance and Breckon conferred with some of the largest independent cigar dealers in this city and arrangements will be made for the buying of the tobacco from the farmers.
Officers of the Chicago Federation of Labor and of the Cigar Makers' union think this the most important immediate result of the alliance of the trades unions with the farmers' organization.

TOBACCO, UNIONIZED, FROM PLANT TO STORE
The first and most tangible effect of the farmers' alliance with organized labor, to free themselves from the claws of the trusts, will be felt by the tobacco trust of this country.
A movement was inaugurated in this city yesterday by the independent cigar manufacturers, cigar dealers and the International Cigar Makers' Union to buy their tobacco from the farmers who belong to the union.
For years the tobacco trust has been buying the tobacco from the farmers at the price it chose to pay. The farmers claim that they had to sell large quantities of "wrapper" tobacco for the same price that they sold the "binders" and "fillers." Yet wrappers are worth at least four times as much as any of the other grades of tobacco. This they had to do or else let the tobacco rot in the barns.
To Beat the Trust
The farmers are now willing to sell the tobacco crop of this year to the small cigar manufacturers exclusively and in this way strike a blow at the tobacco trust.
This proposition was at once taken up by G. W. Perkins, President of the Cigar Makers' International Union. President Perkins conferred with some of the largest independent cigar dealers in this city and arrangements will be made for the buying of the tobacco from the farmers.
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FUNERAL OF THOMAS HALLS
The funeral of Thomas Halls was held Saturday noon at his residence, 746 North Fairfield avenue. The exercises were of the simplest character, in accord with the wish of Mr. Halls. The pall-bearers were Rudolph Forpahl, Anthony Prince, Dan Donahue, John Kaiser, August and Charles Galtz, all of whom are members of the Bricklayers and Masons' International Union.
The funeral was held at the residence of Mr. Halls, 746 North Fairfield avenue, at a glowing service, here of a sudden begun to paint tribute to the life of Mr. Halls as the work of a pioneer in the great movement for industrial liberty.
A collar door robber has been busy for the past two weeks in Evanston and has made some big hauls, and is giving the Evanston police overtime work. His last attempt was the slugging of Malecol McKenzie, a Northwestern student, as he stepped out of the back door of his boarding house.
Elhu Root, secretary of state, was the guest of the Canadian Club of Ottawa, Ont., yesterday.

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Socialist Scientific Literature
The following list of books make up the choicest of Socialist Scientific Literature. Any one or more of these books will be mailed on receipt of price, postpaid, to any city in United States or Canada.
Marx's Capital, Vol. I, Capitalist Production \$2.00
Circulation 1.00
Ward's Ancient Law, Vol. I 1.00
Ward's Ancient Law, Vol. II 1.50
Morgan's Ancient Society 1.00
Brenthold's The Recording Angel 1.00
Triggs' The Changing Order 1.00
Moore's Better-World Philosophy 1.00
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163 Randolph Street, Room 14 CHICAGO, ILL.

The Struggle for Existence
By WALTER THOMAS MILLS, A. M.
It contains 48 chapters, 640 pages, handsomely bound in English linen. Price, single copies, \$2.50 each postpaid. Ten copies shipped to one address, \$15 and the purchasers pay the freight.
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was received, and after a lengthy and thorough discussion of the whole question of party control of the Daily Socialist finally resulted in the adoption of the following motion: "That the county executive committee be hereunto instructed to confer with the board of directors of the Workers' Publishing Society for the purpose of arriving at a plan whereby the control of the Daily Socialist be vested in the membership of the Socialist party of Cook county. In case the board should fail to agree upon some plan, the executive committee is then directed to call a special meeting of the stockholders, and by virtue of the party's ownership of 500 shares of stock, proceed to take such steps as will place the party in control of the Daily Socialist."
On motion the date for the municipal convention was set for Wednesday, February 13, at 8 o'clock p. m.
The executive committee was instructed to communicate with the various branches in Cook county with a view of arranging for the celebration of the first of May.
The hour now being late, the session adjourned.

JAMES S. SMITH, Acting County Secretary.

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BORDEN'S MILK CAUSES FEVER

Desperate Efforts Made to Suppress Awful Facts in Interests of Capital

An epidemic of scarlet fever has closed the schools of Evanston, taken its toll of death from a dozen homes yesterday, and has its grip upon over 3,000 little ones at the present moment.
So far as Evanston at least is concerned, this affliction is confined almost exclusively to the patrons of a single milk company. There are no cases farther north than Kenilworth, the limit of deliveries of this company.
In Evanston the health authorities confiscated a carload of milk belonging to that company, and declare that 85 per cent of the cases in that city are among patrons of this one milk company.
Borden is Guilty
Every daily paper in Chicago knows the name of this company. Every one of them, and every physician knows that the surest way to stop this epidemic and save the lives of hundreds of children is to warn the people against that company.
The Daily Socialist alone dares to give this warning that means life to the children of Chicago. The reason for this silence is that the company is the great milk trust known as the Borden Milk company.
Dr. Parks, the health commissioner of Evanston, admitted this to-day when he was asked by a mother as to the character of the milk being furnished by the various milk companies in Evanston. He agreed to all the other facts stated above, but did not want anything published on the subject.
Aldermen Take a Hand
Aldermen prepared to back up the city health department to-day in its efforts to stamp out the epidemic of scarlet fever and diphtheria which prevails; by an emergency order for 100 additional inspectors.
The matter will come before the council finance committee to-day. Mayor Dunne has promised to call a special meeting of the council, if Commissioner of Health Whalen believes it essential that the extra men be put on without any delay. The list of disease victims, almost all children, is increasing at the rate of more than 100 a day.
Why Not Get at the Cause?
Dr. Herman Spalding, head of the contagious-disease division, insists the only practical way to lower these figures is to send men into all the schools, to cope with the conditions which cause the spread of fever germs.

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Our National Minstrel Show

When Ben Tillman characterized the United States Senate as a minstrel show he struck so close to the truth that the Senate felt itself called upon to go into executive session until the matter could be patched up and the words removed from the Senate journal, that posterity might not know this judgment.

Such a move was useless. Posterity will have plenty of evidence of the farcical character of the Senate without this plea of guilty being entered upon the books.

There is a reason for this. There was a time when the Senate, as the chief instrument of plutocracy, had a work to do. While it was really an active force in the carrying out of the wishes of a ruling class it was not at least ridiculous.

There was a time when the present rulers were fighting their way into a position of power that the Senate produced men. Because they did respond to the spirit of the age, and were actively engaged in the transformation of society to suit capitalist interests, these men were entitled to be called "great."

Then came another stage in the evolution of the Senate to correspond with the succeeding stage in industrial evolution.

With the trust stage of industry the capitalist no longer had any need of brains in the management of his business. He hired others to direct the industry and he set out to enjoy himself.

The Senate struck him as a good place to pass his leisure time. So we had our Depews and Platts and Clarks and a host of similar intellectual nonentities, representing express companies and railroads and copper mines.

TO BE ACCURATE, THEY DID NOT EVEN REPRESENT THESE INDUSTRIES BUT ONLY THE HOLLOW PAPER CERTIFICATES OF OWNERSHIP.

For a time there was enough for such men to do to cover up the really farcical character of the Senate.

But the process of concentration kept on. It always does. When it reached the stage where a half dozen men controlled the industrial destinies of the country there was really nothing for the Senate to do.

The really great masters of industry did not choose to amuse themselves with Senatorial buffoonery.

Their interests were world-wide and the legislative power of a single state was too small a thing to interest them.

They controlled directly industries with a greater income and more extensive interests than the United States government.

A tobacco trust or a Standard Oil Company with a dozen nations in its pocket, reaching around the globe, could scarcely be expected to concern itself with the doings of so insignificant a body as the United States Senate. Certainly not to the extent of having its owner occupy a seat in that body.

Besides there was nothing to be accomplished there. The Senate was the completely subservient tool of capital anyway. Just how thoroughly recognized this subservency was is shown by the fact that even the little bourgeois has come to see it. Witness the host of muck-raking articles on the subject.

With the Supreme Court safely in the hands of concentrated capital, and all the laws on the statute books that are necessary for effective exploitation, of what further use was the Senate?

Only when a class is advancing and transforming society in its interest does its organs of government display life and vitality and the qualities that go to make up what the world calls greatness.

THE CAPITALIST CLASS IS A DECAYING CLASS. THEREFORE ITS ORGANS SHOW ALL THE SIGNS OF DECADENCE.

It is therefore fitting that its most prominent legislative body should take on the characteristics of a minstrel show.

ONLY WHEN THE VITAL BREATH OF A NEW SOCIAL CLASS SHALL BE BREATHED INTO OUR POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS WILL THEY SHOW SIGNS OF LIFE.

The working class is the class that is destined to work this revival.

WHEN SOCIALISTS BEGIN TO OCCUPY SEATS IN THE SENATE AND THAT BODY FEELS THE THRILL OF THE CLASS STRUGGLE THE DRY BONES WILL AWAKE TO LIFE AND DIGNITY AND GREATNESS.

IT WILL NO LONGER BE A MINSTREL SHOW.

That this is no idle boast is shown by the results in European parliaments where the representatives of the working class are occupying positions.

No one would ever mistake the German Reichstag or the French Chamber of Deputies for a minstrel show.

Things are being done in these bodies. History is being made in them. Political institutions are being cast into the melting pot and reformed to suit new industrial conditions.

There is life and vitality and action in these bodies.

WHEN THE SENATE IS MADE A TRULY REPRESENTATIVE BODY WITH WORKING CLASS MEMBERS IT WILL NO LONGER BE A MINSTREL SHOW.

Let Us Rise

The City Council has declared by an overwhelming vote its intention to pass the traction steal. The members who were pledged to municipal ownership have shown that they are willing to pass the franchise and that they have the votes to do it with even if Mayor Dunne should pluck up enough courage to keep his word and veto it.

The whole affair has been nicely arranged. The stage has been well set for the play.

The newspapers have succeeded in doing the thinking for a large percentage of the population of Chicago, until they have created a demand for "immediate settlement" about as intelligent and about as spontaneous as was the demand which they created a year ago for "immediate municipal ownership."

IT IS ABOUT TIME THE WORKING CLASS BEGAN TO DO ITS OWN THINKING.



John D.—"I hope there will be no tainted money remarks from anyone."

The Chicago University will receive \$3,000,000 from Rockefeller as a gift to superannuated professors.—News Item.

Only by a spontaneous elemental uprising of the workers will the present traction steal be defeated and the road forever barred to future steals.

THIS UPRISING CAN EXPRESS ITSELF IN TWO WAYS.

First, in the getting of sufficient signatures to insure a referendum. This is the immediate pressing thing to do, although it means but little if action stops there.

Neither is the next great step the casting of a majority against the traction steal. That will come as a matter of course unless the daily traction press succeeds in hypnotizing the people into believing that the very stars will reel in their orbits unless Morgan secures an immediate mortgage on the streets of Chicago, and that the day of perfect transportation will begin the moment that this control is secured—two ideas with about equal foundation.

But voting down a proposal to grant a franchise will in itself accomplish little.

CHICAGO VOTERS HAVE TWICE DECLARED BY REFERENDUM THEIR DESIRE FOR MUNICIPAL OWNERSHIP.

That had little or no effect on the franchise industry.

This was because they voted against private property on the little ballot and for it on the big ballot.

The traction magnates knew that so long as the voters did this they were not in earnest, or else were so ignorant that they could easily be fooled by a proper handling of the newspapers.

THE RESULT SHOWED THAT THE FRANCHISE GRABBERS KNEW WHAT THEY WERE DOING, AND THAT THE VOTERS DID NOT.

That is why we say that voting for the "little ballot" alone will have slight effect on traction affairs.

Those who are really opposed to the traction steal and who wish to express that opposition in any consistent way will vote for a party that is against all forms of stealing and exploitation.

It would not scare a gang of horse thieves much to be told that a vigilance committee was to be organized composed of pickpockets.

It does not scare a gang of trust magnates to any great extent to be confronted by a political party based on private ownership.

Permit us to say this over again, since it seems to be something very difficult for many people to understand:

YOU CANNOT STOP EXPLOITATION BY FRANCHISE OWNERS BY VOTING FOR EXPLOITATION BY SMALL CAPITALISTS.

One reason for this is that every small capitalist expects some day to be a big capitalist and so he is not whole-hearted in his attacks on the big fellow.

He only attacks his great competitor in order to force him to give up a portion of his spoils.

Now, if that point is plain, let us go on to the next.

THE ONLY PORTION OF THE PEOPLE THAT ARE WHOLLY AND UNRESERVEDLY INTERESTED IN STOPPING ALL EXPLOITATION, WHETHER BY LARGE OR SMALL CAPITALISTS, IS THE WORKING CLASS.

The reason they are opposed to it is because they ARE ALWAYS THE ONES EXPLOITED.

Therefore they are the ones that will stop exploitation.

They will not do this by voting for a political party that stands for ownership of the things by which laborers must live, and by which they are exploited.

The Democratic and Republican parties and all other parties except the SOCIALIST PARTY does stand for this sort of ownership.

When you vote for any other party except the SOCIALIST PARTY you are voting for the PRINCIPLE upon which franchise stealing is based.

Therefore you need not be surprised when, after so voting, even if you do say you do not want franchises, if the men whom you elect do not believe what you say, or do not care.

The Socialists told you these same things two years ago. We told you then that if you really wanted municipal ownership the quickest way to get it was to roll up a big vote for the Socialist Party.

If that had been done the politicians would have known that the workers MEANT WHAT THEY WERE SAYING.

There will be an opportunity in a short time to again express your opinion on this subject.

If the workers of Chicago will really show by a great spontaneous intelligent uprising that they really are conscious of the fact that all ownership by one class of the means whereby another class must live is a means of exploitation of the non-owners then there will be a quick end to all franchises.

THE ONLY WAY IN WHICH THIS CAN BE SHOWN IS BY VOTING FOR THE SOCIALIST PARTY.

By the Innocent Bystander

Awful Fate

"Have you ever considered what will become of us all," shouted the perpetual office holder, "if the other party is successful at the polls?" "I presume," replied a voice in the audience, "that you would have to go to work."

Why not start a steamship line and get in on that ship subsidy melon?

Recent statistics show that the wealth of the American nation grows at the rate of \$10,000,000 a day. This must delight the hearts of Harriman and Rockefeller.

A Chicago woman was told she had inherited \$300,000, then she disappeared. Her husband has a score of detectives out looking for her.

Congressman Littauer is the man who brought up the salary increase bill and got it passed. Bet he lives in a district that is absolutely safe.

The French parliament has appropriated its regular annual sum of \$2,000,000 to support the government endowed theatre. Wouldn't the puritans who hate art howl if such a thing were done in America?

Too Much for Him

The foreigner who was trying to master the American language was reading an up-to-date novel.

"Then she swept the courtyard with her eyes," he slowly repeated.

After studying about it for a few minutes he gently laid the book down and ordered a drink.

The picture of Governor Swettenham looks the part, except that he doesn't wear side-whiskers.

A forty degree drop in the thermometer makes all the world akin.

The duchess of Marlborough is eager enough to part with the duke, but she would rather turn over \$100,000 a year than part with the title.

Somewhere in the United States a young woman named Nan Patterson will doubtless read carefully each day the proceedings of the Thaw trial.

Living up to It

"Honesty is the best policy," we say to the trust magnate, thinking it might interest him.

"You are quite right," he replies. "I try to be honest with my son by telling him to grab everything in sight before some other man does."

Continental Europe, which regards an Englishman as something of a boor anyway, will deeply relish reading about the "Jamaican incident."

The senate should be grateful to the house for that salary increase amendment. It furnished something more to talk about.

Tillman compared the senate to a minstrel show, himself as one of the end men. He could make a barrel of money, if he would go into the profession.

Emperor William says he will not live in any election district which sends a socialist to the reichstag. The socialists do not care if he moves away from Germany altogether.

The Crystallization of Industry

If a bottle of alum solution is permitted to stand for a time crystals will begin to form. By and by a large portion of the matter will have become solid crystals.

If there are any protuberances in the bottle, or if a few sticks are placed in the solution the crystals will form around the rough spots or upon the sticks.

Our present industrial society is a good deal like such an alum solution.

It is in process of crystallization into a few great crystals called trusts.

These crystals start around certain prominent industries like railroads, coal and iron mines, banks, packing houses, etc.

These particular industries may be compared to the rough spots and the sticks in the bottle of alum solution.

There is a certain body of writers, speakers and reformers who insist that these industries are the CAUSE of the industrial crystallization.

They call such industries "natural monopolies," thereby implying that all tendency to monopoly in other industries is "unnatural."

Such persons would have us believe that if we could nationalize or municipalize these few "natural monopolies" that the process of industrial crystallization would stop.

Such reasoning is like that of a person who would say that the sticks and the rough places in the bottle of alum were the cause of its crystallization, and that if they were removed that the solution would remain liquid forever.

But the chemist knows that the crystallization is not because of the sticks and the rough places, but because of the CHARACTER OF THE SOLUTION.

In exactly the same way the Socialist knows that the crystallization of industry is not because of the existence of a few "natural monopolies," but because of the NATURE OF "COMPETITIVE CAPITALISM."

No matter how free from protuberances, no matter how devoid of foreign matter the bottle might be, the crystallization would go on just the same.

The particles of which the solution is composed can only come to a stable position when they have gathered in crystals.

In exactly the same way our present industrial society is in a state of what the chemist would call "unstable equilibrium." Each industrial plant is running a race to see which can produce goods the cheapest. The larger an industry gets the cheaper it can produce. Consequently there is a constant tendency to crystallization around the great industries.

This tendency would not be affected by the removal of a few points of crystallization.

New points would at once develop and the PROCESS would continue.

The Socialist recognizes this fact, and also that the industrial system can be better managed, more productively operated when its industries have become "crystallized" to the point of effective, compact, efficient operation.

Instead therefore of seeking to prevent crystallization by constantly stirring the solution, or by now and then jerking out a larger crystal than ordinary, the Socialist would let the process go on (it will go on anyhow) and then make use of the finished product for the benefit of all.

'Down With Trial by Jury

The result of the Shea trial has given new impetus to the howl of the ruling class against the jury system.

After having carefully laid their plans to incite a strike for the purpose of breaking the back of organized labor in Chicago they found that labor when crushed was only driven more closely together.

Then began the attempt to railroad the leaders of that strike to the penitentiary. The excuse for this was the accusation that they were corrupt. But the fact is that it was because they were not corrupt enough that they were so fiercely attacked.

If Shea and his fellows has been corrupt enough so they could have been purchased to do the will of the masters there would have been no prosecution.

Now they see themselves balked of their prey. In spite of a compliant and prejudiced court, in spite of the assistance of State-Street-Stores Attorney Miller, they have failed to land their victims in jail.

Throughout the entire trial there have been mutterings against the right of trial by jury. These mutterings in themselves have been but the climax of a movement that has been growing in strength as the rulers have felt their grasp over the minds of their subjects grow weaker.

Now the movement is taking actual shape. The Civic Federation, that body whose love for the worker is so great that like the lion's love for the lamb it can hardly be restrained from devouring it, has prepared a bill which it is proposed to railroad through the present session of the Illinois legislature.

At a recent meeting of the Industrial Club of Chicago some of the features of this movement were pointed out.

It is proposed as a fundamental point of the new law to have "special jurors" who shall be less subject to challenge than those on the ordinary venire. These will be "selected with special care."

"Selection" by jury commissioners has always meant exclusion of working-class representatives. For proof read the list of any grand jury.

Next the judge is to have his power increased. Judges are nearly always "safe, sane and conservative." They could not reach the bench unless they were. The road to legal preferment leads through success in corporation practice, through subservience to the power of wealth.

The salary is to be increased so that "business men" can "afford to serve."

WORKINGMEN, BEING ROBBED OF WHAT THEY PRODUCE MOST OF THE TIME, DO NOT MIND LOW WAGES.

Another speaker at this Industrial Club banquet added an even more subtle and dangerous suggestion.

He proposed that the trial judge should have the right to finally decide on the qualifications of a juror, and that from his decision THERE COULD BE NO APPEAL.

That alone would be enough to give any judge full control of the jury and to absolutely abolish all that is essential in the jury system. With a packed venire—and how easy it is to pack a venire a hundred instances can be quoted to show—a jury could be forced into the box that would absolutely reflect the will of the judge, and through him, of the capitalist interests behind him.

UNLESS THE WORKERS OF THIS STATE AND CITY AWAKE AND ACT THEY WILL FIND THAT THE RIGHT OF TRIAL BY JURY HAS BEEN TAKEN FROM THEM.