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EDITORIAL

The Bryan Band Wagon.

It would require a volume to classify the varying motives for the rush for the Bryan band wagon, with accounts of which and wonderings thereon the newspapers have for a week been full.

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By far the greater part of this rush is not a band wagon rush at all. It is simply an expression of a common impulse, which had its rise in

1896 and has ever since been gathering force in public opinion. That "Bryan is growing" has become a more and more familiar formula; and it is true, for Bryan has been growing. But properly interpreted, the expression implies not so much that Bryan has been growing as that public opinion has been growing.

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Public opinion has been growing toward Bryan for a multiplicity of reasons, chief among which is the increasing realization that he is a man of ideals, with both the courage and the stamina of his convictions. It is this that has not only confirmed his leadership in the minds of that great mass of Americans who began to look to him for leadership before he had been tried, but which has brought to him the additional following from the ranks of his former adversaries which narrow-visioned political observers are now contemplating with amazement.

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Most of this new accession of strength consists of sincere democrats—democrats in the broad, not the party sense—who opposed Bryan because they doubted and now accept him because they believe. But so great a tide could not run toward him without carrying upon its surface a collection of moral and political riff-raff. That is so with all political tides. To return to the original metaphor, band wagon recruits are tumbling into that vehicle with an eagerness that testifies eloquently to the fact, which indeed needs no such testimony, that neither the band nor the band wagon is of their making.

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That Bryan's old friends should shrink with disgust and suspicion from these unsavory recruits is natural. That they should wish Bryan to promptly repudiate them is perhaps natural also; but it is not sensible. Why, for instance, should Mr. Bryan be in any greater hurry to order away from him Hopkins and Sullivan, those political train robbers of Illinois, as he has called them, than Mr. Hearst was when he and they were cooperating for the latter's nomination? The man who in 1900 refused the Presidential nomination unless upon a candid platform representing his convictions, may be safely trusted in 1908 to give his convictions first place even if the riff-raff of his party do make themselves conspicuous by

turning their open enmity into pretended friendship.

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The baneful influence of the political highwaymen who are coming over to Bryan is not to be met by sulkily abandoning Bryan as they come impudently and jubilantly to his side. The way to meet it is as the democratic Democrats of Cincinnati are doing. They are organizing themselves into a Bryan Democratic Club, and through the principal organizer, Daniel Kiefer, have struck a note that only Democrats of the democratic variety can rise to. Mr. Kiefer rightly believes that—

In the Democratic party to-day, the element of which Belmont, Ryan, Cleveland, McLean, Parker and others are types, occupies a position corresponding to that of the pro-slavery faction of the old Whig party. Bryan is the typical representative of the element which corresponds to the faction opposed to the slave power. It still remains to be seen whether history will repeat itself by recording another foolish attempt to reconcile the irreconcilable. There is no better way to accomplish this than to nominate Bryan. No one is so prominently identified with the cause of the people as he. He has been the leader in two fights, and his worthiness has been amply demonstrated. That his efforts did not result in victory was solely due to the failure of many to realize that the democracy of Bryan is something entirely different from what the Cleveland-Belmont crowd understands by that term. The issue will be clearly defined. There will be no question that one party has been thoroughly committed to plutocracy and the other to the cause of the people. There should be no question as to the result. Let all who cherish democracy work for the nomination of William J. Bryan.

This does not exclude Democrats who have been against Bryan but are now with him and opposed to plutocracy. But it is an assertion which ought everywhere to be made by democratic Democrats, that Bryan's popularity shall not be used to divert the course of the fundamental democracy of which Bryan is the greatest living leader in American politics.

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Bryan's Response to the Bryan Boom.

When the newspapers interrupted Mr. Bryan in his travels, with news of his Presidential boom and solicitations for an interview, they got the answer that his friends would have expected,—in substance the same as that of a few weeks ago in these columns (p. 145). While appreciative of the compliment involved in the action of the State conventions (pp. 218, 227), he declared: "It is too early for me either to make or discuss political plans for 1908." But he brushed aside all the

chaff about his having changed his principles, by saying: "My political career discloses no instance where I have abandoned any principle formerly espoused. So far as silver is concerned, I can only say that events have fully vindicated the position of the bimetalists." All this is absolutely true. Yet in their disinclination to accept these statements, sincere democrats who have heretofore misunderstood Bryan are entitled to fair consideration. It doubtless seems to them that he has changed rather than they. This is characteristic of the human mind. It is probable, also, that neither he nor they have changed in fundamental political principle. More likely they have come to feel that even if they have differed from him as to specific issues in the past, they have not differed as to political principle, and that he is on the whole in high degree a worthy representative of the essentials of democracy to which they are attached.

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The Bryan Wave in Local Politics.

Doubtless politicians are making much use of Bryan's popularity to affect local politics; and of this phase of the subject, Chicago furnishes an interesting example. Ex-Mayor Harrison is in a precarious political situation, and to strengthen himself he has promptly become a Bryan man—the first time in his life, except as he has perfunctorily supported Bryan as a party nominee. Now, Harrison's local adversaries in the party include Ex-Mayor Hopkins and Roger C. Sullivan (chairman of the national committee), who represent the Chicago gas interests and were pictured by Bryan at the St. Louis convention symbolically as train robbers. These two men co-operated two years ago with Mr. Hearst to secure a delegation for him to the St. Louis convention. Outraged by their conduct in shackling the State convention, Mr. Bryan made a bold and strong stand against them in the national convention. As they were opposed to Harrison, this seemed to ally Bryan with Harrison; and as they were co-operating with Hearst, it seemed to array him against Hearst. Soon afterward Dunne was elected Mayor. He has not identified himself with Presidential aspirations, but the issues on which he was elected and his fidelity to his pledges have put him in opposition to both the Harrison and the Hopkins-Sullivan combinations. Meanwhile the democratic Democrats of Chicago are divided between Hearst and Bryan. No concerted movement in behalf of Bryan has been made by anybody here, however, although active efforts are making by the Hearst managers to secure a Hearst delegation. Until re-

cently it was understood that Hopkins and Sullivan would again co-operate with Hearst for that purpose. But the national Bryan boom seems very greatly to have disturbed such arrangements as there may have been of that kind; for Hopkins and Sullivan as well as Harrison are tumbling into the Bryan band wagon. At the coming primaries this situation may seriously affect the democratic Democrats and conveniently serve the interests of the Democratic machines. For both machines are likely to go into the primaries waving the Bryan flag, and thereby confusing issues and dividing and conquering the genuine democratic vote. This is naturally not agreeable, except to its shrewd promoters. Yet it is not unlikely to prove a winning game to them, so far as Chicago and places similarly situated are concerned, unless democratic Democrats adopt Bryan's policy of giving their attention to making the Democratic party democratic instead of "plugging" for delegations for particular candidates.

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Progress in the Chicago Traction Question.

In harmony with Mayor Dunne's ultimatum to the Chicago traction companies (pp. 205, 228), his traction counsel, Mr. Fisher, has prepared an ordinance which, if adopted by the City Council and accepted by the companies, would complete the settlement of the traction question along the lines laid down by the Mayor. Under this ordinance the companies would rehabilitate the lines, continuing to operate under revocable license, and the city would be empowered to take over at any time on six months' notice and payment of actual value as previously determined, part of the income going meanwhile into a sinking fund for purchase. As the companies have already assured the city of their ability and willingness to accept those terms, it is not to be presumed that they will trifle with the matter when the time for formal and final acquiescence arrives. They are said to object to one of the clauses of the proposed ordinance, which would allow the city to transfer to another licensee upon the same terms as it reserves for taking over itself. This is a reasonable objection and should be conceded. But the indications here and there of a possible disposition to materially alter the ordinance in so far as it makes the operating license revocable, should be frowned upon without hesitation. Revocable license and sinking fund are indispensable conditions. Some influential citizens are coming to the support of this adjustment on the theory, as they express it, that the referendums for municipal ownership were in

fact mere protests against bad service, and that when good service is given the public ownership sentiment will disappear. They are not good judges of public sentiment. Yet if this little self-deception makes Dunne's victory more endurable to them by all means let them indulge in it. The fact remains that the people have authorized Mueller certificates for the construction of the traction system, that this ordinance would secure its construction subject to taking over by the city upon payment for the property, that a sinking fund for purchase would accumulate meanwhile, and that the people would be at liberty to operate their system whenever they wished to. No one wants it done any sooner.

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The Filthy Food-Factories.

The further the probing goes the clearer one may see, not only that the Chicago packing houses have been so managed (pp. 218, 224) as to justify the present world-wide suspicion of their products, but that their managers have left nothing undone to conceal guilt while doing nothing to improve methods. They have been indifferent alike to the comfort of their employees, the rights of consumers, and the integrity of officials. That they tried to influence Mr. Neill he asserts, and proves his assertion black upon white. That they have tried to silence the Chicago papers is evident from their full-page advertisements. That they have some sort of hold upon the majority of the Congressional committee which is nominally examining into the matter, is fairly evident from the behavior of the majority members. In examining witnesses these members act more like attorneys for the packers than officials ferreting out the truth. They refused to examine Upton Sinclair, the author of "The Jungle," although he offered to submit to examination, and his examination would afford the best and widest opening for discovering the uttermost facts if his disclosures are true, and for condemning his disclosures if they are false. One of the reasons urged as legitimate for suppressing the horrible facts is that the cattle industry would suffer. But if the cattle industry depends upon concealing filthy adulterations of food it ought to suffer. Chicago business men also are solicitous lest these exposures injure Chicago business interests. But if Chicago business interests depend upon concealing such infamous frauds upon the food-consuming world they, too, ought to suffer. So of all other interests that look to suppression of facts instead of purification of conditions, for immunity from the natural effects of

business perfidy. For all business interests, the more complete the exposure of this packing house filthiness the better; complete exposure would the more likely necessitate complete purification.

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Restriction of Immigration.

When one reads the Federal Statutes in restriction of immigration, the memory of historical reading of old British poor laws is stimulated. It would seem as if these statutes might have been suggested by those barbarous laws for keeping every unfortunate in his own parish. Our immigration statutes are framed so as to keep every unfortunate in his own country—or, any rate, out of ours. And what makes our anti-immigration statutes so pathetically comic is the fact that if they had been enacted half a century ago most of the sentiment that demands them now would have been expressing itself in some less despotic way in some more despotic land.

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Nor are the agitators for restriction ever satisfied. With all the restrictive measures thus far enacted, they are still playing in the role of Oliver Twist and asking for more. There is now pending in Congress a bill for what some of its advocates serenely describe as “a finer sifting of immigrants.” It is not easy without a careful comparison to distinguish this “finer sifting” from the coarser sifting which the law already requires. One advance, however, seems to be the exclusion of such immigrants as are mentally or physically defective in such manner as possibly to affect their ability to earn a living. All this is on the old English parish-burden pretense. But we made no such pretense fifty years ago. It wasn't necessary. No matter how defective an immigrant we welcomed him then. Yet these very people and their descendants now want to keep immigrants out of the country.

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This is not because the immigrants are defective. It is not because they cannot work. It is because they might work. If those who advocate these restrictive laws were candid about it, they would not propose to exclude the incapable but the capable. The nearer they can get to excluding the capable under pretense of excluding the incapable, the nearer they are to being satisfied. For it is the working classes, in fear of losing jobs or of having wages forced down, that make these barbarous laws possible. What a commentary on the good will and good sense of the American working classes! Opportunities for work in this country

are as great as ever they were. They are greater. But they have been monopolized, taken out of the market, put out of the reach of labor. The enemy of steady jobs and high wages is the monopolists of the country, not the disinherited workingmen from other countries who seek a home in this once vaunted “home of the oppressed.” Why do workingmen insist upon foolishly fighting one another instead of intelligently fighting their common enemy?

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Race Inferiority.

When one race is so situated with reference to another as to need a reason for excluding, suppressing or exterminating it, there seems to be no difficulty in finding reasons, but much difficulty in finding sensible ones. And there is such uniform absurdity in the reasons usually advanced, no matter how dissimilar the race to be victimized, that one stops to wonder whether reasons for such purposes are not in the market somewhere in job lots. A comical example is a series of resolutions of the San Francisco league for the exclusion of Japanese and Koreans. These resolutions begin with the profoundly “scientific” declaration that “two unassimilable races can not exist perpetually in the same territory.” Observe the characteristic quality. Substitute the more candid term “on an equality” for “perpetually,” and the statement would be in shape for a Negro lynching league. With this “scientific” statement for a basis, the California exclusion league proceeds to argue that contact between two such races results in the extermination of that one “whose physical or mental characteristics are least adapted to the conditions of life prevailing in the given territory;” that these conditions are determined by the conditions of labor; that the surviving race therefore will be the one that most nearly conforms to the conditions of labor; that labor in the United States is a machine process; that therefore the race best adapted to the machine process is in that environment the superior race; that as the Japanese and Koreans answer better than the Americans to this demand, they are in that respect superior; and consequently that immigration of Japanese and the Koreans must be prevented in order to save Americans from extermination by those superior Asiatics. This is a pitiable plea. See what it involves. Either machine processes of production are superior, in which case the Japanese and the Koreans are in very truth our superiors; or those processes are inferior, in which case the

Americans are inferior for tolerating them. But the whole thing is a farce—a bare pretense for expressing race animosity. The grain of possible truth in it is merely this, that the Japanese and the Koreans can survive better than Americans in a territory which is monopolized by a privileged few. But do Americans prove their superiority by keeping out the Asiatics instead of driving out the monopolists?

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The People's Mines.

A Washington correspondent predicts a policy on the part of President Roosevelt as to government mineral lands, which, if Mr. Roosevelt adopts it, may become a landmark in American economic progress. According to this correspondent, Mr. Roosevelt intends to establish permanent government ownership of the coal mines now owned by the Federal government—some 40,000,000 acres. His plan is to seek authority from Congress to lease these lands instead of selling them. The official announcement of this foreshadowed plan will be looked forward to with great interest, even if with some incredulity.

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Mr. Rockefeller and His Press Agent.

In his journey abroad, John D. Rockefeller appears to have taken his private press agent (vol. vii, pp. 417, 475) with him, for all the American newspapers scintillate with sparkling cable reports of Mr. Rockefeller's sayings and doings, his comings and goings, his domestic charm and his philanthropic curiosity. Now he is "carefully studying and comparing means of living and of improving the conditions of the race;" again he is establishing "the most genial relations with every one in the hotel;" anon he questions small boys about how much they earn, and pay for clothes, and give their mothers; and anon-anon at one place he couldn't buy a bath, whereat he "shrugged his shoulders and laughed." Under the deft manipulation of his press agent and at the extra cost of a trifle for cable rates, the saturnine Mr. Rockefeller is fast becoming an affable Croesus.

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THE SUPERSTITION OF AUTHORITY

All men, with a few unimportant exceptions, possess the faculty of independent reflection. This process of arriving at the judgment of a thing is called "making up the mind." Men are presumed to follow this method in forming an opinion on important subjects concerning their moral and material welfare.

But in reality are current convictions so established? Do we follow customs generally in obedience to these rational processes of independent judgment? If so, how then do popular absurdities survive in face of secret but promptly suppressed suggestions of their unfitness or irrational character? Surely we must seek elsewhere for the source of what is erroneous in the customs and opinions of the time.

From whence then is the great body of error derived? On what recommendation is it accepted and passed current? Where shall we look for an explanation of the fact that these errors prevail as customs long after popular conviction has tacitly renounced them? Out of what mysterious respect for what mysterious influences do such errors survive disproof?

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We shall find the answer in what I have termed the "superstition of authority." Men, or at least the vast majority of men, do not reason, they accept; and they accept upon authority. They violently resist not only the assaults upon established political and economic dogma made by the more courageous minds, but they prefer shibboleths to syllogisms. They resist convictions because these entail thought—and most men are too indolent to think. It is easier to quote.

They would rather ask themselves, "What do the professors say? What do the statesmen believe? Are these doctrines written in the books? Or in the laws? Are they authoritative?" How they became authoritative does not matter. It is characteristic of the tory mind to accept them without question, and almost all minds are at first tory.

"Every boy and girl alive
Is either a little Liberal
Or else a little Conservative,"

but mostly conservative. It was the original tory who objected to the scheme of Creation as an unwarrantable interference with chaos.

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Not that there is not a reasonable conservatism. It is well to be conservative of what is true, and it is no defect of truth that it is old truth. But to venerate a thing simply because it is old and long established is like one who would not object to being eaten by a gray wolf if it were old and venerable.

But the worst of all errors is old error—for the new error, simply because it is new, is likely to contain the seed of a truth. But error that is old is tenfold more dangerous because it comes

to us with the weight of authority. It has a gray beard and is venerable. Who would smite the aged?

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The final arbiter of all intellectual truth is the mind; of all moral truth the conscience. These are the authorities, and the duty of subjecting all things to the test of reason and conscience a man owes to himself and his fellow men, and to God. It is the most solemn of all obligations, for truth is the most valuable of earthly possessions. How great a wrong then he commits by a slavish subservience to authority? The fallibility of human reason is not to be disputed—we hear much of it, certainly too much of it. But the fallibility of authority is of an infinitely more tenuous nature. We may indeed decide wrongly by following our own mental processes. But ultimately the path if persisted in leads to truth. Finally indeed we must come to truth. To the rational processes of the mind there is no other destination. But authority is the rock in the way of intellectual and social progress. It is a tyranny that keeps kings on their thrones and fakirs in high places; that moves armies across the prostrate bodies of peoples; that sends Conscience that should rule the world, quaking and trembling into dark corners.

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What credentials has authority beyond its apparel, insignia, gold lace and sounding titles? Can it "point with pride" to its record, or "view with alarm" the results of disobedience to its commands? Has it such achievements to its credit that justify the suppression of conscience and the reasoning faculty to its obiter dicta? Read the record and decide.

Instead of being usually right this most worshipful authority is nearly everywhere wrong. Its history trails with blunders, bristles with fallacies; it is even now pompous with theories long exploded; everywhere it has cheated, humbugged, and tyrannized over reason and conscience. Everywhere the coin of authority, which the stamp alone makes the current money of thought, is ultimately discredited, and the people who have accepted it are made bankrupt in consequence. But there is a new issue and the people part again with the rich jewels of independent thought and conviction for its counterfeit coin.

To drop the metaphor for a minute. Look at the long record of authority in every department of human activity. Authority supported slavery, and guided the whip in the arm of the overseer

as it fell upon the quivering shoulders of the black; it sounded in the boom of cannon whose dreadful messengers brought death and sufferings to millions of men; its voice is forever on the side of war. And how has it treated the great of the earth? To Socrates it gave the poisonous draught, the Gracchi it stoned, Garrison it drove through the streets of Boston, Giordano Bruno it burned, and Christ it crucified.

It was authority that threw Roger Bacon, the ablest man of his time, into prison, suspecting him of witchcraft. It was authority that in the person of Calvin put Servetus to death. It was authority that lit the Smithfield fires, that presides over the horrors of Siberia. It was authority that exiled Camoens, and the glory of Portuguese poetry saw the light on an inhospitable Chinese coast. Every progressive movement has been a revolt against authority. Every reform was not only the triumph of some independent mind, but was nearly always in rebellion against authority.

Authority taught that the center of the universe was the earth, with the moon and stars obediently revolving around it, their only office being to provide light for the august being, man.

Authority has denounced the teachings of the prophets of all the ages as heretical, from the Hebrews to those of the present day. What a biting poison it is should be obvious to those who reflect how often instantaneously and completely a man is transformed when its mantle falls upon him, and how strikingly it effects a metamorphosis from humility to arrogance.

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And the great ones of the earth. How did they become great? Were they not all rebels against authority? William Tell, Washington, Hofer, Emmet, Garibaldi, Toussaint, Martin Luther. Who among the poets do we choose most to honor? Hugo, Schiller, Shelley, Byron, and that bold champion of individualism, whose whole life was a challenge to authority—Walt Whitman.

Immortality is for the men whose voices are raised against authority. The other day England celebrated the Cobden Centenary. Who was Cobden? A linen draper who urged the abolition of the Corn Laws, the institution everywhere defended in his day by the voice of authority. And where are the authorities of his day? Who celebrates *their* centenary? Palmerston seems a dull enough old prig at this distance of time, and Robert Peel, who defended the institution he was

afterwards forced by popular demand to help in destroying, seems an insignificant figure in comparison to the man who championed the cause of the oppressed against the dictum of the frowning authorities of his time.

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Even in the freest country this tyranny of authority may exist. Terribly oppressive, though unrecognized, may be the silent force of political or economic dogma which men dare not question save in secret. Absolute though unsuspected may be the constraining force of ruling caste opinion, that on a variety of subjects may tend to the most autocratic subjection of independence. Under the freest forms of government a body of opinion may exercise the constraining force of positive laws over the art, literature and politics of a people.

It is the tyranny of authority that keeps the Arab sheik of to-day like the sheik of Abraham's day; that has petrified Chinese civilization; that in the middle ages desolated western Asia from the Bosphorus to Jerusalem. The Dark Ages were the years of undisputed authority, to a degree unknown before or since. It was only due to the timid defiance of authority that civilization was preserved at all through the shrinking temerity of cloistered monks whose souls if not their speech cherished the saving spirit of revolt in the secrecy of their cells. It was authority—government and the mob—that persecuted the philosophers of ancient Greece, that sent Socrates to his death and drove Aristotle from the city. It was authority that in the person of a vacuous member of Parliament to the argument of Romilly for the abolition of hanging as the penalty for innumerable small offenses mumbled the sole monotonous retort: "I am for hanging." Authority always says, "I am for hanging." It was authority that hissed "Jacobin" to every proposition for social reform as now it shrieks "anarchist." It is great in the matter of epithet.

Look at the absurdities of which this same authority is forever guilty. In Egypt it enthroned the cat and made sacrosanct the crocodile. It has been polygamist, monogamist, polyandrist, as suited its purpose. It put kings on white elephants and clothed them in mail of precious stones. It encouraged whole communities to submit to the depredations of beasts of prey, since their destruction would offend the foolish deities they called on men to worship. In the name of the authority of faith men have lacerated themselves, stood for days and nights upon pillars, walked upon sharp stones. It has

invented all kinds of evil spirits from Belzebub to Hobomoko for men to bow before—and industriously have they made obeisance. They have yielded to authority as did men in fabled Athens to the bed of Procrustes, to which they have accommodated the proportions of such independent judgments as they were capable of forming.

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Thought forever outstrips the slow pace of authority in its progress toward truth. Thus today the culture of the world has travelled far beyond the established creeds and institutions of the time. But the palsy influence of authority has outlasted the conviction of belief in its reasonableness. It lays its numbing touch even upon Truth become axiomatic. It is the Dead Hand of the world.

JOSEPH DANA MILLER.

NEWS NARRATIVE

To use the reference figures of this Department for obtaining continuous news narratives:

Observe the reference figures in any article; turn back to the page they indicate and find there the next preceding article on the same subject; observe the reference figures in that article, and turn back as before; continue until you come to the earliest article on the subject; then retrace your course through the indicated pages, reading each article in chronological order, and you will have a continuous news narrative of the subject from its historical beginnings to date.

Week ending Wednesday, June 13.

The Bryan Boom.

At the Indiana State convention on the 7th, the lead of Missouri (p. 227), Arkansas and South Dakota (p. 228) in spontaneously naming William J. Bryan as the Democratic candidate for President in 1908, was enthusiastically followed.

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The press dispatches are unanimous in ascribing spontaneity, harmony and enthusiasm to the Bryan sentiment both on the eve of the convention at the mass meeting addressed by Champ Clark of Missouri, and in the convention proceedings of the following day. In the course of his speech of the 6th, Congressman Clark said of the two political parties:

Among other things we differ widely on the tariff. The dominant idea among Democrats touching the tariff is revenue; the dominant idea among Republicans on that subject has come to be protection. I think this an absolutely fair and accurate statement of the battle lines on which this campaign is to be waged so far as the tariff is concerned.

His mention of Bryan's name evoked a great outburst of applause.

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At the convention, the distinctive feature is described in the dispatches to have been the Bryan

endorsement. According to the Chicago Record-Herald dispatch—

The convention, the ticket and the enthusiasm bore the Bryan stamp. It was most significant that among the delegates who cheered the declaration for the Nebraskan, among the leaders who had inserted it in the platform and among the political powers who demanded it were more than 100 men who fought Bryan in 1896 and who supported him in 1900 with apologies for their action. Such a condition never before was witnessed in Indiana. It required no trick of the party leaders, no planning of surprises, to bring out expressions of enthusiasm when Bryan's name was mentioned. The applause that met the chairman's address was loudest and most prolonged when he spoke of the Nebraskan. The most intense moment of the convention was when the plank in the platform that gave the Nebraskan the party's indorsement was reached, and when an oil painting of Bryan, which had been concealed behind the draperies of the stage, was lowered into full view, men and women seemed suddenly to have gone wild. The delegates on the floor and the men and women in the balconies rose to their feet, waved their hats, handkerchiefs and fans and for more than five minutes filled the immense hall with an incessant chorus of cheers. . . . The good feeling was shown later in the day in manner that has few precedents. Early this morning there were two or three candidates for some of the places on the ticket, but when nominations were made there was only one for each office. The candidates had talked over the situation and the result was the final withdrawal of all but one candidate for each place and the nominations were made by acclamation.

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Ex-Congressman B. F. Shively, who was chairman of the convention, charged the Republic party in his speech with "farming out government powers," and attributed to this policy the graft which has been uncovered in the national government and in commercial and insurance circles. When he mentioned Bryan, he said:

That which is to-day eulogized and approved as broad statesmanship and enlightened patriotism in Theodore Roosevelt, was only a few years ago denounced as reactionary, revolutionary, and unpatriotic in William Jennings Bryan. The aftersight of the one is almost equal to the foresight of the other.

To this Mr. Shively added:

Withdraw privilege, and the temptation to the corruption which it engenders will disappear. Let all men and all interests stand equal before the law.

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After endorsing Bryan the platform declares:

For nearly ten years the Republican party has been in absolute control in all departments in the national government, with power to change unjust conditions and to rectify evils. Yet during that time colossal combinations of capital have dominated the people and illegal perversions of corporate law have stifled competition and unfairly limited the opportunity of the individual citizen. Wealth thereby illegally obtained has been unsparingly used to control legislation and corrupt elections. The unfair, tyrannical features of the so-called "protective tariff" have made these things possible, and no permanent relief can be secured until its obnoxious features are removed. We demand that this be done by a tariff for revenue only. The growth of the trusts and other inordinate and dangerous combinations of capital, the tremendous and rapidly increasing absorption and centralization of the wealth of the country in the hands of a chosen few, all due to premeditated and systematic legislation in behalf of special interests by the Republican party, demand a change in the policies imposed upon the country by that party and make the passage of restrictive laws an imperative necessity. We reaffirm our faith in the time-honored Democratic doctrine of the right of a people to local and self-government.

The specific demands of the platform include a declaration in favor of a 2-cent railroad fare law, with a pledge to enact one if the party comes into power in the legislature. There also was an indorsement of a law for public depositories for money coming into the hands of State, county and township officers.

In its indorsement of Bryan the platform reads as follows:

The Democracy of Indiana in convention assembled . . . sends greetings across the sea to that wise and conservative statesman, unfaltering patriot, and superb leader, William Jennings Bryan, and pledges its vote in convention and the electoral vote of Indiana to him for President in 1908.

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Hearst's Relation to the Bryan Boom.

One feature of the dispatches relative to these enthusiastic demands for Bryan's nomination, more especially of the Washington correspondents' gossip on the subject, has been the relation to or its effect upon the movement for the nomination of William Randolph Hearst, which has been revived since the St. Louis convention of 1904, and which it is expected would culminate in his nomination should he be nominated and elected for governor of New York. Relative to this matter the Indianapolis Star telegraphed Mr. Hearst on the 7th for his opinion of the Bryan endorsements. Mr. Hearst's reply, as published in his own as well as in other papers, was as follows:

I have been for many years a sincere friend and earnest supporter of Mr. Bryan. I rejoice in his achievements and successes, and I approve of every honest indorsement of him. Personally, I would never welcome into the company of loyal friends of Bryan and sincere advocates of good government any such men as Tom Taggart, gambling-house keeper, or Tim Sullivan, keeper of dives and brothels, lord protector of crooks and criminals; nor would I ever welcome such men as Pat McCarren, election thug, or George McClellan, election thief; nor such Captain Kidds of industry as Belmont and Morgan and Dave Francis, all of whom, with their mercenaries, were last mustered under the stained and dragged banners of Cleveland and the corporations. I am confident that Mr. Bryan will repudiate utterly these men and their professions of friendship, realizing that they are not honestly in favor of any man or any measure that will protect the interests of the plain people of this country.

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Bryan's Relation to the Bryan Boom.

News of his endorsements for the Presidential nomination of his party reached William J. Bryan at Berlin on the 11th, soon after his arrival there from Vienna. "This is the first announcement of this news to me," he said, in answer to questions; "I have been off the main caravan route for some time and have been absorbed in what I have been seeing and doing." He then refused to discuss the subject of nominations, on the ground that it is too early to consider the question of a Presidential candidate for 1908. On the subject of political issues, however, he said:

Before leaving home I tried to distinguish between democracy and what can properly be called socialism. Democracy recognizes competition as legitimate and tries to protect the competitive principle from attack. Socialism sees competition as an evil to be eliminated by public ownership and operation of all means of production and distribution. While this distinction between democracy and socialism should not be overlooked, the Democratic platform must be one of progress and reform and

not merely of opposition to Republican policies or socialistic ideas. In our fight for the absolute elimination of private monopolies and for the regulation of corporations in general, it is necessary that the party shall be free from any suspicion of alliance with the corporate interests that have been dominating American politics. To this end campaign contributions must be limited to those who have the public interest to advance. I trust that public sentiment will require all parties to keep their books open so that hereafter no party will be under private obligations to shield corporate offenders. . . . The beef trust is not different in character and methods from other trusts. The inevitable tendency of a private monopoly is to increase the price of a product and to lower its quality. Why should any one expect anything else from a trust than the lowering of quality when a monopoly is established? Observe, I have used the words private monopoly, not public. In a private monopoly a private interest is set up against the interests of the whole people. Quite a different principle comes into operation when the interest of all is alone in view.

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Mr. Bryan in St. Petersburg.

After a visit to St. Petersburg, Mr. Bryan will go through Sweden and Norway, and arrive in London in time to speak there at the Fourth of July banquet of the American Society. From London he will go to Switzerland, Italy and Spain; and, sailing from Gibraltar on board the steamship Princess Irene, on the 22d of August, he will reach New York about the 29th of that month. He left Berlin for St. Petersburg on the 11th.

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The Russian Douma.

No decisive action has yet been taken either by the Douma or the Czar's ministry (p. 228), but the Douma debates continue and the cable dispatches indicate the possible nearness of another crisis. One dispatch, from what appears to be a trustworthy source, is to the effect that the Czar realizes that the country and the dynasty can be saved only by yielding to the Douma, and he therefore is disposed to consent to a majority ministry responsible to Parliament, to the reform of the Council of the Empire, and even to the principle of forced expropriation of land; but he objects to the granting of amnesty to bomb throwers and to the Douma's domineering tone. The court party and the feudal nobility, however, supported by Emperor William of Germany, so the report reads, firmly oppose the Czar's policy because forced expropriation would leave the nobles penniless, their estates in many cases being mortgaged to the nobility bank for double their value, while administration of the affairs of the country by the majority in Parliament would deprive numerous members of the bureaucracy of their power and emoluments. The Kaiser, it is further said, fears the influence of such an example in Prussia, where the bureaucracy is more honest and capable, but is equally irresponsible to the Reichsrath and hence is reactionary and imperialistic. Moreover, the German barons in the Baltic provinces and the German subjects on Russian estates are affected by the agrarian projects. "Thus the Czar," continues this report, "confronted on the one side by the people and on the other by the court, the Kaiser, the bureaucracy and the nobles, wants to meet the cadet leaders and elaborate with them a programme whereon they would accept office without hurting other class interests."

This information having been given to Mr. Petrunkevitch and Prof. Milyoukov they made the following statement:

We cannot beg for an audience, exposing ourselves to a refusal and to attacks from radicals and socialists, nor can we accept the general aide-de-camp as an intermediary, but we shall consider it a duty and an honor to answer the monarch's call. We are also ready to accept the offices of Count Heiden as an intermediary, though he does not belong to our party. We do not insist that the Czar shall accept our platform, because the Douma, elected as a protest, may perhaps be unable to pass practicable laws; but the demands for a majority ministry, parliamentary control, liberties, and the principle of forced expropriation are absolutely irreducible.

Another dispatch of about the same date describes the issue between Czar and Douma as having been clearly drawn over the question of dismissal of the ministry. According to this report the Constitutional Democrats are being forced by the tide of popular sentiment to assume a more aggressive attitude. Concurrently the possibility of a Centrist party is also reported. It is described by the dispatches as intended to stand midway between the Octoberists and the Constitutional Democrats. The leader is Mr. Yermoloff, formerly minister of agriculture, now a member of the Council of the Empire. He expects the party to have a clear majority in the Council, and to co-operate with Count Heiden, Michael Stakovich and other conservatives in the lower house. That a popular storm is gathering again is also noted by the Associated Press, which intimates that the Czar is preparing to make further concessions.

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Renewal of Russian Uprising.

Evidences of this gathering storm appear in desultory reports of what seems to be widespread disorder. A dispatch of the 7th from St. Petersburg reported that dispatches from several provinces, especially in the northwest, represented the peasant revolt as rapidly spreading. Peasants were said to be burning the property of land owners and resisting the police and soldiery. There was also a systematic refusal to pay rent or taxes or furnish recruits for the army. Specific accounts of strikes in Odessa, Kieff and Moscow were reported. Mutiny among the troops at Odessa was reported on the 9th, and reports of rioting in Warsaw reached St. Petersburg on the 10th. A mutiny among the troops at Poltava, in South Russia, was reported on the 11th to be beyond the control of the few loyal Cossacks and the police. These military uprisings are attributed to the terrorism of the authorities, regarding which an Associated Press dispatch from Poltava reads: "Of eight persons recently condemned to death, six proved an alibi. Their innocence was confirmed by witnesses. The whole inquiry is based on a systematic violation of the law, as torture is the chief agent by which weak minded persons have been brought to falsely accuse innocent persons. The tortures inflicted include floggings, rubbing salt into wounds, and the use of electricity. At the present time thirty-six persons are being tried on different counts." From Moscow there are reports of renewals of revolutionary activity. According to one Associated Press dispatch "it is evident that the leaders are preparing to take advantage of the first opportunity to start an armed uprising. The workmen of the factories and mills are being armed with Mauser

rifles and drilled under the supervision of army reserve soldiers and revolutionary meetings are held nightly. The leaders have received from some regiments promises of support in the event of conflict. Revolutionary emissaries have been sent out in all directions into the country, and the plan evidently is to secure unity of action in the country and cities and inaugurate a conflict with a general strike."

* *

Russian Agitation in America.

For the purpose of raising money for the Russian revolution Gregory Maxim is now traveling and speaking in the United States. Mr. Maxim, a Russian socialist, was president of the Baltic Republic for the few weeks it lasted, a few months ago. At a large meeting in Chicago on the 8th he said of the Douma, that it is—

a farce and it never will give real freedom to Russia. The Russian revolution is like the waves of the ocean, it may be beaten back temporarily by the entrenched rocks of autocracy, but it will come on again. Nay, it now is coming on. It ever will come on. It will rise again and again, and never will subside until autocracy and bureaucracy are swept away forever. It is well known to the Czar and his advisers that the revolution is not dead. It is smoldering and it is as certain as the sunshine that it will break out again. The working class, not the aristocrats, will free Russia. The working class is the coming nation. There are only two courses for a Jew in Russia—one to die fighting with his race for freedom, the other to be a slave forever.

At this meeting liberal contributions were made.

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Chicago Traction Adjustments.

For the purpose of perfecting the adjustment of traction questions in Chicago in accordance with Mayor Dunne's ultimatum (pp. 204, 228), the "Chicago Railways Company" was organized in New York on the 6th. It is to take over and represent all the conflicting traction interests as a "holding company." The stock of the company will be held in trust pending the decision of the Federal court as to the relative rights of Union Traction and the underlying companies. When fully organized the "holding company" will be in a position to deal directly and authoritatively with the city.

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On the 7th Mayor Dunne's plan, in ordinance form as prepared by the traction counsel, Walter L. Fisher, was presented to the local transportation committee of the City Council. It provides that the present traction interests shall proceed at once to rehabilitate their properties according to the specifications of the rejected tentative ordinance; that the city shall have the right to acquire the properties on six months' notice; that the price to be paid shall be the present value of the properties, the cost of the improvements made, and a percentage of the cost of these improvements yet to be determined; that if the city does not elect to buy it can delegate the right to some private company, known as its "licensee"; that while the present companies are running the properties they shall divide the profits, after certain fixed charges are met, between themselves and the city, the city's share to be a sinking fund in aid of purchase. In case the city should elect to purchase

the properties before rehabilitation is finished, the companies are to complete the work, the city to deposit in a bank a sum estimated as sufficient to do the work. If it costs more, the city is to pay the difference; if less, the city gets a rebate.

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The trolleyizing of the present systems was granted, under revocable license, by the City Council on the 11th. This permit has been long sought for by the traction companies, but while the 99-year claim was in doubt the city refused the permit lest it might strengthen that claim. In this resistance the city was embarrassed by the Federal war department, which, under the spur of local business interests, has insisted upon the lowering of the tunnels to enable shipping of deeper draft to utilize the Chicago river. The Secretary of War recently extended the time for beginning this work to July 1. During the lowering of the tunnels, trolleyization becomes necessary except as to the South Side lines, but the permit was given for all the lines. The lines using the tunnels are required to bear the expense of lowering them and to begin at once.

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The Packinghouse Investigations.

In the course of his examination on the subject of the Neill-Reynolds packing house report (p. 224), before the committee on agriculture of the lower house of Congress on the 7th, Mr. Neill related an interview with a Dr. Dyson, formerly in the Federal inspection service, but now a consulting veterinarian in the employ of the packers, offering on behalf of the packers to meet any sanitary conditions that might be imposed by Messrs. Neill and Reynolds in return for a suppression of their report, and further to submit to a second inspection within thirty days to ascertain if the conditions had been bettered, after which there would be no objection to a report on the condition then found. Upon being informed by Mr. Neill in reply that he was not authorized to make any "deal," Dr. Dyson then in a second letter suggested the appointment of a sanitary committee and that it be given thirty days to accomplish improvements, pending which no report should be made. This was declined, as was a third proposal from Dr. Dyson looking to the suppression of the report and promising reforms. The original letters were produced.

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On the 8th, President Roosevelt placed in the hands of this committee the reports of an Agricultural Department commission which had inspected the packing houses prior to the Neill-Reynolds investigation. In one of these reports Upton Sinclair is denounced as a sensation monger; but President Roosevelt in his letter of transmittal describes the reports as abundantly justifying the emphasis of the Neill-Reynolds report. He also transmitted a letter written (as now appears) by Mary E. McDowell, a niece of the distinguished General McDowell of the Civil War, and head of the University Settlement, in the stockyards district, in which Miss McDowell said:

On Monday I began a tour of all the great packing houses, going first to Libby's, then Swift's. Tuesday all

the morning discussed changes that ought to be made and caught a glimpse of the awakening at Armour's. In the afternoon visited the plant with the superintendent. Wednesday I rested and contemplated the awakening of Packingtown. It is miraculous. Thursday did Nelson Morris's with the superintendent. . . . Nelson Morris has done much to make things better. By the time the next inspecting party arrives they will have more new lavatories, toilet rooms, dressing rooms, etc. Cuspidors everywhere, and signs prohibiting spitting. In most the awakening seemed to come by force from without. There was the slightest indication that the "still small voice" was at work also. I made no pretense of making an investigation, but frankly announced my desire to see things for myself, and to get a fresh impression of conditions, as I had not seen the plants since before the strike. On every hand there was indication of an almost humorous haste to clean up, repave and even to plan for future changes. Brand-new toilet rooms, new dressing rooms, new towels, etc. Swift's and Armour's were both so cleaned up that I was compelled to cheer them on their way by expressing my pleasure at the changes. The sausage girls were moved upstairs, where they could get sun and light, have dressing rooms, etc. I asked for showers and lockers for the casing workers at Armour's, and got a promise that they would put them in. The canning and stuffing room, chip beef and beef extract at Armour's seemed really quite good. In all these rooms the girls work. At Libby's the girls are to be put into a blue calico uniform, which they will buy at half price. They are putting in toilet rooms, which they say are temporary, and that when the building is remodeled they will have these put in a better place. The haste toward reform would have been amusing if it were not so nearly tragic. They tried to win my help on the ground that loss of foreign trade would mean hardships for the workers in my neighborhood, and I must say I do share this fear, but I cannot see the wisdom of my coming out publicly and saying that I saw indications of an awakening, for I want the change to be radical and permanent, even though we all have to suffer for the present.

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Upon the presentation of the agricultural commission's reports by the President to the Congressional committee on agriculture, Upton Sinclair, whom one of the reports denounces as a sensation monger, telegraphed the latter committee for a hearing. This being refused by a majority vote, he wrote to the chairman of the committee, Congressman Wadsworth, a letter in which he said:

I have, of course, no appeal from the verdict except to the sense of fair play of the American people. It was because of my charges that the investigation was begun into conditions in the Chicago packing houses and the question of my honesty is inextricably bound up with the subject. I have been quoted before your committee as making all sorts of statements that I have never made and I should have an opportunity to be heard. I am able to speak from first hand knowledge of conditions in Packingtown and of the need of legislation. I spent seven weeks there, living with the men and studying the plants inside and out—before the packers had any warning and had done any cleaning up. I saw with my own eyes [here follow minute specifications of sickening conditions]. I consider that these things should be of concern to your committee. You wire me that "Conditions in the packing houses have been fully reviewed." Possibly you think so, but I can assure you that the public does not think so. As a matter of simple fact, not one shred of evidence unfavorable to the packers has been allowed to get before your committee, excepting that of Neill and Reynolds, which you could not get away from. That your hearings were held not to elicit any facts but solely in order to whitewash the packers was proved by the treatment which you accorded to those gentlemen. A paid agent of the beef trust was received by you with open arms; you heard his tricky and dishonest statements with cordial approval, and the commissioners and personal friends of the President you treated as criminals before the bar of justice, browbeating and insulting them outrageously. You will

doubtless continue in your present course to the end; but I predict, sir, that you will live to regret the insult which you have offered to the intelligence of the American people. They are thoroughly aroused upon this question and bent upon justice. They realize that your committee has been largely to blame for the continuance of the condemned meat industry since it has been your task, year after year, to smother the request of the Secretary of Agriculture for funds to maintain an efficient inspection, and now that you have been forced into the open, as the servant and champion of the criminals involved, I shall be surprised if the people do not find a way to make you feel the weight of their displeasure.

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It now transpires that both the Secretary of Agriculture and President Roosevelt were long ago apprised of conditions in the packing houses. According to a Washington correspondent of the Chicago Record-Herald of the 9th, Dr. J. C. Milnes, a trained veterinarian, who was in the service from 1896 until 1905, and was stationed at various times at Kansas City, Leavenworth, Wichita, Waterloo and Chicago, "deemed it to be the duty of an inspector to inspect. He became unpopular with the packers in whose yards he was performing inspection duty, and also with inspectors under him. He freely reported abuses to the bureau at Washington in order to remedy evils that seemed to him to be particularly flagrant. He also carried out his orders to inspect all animals killed and to condemn those afflicted with tuberculosis and order them to the 'tank,' where the steam was turned on and they were rendered into fertilizer. In this way Dr. Milnes came under suspicion at the department as a trouble-maker. Finally the sword fell on Dr. Milnes. Dr. Salmon recommended his removal on the ground that he was 'erratic, arbitrary and ungovernable in the meat inspections'; that he had been in the habit of using 'disrespectful and slanderous language' and that he had been 'insubordinate' in refusing to prepare a certain statement. The Secretary of Agriculture cited Dr. Milnes to make reply by Jan. 3. Dr. Milnes defended himself before the Secretary, but was finally removed under date of Feb. 15, 1905. In all the correspondence which followed Dr. Milnes placed above the question of his reinstatement the question of improving the service of cattle and meat inspection in the interest of the public. Being now a dismissed employe, his communications received scant consideration." Yet he laid the matter before both the Secretary of Agriculture and the President. His communications were ignored.

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The Railroad Exposures.

As railroad investigations by the Interstate Commerce Commission continue (p. 225), further proof of inside "grafting" appears. Both the Pennsylvania and the Baltimore and Ohio were "on the rack" on the 6th, when three Pennsylvania and two Baltimore and Ohio employes admitted receiving tips to the amount of many thousands of dollars in coal stock. Similar disclosures were made as the investigation continued.

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A merger is a larger body of water connecting two large bodies of water.

—Saturday Evening Post.

NEWS NOTES

—The International Association of Auctioneers met at Chicago on the 12th.

—The National Editorial Association opened its convention at Indianapolis on the 12th.

—On the 8th President Roosevelt signed the bill (p. 196) for exempting denatured alcohol from taxation.

—The Rev. Dr. Algernon S. Crapsey, the Episcopal clergyman recently convicted of heresy (p. 158), has filed an appeal.

—In joint session on the 13th the legislature of Delaware elected Henry A. Du Pont, head of the Du Pont powder works, to the Senate of the United States.

—William Pinkney Whyte was appointed on the 8th by the Governor of Maryland to the vacancy in the United States Senate caused by the death of Senator Gorman (p. 228).

—Richard John Seddon, prime minister of New Zealand, died of heart failure on the 10th on board the steamer Owestry Grange. Mr. Seddon was on his way home from New South Wales.

—In an opinion made public on the 12th the Attorney General of Illinois holds that the statute exempting the capital stock of mercantile, manufacturing, printing, mining and like corporations is unconstitutional.

—F. D. Coburn, appointed by the Governor of Kansas to the United States Senate in place of Senator Burton (p. 228), has refused the appointment, and A. W. Benson has been appointed in his stead. Mr. Benson has accepted.

—A proposition to consolidate the cities of Pittsburgh and Allegheny, Pa., was carried by joint popular vote of the two cities on the 12th. Allegheny voted in the negative by 6,000 majority, but Pittsburgh voted in the affirmative by 25,000.

—Walter R. Gillette and Robert A. Granniss, formerly vice-presidents of the Mutual Life Insurance Company and members of the auditing committee, were indicted by the special grand jury (p. 107) at New York on the 11th for forgery, perjury and submitting false statements.

—The League of American Municipalities is to hold its convention at Chicago on the 26th, 27th and 28th of September. Mayors and officials of hundreds of cities are expected to attend, and a special invitation has been sent to President Roosevelt. Mayor Dunne has appointed a reception committee of 114.

—The new Christian Science temple at Boston, seating 5,000 and costing \$2,000,000, was dedicated on the 10th. There was an attendance of 50,000 from all parts of the world, only a portion being able to get entrance to any of the six services, all of which were conducted by W. D. McCrackan, the first reader of the church.

—Eugene E. Prussing, a Chicago lawyer, is urging the collection by the taxing authorities of unpaid personal taxes on securities. He notified the Cook County Board of Review on the 8th of the evasion of this form of taxation, and instanced Marshall

Field, whose personal estate schedules since his death show that he escaped personal taxation annually on \$15,000,000.

—Dr. Mary Putnam Jacobi, one of the most distinguished women physicians in the country, a prominent advocate of woman suffrage and writer of medical works, died on the 11th at her home in New York. She was born in London, England, in 1842, the daughter of George P. Putnam, the founder of the Putnams' publishing house, and in 1873 was married to Dr. Abraham Jacobi, also a prominent physician.

—The Kentucky Court of Appeals on the 12th upheld the constitutionality of the legislative act of 1904 prohibiting coeducation of the white and the Negro races in the schools of the Commonwealth. The court says the new law is constitutional in all but the requirement that white and colored schools shall be twenty-five miles apart when conducted together. The case will go to the United States Supreme Court.

—Armour & Co., Swift & Co., Cudahy & Co. and the Nelson Morris Packing Company were found guilty in the United States District Court at Kansas City, Mo., on the 12th, of accepting concessions from the Chicago, Burlington and Quincy Railway on export shipments on packing-house products. Immediately after the verdict against the packers was brought in the trial of the Burlington Railroad for giving the rebates was begun.

—Formal charges were submitted to Gov. Higgins of New York on the 7th, demanding the removal from the office of district attorney of New York of Wm. T. Jerome. They were signed by Chapman Dwight, Edward P. White, ex-Congressman Robert Baker, Joseph C. Hurley, and William N. Amory, and accuse Mr. Jerome of receiving campaign contributions from insurance companies, protecting insurance officials of those companies from prosecution, and otherwise favoring rich managers of corporations, particularly those of the Metropolitan Street Railway Co.

PRESS OPINIONS

THE BRYAN BOOM.

Chicago Chronicle (Rep.) June 7.—The true conservative Democrats have not fallen to the Bryan plane. They are still a host, and by 1908 they will see plainly enough that there is but one political home for them and that it is not in the Democratic barracks.

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Cole County (Mo.) Daily Democrat (Dem.) June 7.—Bryan—Bryan the Great, Bryan the Magnificent—is coming home. The greatest leader of the people, supreme hater of oppression, chief foe of the Mammon of Unrighteousness, the fearless paladin of liberty and the idol of a people's love, is coming back to his own—God bless him! Nor is any one more fit to bid him hearty welcome than Joseph W. Folk, who went forth upon the stump for Bryan in 1896 and has ever since done battle by his side.

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Cleveland Plain Dealer (Ind. Dem.), June 9.—There is no more reason to question the spontaneous character of the latest Bryan boom than its widespread extent. County and State conventions continue to reaffirm their faith in him and to make fresh demands that he again make the race for President. . . . He is already a great

figure, and if he can induce or compel harmony among those who claim to be Democrats may become one far greater. At all events there is little danger that he will be made a catspaw to pull anybody's chestnuts out of the fire.

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Omaha World-Herald (Dem.), June 10.—The most brilliant, if not the most bitter and persistent foe of Mr. Bryan, has been Henry Watterson, editor of the Louisville Courier-Journal and custodian of the "Star-Eyed Goddess." . . . He was perhaps the leader of reactionary Democrats in 1896. . . . Nor since that time has he until now conceded the right of Bryan to lead nor the duty of others to follow. Friday, however, in his inimitable style, he editorially proclaims Bryan's leadership and predicts his triumph. . . . With the possible exception of Grover Cleveland not a vestige of the reactionary movement of 1896 remains.

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Charleston (W. Va.) Daily Gazette (Dem.) June 6.—The thinking people of this country are beginning to realize that the conditions which exist to-day, as concerns corruption in the great insurance companies and the railroads and other trusts, were graphically portrayed by him in his two unsuccessful campaigns for the Presidency. When the graft among these high officials, which is being brought to light through the efforts of President Roosevelt and others, is being made public, then it becomes perfectly plain why these influences spent their millions, the greater portion of it being the people's money, to accomplish his defeat.

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New York Evening Post (con.-Dem.), June 8.—A Washington dispatch states that the mounting enthusiasm among Democrats for Bryan, with the prospect of his nomination for the presidency in 1908, is furnishing Mr. Roosevelt and other Republican leaders "food for thought." A good mouthful was certainly furnished them by the declaration of the Indiana Democratic convention yesterday in favor of "that wise and conservative statesman, William Jennings Bryan." "Conservative" in comparison with whom? That is the question for Republicans to chew upon. Who is it that has made the firebrand of 1896 seem a cautious and steady man in 1906? All answers, as the advertisements say, should be addressed to the White House, Washington, D. C.

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Milwaukee Daily News (Dem.), June 9.—It is not alone Mr. Bryan's personality that appeals to the popular imagination. If it were not that his election to the Presidency would mark the triumph of a cause, if it would not stamp the people's resentment against the spirit of commercialism that has substituted greed for justice, his superior abilities would count for little. He would be a defeated candidate, with few to do him honor or reverence. But Bryan stands for something. He does not stand for "the interests." He is old-fashioned enough to believe that the interests of the whole people are paramount to the interests of the favored few and progressive enough to adopt new methods if need be to deal with existing conditions. He is the kind of man that the American people want for President.

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Collier's (ind.), June 9.—If Bryan is nominated, as now seems probable, the Democratic party will mean that it trusts the spirit more than it distrusts the letter; trusts his seriousness and devotion to the average man more than it distrusts an intellect which often goes astray after shallow remedies. Events have helped him more than he has helped himself, but he has not been without his share in bringing his party's opinion around in his direction. His support of the President was one astute and large-minded decision, and his calm and judicious essay on socialism was another. The feeling of the country, however, that the railroads have partly triumphed in the rate bill contest, and that the vested interests control the tariff, and that money generally is the ruling power, is what helps Bryan most. Next to that, perhaps, is the feeling of loyalty that is strong in humankind. His very defeats, in his campaigns, and especially in the buncoed convention of 1904, have left

him stronger with the Middle-Western voters, who have always been the basis of his strength. Feeling that he has never had a fair opportunity, that he had more votes than McKinley in one election, that life insurance and other corporation money is now shown clearly to have been used in large sums to compass his defeat, and that the men who dominated the convention of 1904 were corporation servants as thorough as Aldrich himself, the Bryan following is looking eagerly for a contest on more even terms.

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THE NATION AND THE POLICE POWER.

The (N. Y.) Nation (ind.), June 7.—The lack of sanitary appliances in the packing houses, the disregard of the health and comfort of the employes, the careless and confused and dirty ways of handling food-products, with the inadequacy of the present methods of inspection, are shown with shocking concreteness and detail. The President truly describes the picture as revolting. But to jump from that to putting the United States in charge of the packing houses is to cover a tremendous distance with an agile non-sequitur. The beef report makes out an excellent case for rigid inspection and control by the State of Illinois or the city of Chicago, but what has the national government to do with local exercise of the police power?

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THE PACKING HOUSE MUCK.

Cleveland Leader (Rep.), June 5.—The muck-raking done at Chicago under the President's orders would be well worth while without legislation. But there will be new laws—stronger laws, better laws. And they will be more thoroughly enforced. Congress can hardly fail to do its part and do it promptly. The public is in no mood to overlook or forgive delay.

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THE CHARGES AGAINST JEROME.

Chicago Record-Herald (ind. Rep.), June 9.—It is a most astounding thing that a man who only seven months ago was re-elected to office in an independent candidacy, which, all things considered, showed the most astounding success of any in the history of our great cities, and whose sole political capital was the popular belief in his absolute and unapproachable honesty, should now be under charges of a most grave nature concerning his official integrity. . . . The most serious of the charges concern leniency which Mr. Jerome is said to have shown officials of the Metropolitan Street Railway Company at various times when he had evidence of crime against them, and leniency toward offenders in the ranks of insurance company officials. In both cases it is alleged that Mr. Jerome accepted campaign contributions which have influenced his conduct. . . . Governor Higgins may not even deem the charges against Mr. Jerome worthy of investigation. It is to be hoped they are indeed trivial and malicious—not only for Mr. Jerome's sake but for the sake of all those who voted for him. But however trivial they are, it really seems time that Mr. Jerome should abandon his "noble Roman" attitude and at least make a full and complete statement of his campaign funds.

IN CONGRESS

This report is an abstract of the Congressional Record, the official report of Congressional proceedings. It includes all matters of general interest, and closes with the last issue of the Record at hand upon going to press. Page references are to the pages of Vol. 40 of that publication.

Washington, June 4-9.

Senate.

Proceedings relative to the death of Senator Gorman were taken on the 4th (p. 8026). On the 5th the naval appropriation bill was considered (p. 8072) and passed (p. 8086), and the conference report on the railroad rate bill discussed (p. 8087). The latter was further discussed on the 6th (p. 8152), as was the child labor bill for the District of Columbia (p. 8146); and on the 7th,

after further discussion of the rate bill, a further conference with the House was asked. A proposed investigation of the Isle of Pines question was considered on the 8th (p. 8286), followed by consideration of the Panama canal question (p. 8288). On the 9th the District of Columbia appropriation and public school bills were disposed of (pp. 8397, 8404), and the conference report on the Indian appropriation bill was taken up (p. 8406).

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House.

Action on the death of Senator Gorman was taken on the 4th, and on the 5th miscellaneous business was done. The sundry civil appropriation bill was discussed on the 6th (p. 8173), and the Senate amendments to the employers' liability bill were concurred in (p. 8195). The sundry civil appropriation bill was again taken up on the 7th (p. 8230), and its consideration continued on the 8th (p. 8342) and 9th (p. 8423).

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Record Notes.

Text of President's message on Chicago stock yards (p. 8035). Text of Neill-Reynolds report on Chicago stock yards (p. 8035). Speech of Representative Cockran on naturalization (p. 8201). Speech of Representative Norris on the sale of the New York custom house, containing copies of documents (p. 8270). Tables of statistics comparing American with European railroad passenger rates (p. 8282).

RELATED THINGS

CONTRIBUTIONS AND REPRINT

MIRAGE.

Copied from an Old Flyleaf.

We'll read that book, we'll sing that song.
But when? Oh, when the days are long;
When thoughts are free, and voices clear—
Some happy time within the year.
The days troop by with voiceless tread,
The song unsung, the book unread.

We'll see that friend and make him feel
The weight of friendship, true as steel;
Some flower of sympathy bestow.
But time sweeps on with steady flow,
Until with quick, reproachful tear
We lay our flowers upon his bier.

And still we walk the desert sands,
And still with trifles fill our hands;
While ever, just beyond our reach,
A fairer purpose shows to each.
The deeds we have not done, but willed,
Remain to haunt us—unfulfilled.

—A. S. R.

+ + +

THE CIVILIZED PIG.

I couldn't make out whether the animal I was talking to was a man or a pig. You have noticed how like men pigs really are? They have the same pinky hairless skin, their dental formulas are the same, and they both eat anything they can get. Then, too, they have the same range of voice, from a squeal to a grunt.

Said the Animal, "I keep several wives."
"Oh," thought I, "he must be a pig—unless he is a Mormon."
"But, I'm not married to them," he said.

"Ah," thought I, "surely he is a pig—unless he is a man about town."

"I squeal and struggle when I'm hurt," said the Animal.

"Now," said I, "I know he's a pig—unless he's a Bryanite."

"Do you pay any rent?" I asked for a test.

"Rent," said he, "I don't know what it is."

"Now I am sure he is a pig," I said, "unless, indeed, he is a gentleman," for I remembered that according to the Irish, the pig is the "gentleman that pays the rent."

I tried him again: "Would you die in defense of your hearth and home?" said I.

Said he, "I haven't a home."

Again I thought he must be a pig, till I remembered that "home" means to most men a pig-stye of a tenement.

I said, "You are dirty and sensual."

"Not more than others," said he, "that are shut out from the clean earth and clean pleasures, and shut in to the slums."

Now, do you think I was talking to one of you or to a pig?

—Bolton Hall, in *The Game of Life*.

+ + +

A NEGRO'S REPLY TO A WHITE MAN.

From an Open Letter by Kelly Miller, Professor of Mathematics and Instructor in Sociology in Howard University, Washington.

Your fundamental thesis is that "no amount of education of any kind, industrial, classical or religious, can make a Negro a white man, or bridge the chasm of the centuries which separates him from the white man in the evolution of human history." This doctrine is as old as human oppression. Calhoun made it the arch stone in the defense of Negro slavery—and lost.

This is but a recrudescence of the doctrine which was exploited and exploded during the anti-slavery struggle. Do you recall the school of pro-slavery scientists who demonstrated beyond doubt that the Negro's skull was too thick to comprehend the substance of Aryan knowledge? Have you not read in the discredited scientific books of that period with what triumphant acclaim it was shown that the Negro's shape and size of skull, facial angle, and cephalic configuration rendered him forever impervious to the white man's civilization?

But all enlightened minds are now as ashamed of that doctrine as they are of the one-time doctrine that the Negro had no soul. We become aware of mind through its manifestations. Within forty years of only partial opportunity, while playing as it were in the backyard of civilization, the American Negro has cut down his illiteracy by over 50 per cent.; has produced a professional class some fifty thousand strong, including ministers, teachers, doctors, lawyers, editors, authors, architects, engineers, and all higher lines of listed pursuits in which white men are engaged.

That Negroes in the average are not equal in developed capacity to the white race, is a proposition which it would be as simple to affirm as it is silly to deny. The Negro represents a backward race which

has not yet taken a commanding part in the progressive movement of the world. In the great cosmic scheme of things, some races reach the limelight of civilization ahead of others. But that temporary forwardness does not argue inherent superiority is as evident as any fact of history. An unfriendly environment may hinder and impede the one, while fortunate circumstances may quicken and spur the other. Relative superiority is only a transient phase of human development.

* * *

FLESH EATING

In his famous letter to the London Times, on the land question in Russia, Tolstoy spoke of several ideas as ripe for discussion and action. He spoke of private property in land as the "nearest and most obvious evil." He held that besides facing this evil our civilization must also face the problems of capital punishment, prostitution, and militarism. And to this category of ripe problems he added the practice of flesh-eating.

The packinghouse exposure is the most effective argument ever made for a vegetarian diet. It will be hard for imaginative people to forget those dead rats and amputated fingers. They will reflect that there is already an army of government meat inspectors. If, with all these inspectors, it took a socialist novel to acquaint the public with conditions, how secure will these imaginative people feel when the government has a few more inspectors?

We used to go to the priests for salvation. Now we go to the state. We fly to the arms of the government inspector. Just as if he had not already been tried and found wanting. "Oh," said a lady, "the government is going to put a label on the meat. It will be all right now." Great is government! With a government label on the sausage, and a rabbit's foot around the neck, may luck be with us! At any rate, we may try eating as Governor Pingree used to vote, holding the nose.

Socialists have capitalized this incident. They have a right to—it was a socialist who started it. So they say, "Let us establish government packing houses. And the one recourse which seems to occur to everyone—an increase of the inspectors—is socialistic in its tendency.

There is this difference between socialistic people and socialists. The socialists want the government to stick our pigs for us. The socialistic people want the government to tell the packers how to do it.

But the church as well as the state is under indictment. Has not the church been telling us that the individual problem is everything; that if the individual soul is saved, society will save itself? Are not the packers church members? Is not their gold lifted to God every Sabbath day? Do not their pastors encourage them in the idea that their souls are already saved? Has the church lost its effectiveness, or is its philosophy wrong? But while we are waiting for the church to convert the packers, or for socialism to convert the packing business, why not turn vegetarians?

There are weary arguments for and against this course. But "don't argue—try it." This is the time

to make the experiment. Perhaps meat eating is not at all a necessity, as is thought, but only a habit.

We are not responsible for the tooth and claw struggle of the universe. That is the saddest of mysteries. But we remember the words of the prophet: "They shall not hurt or destroy in all my holy mountain." Those words were born in man's soul. Is it not his destiny to give them reality?

HERBERT S. BIGELOW,

Pastor Vine Street Congregational Church.
Cincinnati, June 10, 1906.

* * *

MUNICIPAL FINANCE IN GERMANY

Some Extracts from and Comments on the Estimates of
the City of Freiburg, in Baden, for 1905

For The Public.

The Liberal party governs the City of Freiburg, and its mayor is a farseeing, progressive man. The city has now 79,000 inhabitants.

The debt amounts to M.35,000,000; or, as four marks about make a dollar, we can call it, \$8,750,000.

Interest on debt is.....\$ 336,000
Other city expenses are..... 768,250

Total expenses\$1,104,250
Total income of city..... 834,500

Deficit to be raised by taxes.....\$ 269,750
4/10 per cent. on houses\$81,000
4/10 per cent. on working capital..... 48,000
12/10 per cent. on income..... 87,500
About 1/10 per cent. on income from
capital 53,250 \$ 269,750

Some of the Expenses of the City of Freiburg

All salaries, high and low officials, 162 persons for year, \$75,417. In this amount are included the following:

Mayor, \$3,750 for year.
First burgomaster, \$2,500 for year.
Second burgomaster, \$1,750 for year.
City treasurer, \$1,525 for year.
(Average salary of 162 officials, \$465 a year.)

Eighteen councilmen, something like your aldermen, and 95 city congressmen, receive no salary whatever.

Theater all winter and garden concerts all summer, expense, \$26,500.

Seven schools (the cost of 1 university and 2 classic schools is paid by the state), 119 teachers' salary, \$39,500.

Pensions of city officials, expense, \$2,400.

Intelligence office for working people, expense for year, \$1,425.

For the poor people, expense for year, \$24,500.

For the children's aid society, expense for year, \$1,225.

Poor babies' nurseries, expense for year, \$625.

Collecting ashes and refuse, expense for year, \$7,000.

Some of the Income of the City of Freiburg for 1905

\$107,750 from 88 lots of houses, net.
\$9,500 from 741 acres of land, net.
\$63,000 from 8,033 acres of wood land, net.
\$84,250 from waterworks, net income.
\$110,250 from gas works, net income.
\$32,500 from electric light works, net income.
\$33,250 from electric street railroad, net income.
\$15,750 from slaughter houses, net income.
\$5,000 from the "Rieselgut" (a farm to which the canalization brings the solid sewage of the city, which goes into the land as manure. This farm is a great success).

\$10,000 from the cemetery, net income.
 \$1,175 from city park and hall for festivities, net income. (All the above is the property of the city.)
 \$8,750 from 1 newspaper for publishing city adv'ts.
 \$750 from advertising boards and pillars.
 \$375 from electric clock service.
 \$3,750 from taxes on dogs (\$4 each).
 \$1,875 from hunting and fishing rights.
 \$30,000 from keeping record of real estate sales.
 \$72,000 from tax on provisions, brought into the city.

The city owns \$245,250—a capital "to grow" for 34 different purposes, coming from bequests, collections, gifts, etc.

This was the amount on December 31, 1904.

It grew in the year of 1904 by \$26,750. It grew from January 1, 1890, from \$47,500 by new gifts, bequests and interest, to \$245,250 on December 31, 1904.

The purposes are six monuments and monumental fountains, a big organ for the hall for festivities, one hall of arts, a garden for wild animals, for the people's kitchen, for the people's free library, for increasing the number of open street gutters with clear flowing water, etc.

May 2, 1906.

L. DREIER.

* * *

THE RUSSIAN LAND QUESTION

Editorial in the New York Globe of June 2, 1906

That the land question so quickly pushed to the front in the Duma is further evidence that the Russian peasant, however inhospitable to new ideas, is tenacious of old ones. The delegates representing the peasants secured the inclusion of expropriation as a principal item of the reform programme. This indicates that the peasants still cling to the notion entertained when serfhood was abolished—that the land belongs to them and not to their masters, and that to keep them out of it is robbery.

With respect to agrarian rights the peasants at emancipation had traditional conceptions antedating and at variance with the written law. According to the decrees of the czar, copying the land system of the west, estates belonged to the proprietors; according to the peasants they belonged to them, and the proprietorial right consisted merely in the personal authority over the serfs which for some inscrutable but not to be questioned reason the czar had conferred on their masters. As Sir Donald Wallace says in his authoritative work, these peasant conceptions were not put into strict legal form, but the peasants often expressed them in their own homely, laconic way by saying to their masters: "We are yours, but the land is ours." When the emancipation came, and the moujik title was not recognized, the notion long prevailed that a part of the decree had been suppressed, or that a second and more important one was to come. Of what use, the peasants asked, is freedom, if we are actually poorer than we were?

With infinite difficulty were many villages—and it is to be remembered that land communism prevails in Russia—induced to accept the so-called liberty on the terms offered. They believed themselves outraged by an arrangement which gave them only half the land and required them to compensate their masters for that half. As late as 1885 the czar was compelled peremptorily to order that settlements should be made which, under the theory of the original decree, were to be by agree-

ment under the direction of arbiters or umpires appointed for the various districts. The peasantry has never ceased to consider as wrong the forty-nine year payments and the reservation of half the land as the private estate of the landlords. So on the first opportunity, as the Duma proceedings show, the demand is renewed for more land and the cessation of land payments.

Progress of time might have dimmed the old conceptions had they not been kept alive by the population increase. In 1861, when the present division was made, the average amount of land set off was 8.62 acres per private male serf, 12.03 acres per crown male serf, and 17.56 acres per state male serf. Now in many districts, especially where the private serfs were the most numerous, the communal division of the land has so gone on that the allotment has dwindled to a mere sliver. "Zemli malo!" ("There is not enough land!") is an exclamation often heard at the village assemblies. Those that look ahead ask anxiously: "What is to become of our children? Already the communal allotment is too small for our wants, and the land outside is doubling and trebling in price! What will it be in the future?" With millions of peasants on the border line of starvation, eager is the gaze at the estates of the proprietors and at what the state and crown still owns. With the pressure of material want a mordant, the tradition that the land is kept from its rightful owners does not fade. The Duma, the new power of which the peasant has heard, is to do what the czar, if his will had not been perverted, long ago would have done.

If some adjustment is not made Russia's rural regions are likely to become afflicted with chronic agrarian disorder. In the cities, where men are massed, the soldiers are able to enforce some sort of order, but in the sparsely settled country the task is beyond achievement.

* * *

THE TOWN MEETING IN NEW ENGLAND

For The Public.

In these days when the "expressed will of the people" by ballot is being over-ridden with impunity by unscrupulous political machine law makers, and laws are placed upon our statute books in defiance of the spirit and interest of the people's wishes, it is well to study democratic methods wherever we can find them. The town meeting in New England is one of the most democratic institutions which has ever been devised. It rests absolutely upon the aggregation of individual voters in mass meetings assembled. The people en masse first vote viva voce, vote next by show of hands, again by a division of the house, and last a voting list is procured and the votes are checked up, and from this last there is no appeal. This is certainly direct legislation in its broadest and most deliberate form and in effect it is the initiative and referendum. All matters affecting public policy or the credit of the town must be decided by referendum vote. No extension of public debt or credit, or granting franchises for public utilities without a vote. Three to five people can initiate legislation by serving notice

stating the subject to be acted upon. This is handed to the town constable who draws up the legal warrant, and it is posted at the postoffice, at the town hall, at other central points, and at remote street corners, giving notice when and where the meeting will be held and for what specific purposes. When the time arrives the meeting is called to order. The warrant is read by the constable. The moderator is nominated and elected from the floor. The meeting is then open for business. Women are allowed a voice but not a vote in these meetings. The same qualifications are required to vote in town meetings that are necessary for State and national elections.

A New Englander coming west to reside cannot fail to be impressed with the thoughtlessness of the citizens of little communities who are ambitious and active to incorporate their town or village as a city. They appear to rush blindly and joyfully to delegate away their own powers of progress or self-defense by means of direct legislation, by incorporating themselves into a city. It appears to the average voter and real estate dealer that to live in a city, to have their business in a city, is most desirable. Thus we find little communities of 200 or 300 inhabitants on the map as cities. Mayors are elected, city councils chosen, and trouble begins. The reins of government are slipped out of the hands of the individuals, and the city team is then driven by so-called representatives who, as a rule, represent only themselves. Then the little community begins to suffer from a government by a few and for a few, and the chances of corruption are increased and temptation is created.

In all New England where the town meeting system of government is operative, no record of embezzlement or corruption has ever come to my knowledge. An auditing committee is elected annually in town meeting, and the board of select men simply carry out the measures which were decided upon in town meeting, and do not presume to do more or dare to do less.

The largest town in this country is Brookline, Mass., which has a population of nearly 40,000 people who have voted for generations against incorporating as a city to be swallowed up by Boston. This town is one of the most beautiful in all New England, and has more wealth per capita than any other community in the world. The town meetings are conducted with decorum, spirit and justice, and with less confusion than is exhibited in any large city council, State legislature or the national Congress.

The advent of a town meeting is indelibly written upon the memory of every boy and girl in New England, because of the distribution of "election cake," which is always a part of the programme. Sheets of glossy buns with raisins are sold and passed about and find their way into every family where there is a voter, and the children early learn of the town meeting and its significance. The custom came about from the necessity of feeding those who came to town from remote parts of the township to vote while the women did their "trading." It will, perhaps, account for the patriotism of the New England people when it is known that the idea of a free government, which recognizes all men to be equal, that no man is greater or more powerful than his

brother, that the rich man's hand counts for no more than does the poor in town meeting, is fed to the youth of that land with buns and homemade root beer, until he looks upon the President of the United States as one of his select men, his servant, to do his bidding as defined in town meeting or political convention and expressed in a party platform.

MINONA S. FITTS-JONES.

+ + +

THE BUSY CHILD.

I have so many things to do
I don't know when I shall be through.

To-day I had to watch the rain
Come sliding down the window-pane.

And I was humming all the time,
Around my head, a kind of rhyme;

And blowing softly on the glass
To see the dimness come and pass.

I made a picture, with my breath
Rubbed out to show the underneath.

I built a city on the floor;
And then I went and was a War.

And I escaped; from square to square
That's greenest in the carpet there.

Until at last I came to Us—
But it was very dangerous.

Because, if I had stepped outside,
I made believe I should have died!

And now I have the boat to mend,
And all our supper to pretend.

I am so busy, every day,
I haven't any time to play.

—Josephine Preston Peabody, in Harper's Magazine.

+ + +

"So the millionaires gave a mask ball? Was it a success?"

"No, but it would have been a success save for Percy Lavender."

"What did he do?"

"Why, he went disguised as a process server, and all the millionaires jumped out of the windows."—
—Chicago News.

+ + +

"What are they doing?" asked a visitor to the United States supreme court.

"They are handing down a decision declaring those Chattanooga lynchings are in contempt of court unless they show cause by October," said an ancient doorkeeper.

"Is it such a serious thing to be in contempt of the supreme court?" persisted the visitor.

"Serious thing!" exclaimed the doorkeeper. "Why, sir, just stop and think it over. There ain't nobody left to appeal to but just Providence."

—Chicago Chronicle.

+ + +

If it isn't larceny or just plain stealing, what is it when a man takes money that doesn't belong to him, secretly hands it over to those who have no

right to it, and then with elaborate care falsifies accounts so as to conceal the giving? Is law after all a miserable farce, and the sword of Justice a wooden slap-stick which makes a loud noise but never hurts?

—Puck.

BOOKS

THE HISTORY OF A CRIME.

A People at School. By H. Fielding Hall. Published by the Macmillan Company, New York. Price, \$3.00.

I always read everything that I can lay my hands on bearing the name of H. Fielding Hall. Half a dozen years ago I read his "Soul of a People," an account of the Burmese among whom he lives, and I was fascinated by it. He has the rare power of insight into an alien race, fine capacity for description and a most original, simple and attractive style. That book could claim a high place among the best ten I have ever read. I liked it so much that when I had read it I sent my copy to Count Tolstoy. Some months later I met a man who had just come from the Tolstoy household and who related his experiences there to me. "Count Tolstoy was reading a book that delighted him while I was there," he said. "He would come from his study again and again into the drawing-room where we were sitting, with it in his hand, saying, 'Listen to this! Here is a passage I must read to you.'" It was my copy of the "Soul of a People," and my informant did not know that I had sent it. The book is a description of the Burmese from an intimate view-point. Their nation is the fine flower of Buddhism. Averse to the taking of life, disapproving of war, they were until recently happy, simple-minded, and contented. They had no aristocracy, were kindly to all men, devoted to their religion, industrious, frugal and artistic. I was moved to write to the author to thank him for the book and to express my regret that Great Britain should have overridden such a unique civilization, when, to my surprise, I received a letter from him, written in a remote corner of Burmah, in which he expressed his entire approval of the conquest.

And now Mr. Hall, having doubtless been misunderstood in like manner by many of his readers, has written a defense of British rule in Burmah and I made haste to get it so that I could find out what reasons there could be for such a strange climax to the panegyric of a people. And now I have read the book, "A People at School," and I confess I am more than ever at a loss to understand how the author fits his conclusions to his premises. His insight is as keen as it was, his descriptions as charming, his style as marked by distinction. He does not take back a word. The Burmese are still for him the happy, ingenuous and winning children of an earthly paradise. "The Burman villager was as free a man as it is possible to conceive." Women were as highly esteemed as men and in some respects had greater

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influence. "They were people one got to like very much, for their insouciance, their freedom from care, for the courage with which they faced the world." The pretext for annexation was a quarrel between the Burmese government and an English timber company which was exploiting their forests of teakwood, and by which Mr. Hall was at the time employed. But he admits that this was not the real cause. He ascribes the conquest to "fate." "We have come because we had to come. We, too, as drops of water, obey great forces that we never understand." This sounds very fine and perhaps it means something, but if Mr. Hall caught a burglar in his bedroom and the intruder informed him that he had come like a drop of water, I doubt if the reasoning would appeal to him so strongly. The reason why England took Burmah was because she coveted it. To ascribe it to destiny is a small and cowardly proceeding. Mr. Hall sees a resemblance between England's role in the East and that of Rome in Europe. He forgets that the Romans did not avoid responsibility for their own acts. It is only the modern Roman who indulges in such cant. It is the sign of an uneasy conscience. Our standards have risen in two thousand years, even if our actions are much the same.

Mr. Hall admits that European civilization has little good effect upon the Burmese. They distrust the British courts. They dislike British ways. The two peoples cannot get en rapport with each other. The natives who enter the civil service become spoiled and corrupted. Many of the good old customs of the villages have been broken up, and there is nothing suitable to take their place. The native arts and handicrafts which were sui generis and exquisite have been totally destroyed. The educated natives have become pessimistic and discouraged. I take all these facts from Mr. Hall. And what advantages has he to set up to counterbalance them? Literally nothing. There is greater commercial prosperity, better roads, and land-values have risen, but he admits that these things are not fundamental, that they have killed the old civilization and brought in their train the usurious money-changer, the mortgage, the craving for money, a horde of coolie immigrants, and increased taxation. The native Burmese handicraftsmen have been driven out of business, and the women are losing their independence. The old esprit de corps of the villages has gone, and the young men are more selfish and have lower ethical standards. A proletariat class is growing up. Mr. Hall very frankly gives us page upon page of such disheartening facts. It is the plain story of the corruption of a people by foreign invaders, told powerfully and in plain, unmitigated English. The worst enemy of English rule could not have told it more effectively. It almost seems as if Mr. Hall's conclusion in favor of his fellow-banditti was intended as a joke, and that the book is really a protest on behalf of Burmese independence. But no. Mr. Hall is the most serious of men, and in all his books (and I have now read four, and hope he will write more) there is not one glimmer of humor.

Mr. Hall has a peculiar theory by which he tries partially to excuse his countrymen. He divides them into two classes, the "Normans" and the "Anglo-Saxons." The Normans are noble-minded, adventurous, gallant, despise money and trade, believe in

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caste, and have a passion for helping along weaker people. The Anglo-Saxons on the other hand are tradesmen, exterminate or enslave inferior races, and preach equal rights and the ballot for themselves. All the sins of England are attributable to the Anglo-Saxons and all the virtues to the Normans. This is a pretty theory, but unfortunately it has no facts to support it. It is true that merchants and gentlemen of leisure have different tastes, but that is true the world over and has nothing to do with race. There are no Normans in England to-day, and there are probably no Englishmen without Norman blood. Thomas Hardy shows us how the peasantry is honey-combed with noble lineage. The tradesmen of the Hudson's Bay Company and the East India Company were originally just as adventurous as the younger sons of the nobility, and these latter gentlemen are attracted by salaries and pensions and sinecures just as much as the merchant is by profits, and they are just as hard upon natives too. The "Norman" saint whose memory is honored by primroses and duchesses, is the Hebrew D'Israeli, and the present "Norman" chief, Mr. Balfour, while on his mother's side he comes of the old nobility (long post-Norman, however), on his father's is the grandson of an Anglo-Indian contractor of none too certain reputation. The great imperialist leader is no other than the distinguished "Norman" of Birmingham, Mr. Chamberlain. The Normans in their original home in Norway are the purest of democrats without an imperialistic idea, and when they want kings they have to import them, as the British Normans do, and in Normandy they have shown no talent for empire.

Two of the most distinguished Norman satraps of recent years are Lord Cromer, who bears a German name, and Lord Milner, who is said to have been born a German subject. It was the tradesmen and not the nobility who abolished slavery. Three-fourths of the officers of the Royal Army are of middle-class families, and in recent wars those with a pretense to Norman extraction have come the nearest to disgracing themselves, while the Irish Kelt has done the best of all. Mr. Hall himself went to Burmah as an "Anglo-Saxon" trader and remained as a "Norman" magistrate. It is odd indeed for the representative of such a conglomerate race to assert that "mixed blood is valueless, and the sons born of it die out!" The fact is that Mr. Hall is an admirable observer, but when he begins to philosophise he is sure to slip up.

The secret of his approval of British rule seems to lie in his view of women. Women were too free in Burmah. It is a mistake for them to inherit equally with men, he says. They should be subject to men. Buddhism is effeminate. A peaceful disposition is effeminate. Vegetarianism is effeminate. "Village after village in the districts is asking to have slaughter-houses built. . . It is a step in the right direction!" Yet he admits that the Burmese are "naturally courageous, active and daring," and that British occupation has made them less courageous! (See p. 263.) England is the schoolmaster, it seems, and she must teach the Burmese manliness. The native "must throw off his swaddling bands of faith and find the natural fighter underneath. He must learn to be a savage if necessary, to destroy, to hurt and push aside without scruple!" This is what our au-

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thor calls bringing them out into the real world. As if they had not been in the real world for centuries! They are as true products of the survival of the fittest as the Briton. They have lived and thriven with a strong empire, China, on one frontier, and wild tribes on the others. Their forests are full of deadly wild beasts, and yet they still persisted and produced a civilization altogether unique and individual which has charmed the heart of such a "Norman" as Mr. Hall himself. How could they better justify their ideals? What a mad ambition this is to make all the world alike! The violet has earned its place in the woods as well as the oak. What can the oak teach to the violet? Is it impossible to admire them both and to leave them each to flourish in its own place? Who knows but that the violet may have the best staying powers after all?

The East bowed low before the blast
In patient deep disdain;
She let the legions thunder past,
And plunged in thought again.

But I do not wish to close my article in a tone of adverse criticism. Mr. Hall's book, whatever his intention may have been, is really a plea for the weaker peoples, and it shows distinctly that the only justification of England's occupation is brute force. He appreciates to the full the native virtues. There is no "Oriental mind," he tells us again and again. Their minds are like ours. The Oriental is as truthful naturally as the Occidental, so he says, and I have long known it. A strong man does not lie, because he does not have to. "If the weak lie, it is for the strong to see if he has not by misuse of power forced him to it. And be sure such lies are not debited in the eternal reckoning to one side only." "Trust is the reward of trust and of that only." These are fine sayings and show Mr. Hall at his best. It is a false boast, that of the English, that they are the most truthful of races. They are forever saying so, but that does not prove it. It is possible that they are more frequently in positions in which there is no temptation to lie. That is Mr. Hall's opinion. It so happens that two of the worst liars I ever met were English. One of them was a university man, highly educated and cultured and of perfect breeding, but he could not tell the truth. I knew him well for twenty years, and to this day I doubt if he gave me his right name. Lord Curzon was recently bragging to an Indian audience of British truthfulness, and the native press proceeded to prove from his own books that he had told falsehoods to the Emperor of Korea and made light of it. An English "Norman" once told me that there was cheating in all horse-races. This was an exaggeration, but it contained an element of truth. Dishonesty has been exposed in the king's own card-parties, and we do not know how many have escaped detection. Let anyone who thinks superlatively of British honesty buy a few horses of the "Normans." I have been there. It is best not to boast of virtues. Virtues that people boast of are usually non-existent. And Mr. Hall has insight enough to see these truths, and he sets a high value on the Burmese character. Why is he pleased then with his task of helping to deprave it? His book gives no reasonable explanation. Let me sum up in his own words: "We are, of course, strangers here—strangers who have come from a far country and conquered this land and made

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government." Utterly oblivious to the possible influences of the present government in promoting these practices, he looks for reply "to Santo Domingo, Venezuela and Colombia." He might have added Chicago, for his description of the justices of the peace in the Philippines reads as if it had been borrowed bodily from Chicago newspaper descriptions of Chicago justices of the peace.

Similar exhibitions of the school-master spirit occur in connection with religious practices, which are characterized as "superstitions," although they differ only in form from some of our own. Did Mr. Freer have to leave the United States to see, for instance, parallels to his story of the wooden image which told the Tagalogs "that heaven supported them in their warfare against the Americans." Every American pulpit has furnished some such parallel at the outbreak of every American war.

Mr. Freer is evidently influenced by the scholastic notion now prevalent that the ways of people whose ways differ from ours are pure superstitions, needing no explanation but only eradication. And yet we can imagine that our ways must have seemed curious to the Filipinos, as exemplified by Mr. Freer on one occasion when, in order to teach the meaning of run, "the teacher would run across the room once or twice, the pupils meanwhile repeating the word, after which a boy was called to run." Imagine the sensations of a native onlooker who had had no explanation of the purpose of this performance! Perhaps if we were as careful to ascertain the purpose of "barbarous" performances which our students of "inferior" peoples treat contemptuously, as were the keen little Filipinos with Mr. Freer's gymnastics, we might learn something even as they did.

After due allowance for the patriotism of the American school master and the angularity of the school-master mind, Mr. Freer's book may be read with interest and enlightenment as a living picture of a strange people who do not appear after all to differ essentially from ourselves. As the narrative of a teacher's travel and observation in this crown colony of ours it is a readable and useful book.

PERIODICALS

It is to be regretted that The Voice of the Negro (Atlanta) in introducing a just criticism of Thomas Dixon's malevolent books, should have thought it necessary to commend President Roosevelt's wholesale attack upon the expositors of great graft as "muckrakers." Not one of the magazine writers at whom Mr. Roosevelt aimed this ill-considered epithet has exaggerated the facts. From insurance rascalries to packing house putridities, the so-called "muckrakers" have been justified by official investigation.

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