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EDITORIAL

President Roosevelt and the Beef Trust.

Now that President Roosevelt has published the preliminary part of the Neill-Reynolds report on the Chicago packing houses, it is impossible not to sympathize with him in his disinclination to do so. It was his official duty to make the report public, but it was human nature to shrink from the performance of that duty. For this report, which is more convincing than the unofficial exposures, shows a condition quite as revolting.

The Neill-Reynolds report cannot be too highly praised. It bears evidence upon its face of impartial and intelligent investigation, and in manner of statement it is direct, clear, restrained and circumstantial. Every conclusion is supported by an abundance of facts observed by the investigators themselves. These facts are not casual happenings which might be denied or explained or of which the proprietors might plead excusable ignorance; they are descriptive of permanent conditions due to criminal conduct at the top in the management of the business. Even such casual happenings as are reported, are of a kind that would naturally occur in the revolting environment which is described.

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The report is too circumstantial to be met by the general denials which the leading packers are urging, or by the amiable report of the two college professors who upon a superficial investigation overlooked what Neill and Reynolds have disclosed. To overcome the damaging effects of the Neill-Reynolds report, its descriptions of permanent conditions must be refuted as specifically as they are made. Unless promptly refuted in that specific manner and by such evidence as to brand the investigators as willful liars, this report will stand as a demonstration of the unfitness for human food of the products of these establishments. There can be no confidence in the wholesomeness of anything produced in surroundings so filthy.

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Responsibility for Filthy Packinghouse Products.

The Neill-Reynolds report recommends stricter Federal inspection of the processes of the packing house industry. This tendency to place the Federal government in larger and wider control of private vocations, is not a welcome thing; but the interstate and international character of the business necessitates Federal inspection if any governmental inspection at all is required. Such recommendations as that of the New York World are worse than useless. The World wants Mayor Dunne to turn his attention from his municipal ownership policy to the institution of a local investigation of the packing houses. Other critics of national supervision are urging the county prosecutor to indict the packers and send them to prison.

All this would be futile. As grand jurors are now drawn in Chicago—strictly from the business classes—there would be little possibility of indicting the packers for managing their business in the filthy manner in which they do manage it. The nasty condition described in the Neill-Reynolds report has been well known for at least two years in the city of Chicago, but the greatest pains have been taken to hide all knowledge of it—lest Chicago business interests might suffer. The local newspapers have been fully apprised of the facts, but have suppressed them. During the strike at the packing houses the conditions were even worse than now. They were heightened economically by the use of lower grades of labor, morally by the introduction of brothels for the accommodation of the strike breakers, and in sanitary respects by this degrading combination. The conditions were so exceptionally bad at that time that the strike was hastily settled to avoid the imminent risk of an outside exposure such as has now come. The packing house interests have not feared local prosecution or exposure. They are buttressed by all the interlaced financial interests of Chicago, including the newspaper counting rooms. Against this aggregation of business influence and financial power, which has almost successfully defied the Federal government itself, the police power of the city and the criminal machinery of the county would be weak indeed. Both as a matter of the Constitutional relation of the States to the Federal government, and as a matter of possible effectiveness, the regulation of the packing house industry, if there is to be any regulation at all, must be Federal.

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Economic Responsibility for Packinghouse Methods.

There is, of course, one way in which the disgusting management of the Chicago packing houses might be reformed without governmental interference. If the working classes were fairly paid for their work, every one who worked would receive a much larger income than now; and, as a result, every worker would be much more scrupulous about his working environment. Such conditions as are described in the Neill-Reynolds report would be impossible if the employed class were in a position to bargain upon an equality with the employing class. But when workers are plentiful and opportunities for work few, a one-sided competition for opportunities to work sets in which forces the workers to accept almost any

conditions of work, for their alternative is starvation. The natural effect is degrading to the workers; the inevitable result is brutish conditions both in living and in working environments. Governmental inspection may serve some use in improving working conditions. As a dam may hold back the running waters for a time and to a degree, so inspection may slightly check the degrading tendency. But the tendency can be reversed only by removing all possible obstacles to employment. Of this method, however, it is hardly worth speaking; for valuable vested interests, enormous vested interests, profit by such obstructions. And must not vested interests be maintained at all costs and hazards?

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The Bryan Wave.

That a Bryan wave, spontaneous and not manufactured, has set in is unmistakable to unprejudiced observers wherever they look. It is quite as obvious to Republicans as it is to Democrats. The New York Press, for instance, a Republican daily, concedes that "those who are watching the trend of public sentiment are convinced that Mr. Bryan is stronger with the American people to-day than he was at either time he ran for the Presidency, and that his strength increases with extraordinary force." And the Press finds good reasons "for the better opinion which Americans now hold of him than when they twice had the opportunity to vote for him." One of these reasons involves an error not unnatural to a Republican paper of the East. It is Bryan's supposed abandonment of "his free silver fallacy." Mr. Bryan has not abandoned what the Press calls "his free silver fallacy," which consisted in the quantitative theory of money—the theory that the value of money is determined by supply and demand. He was for silver coinage in order to increase the supply of money when gold was scarce; he has not concerned himself about silver recently because the increase in the supply of gold has augmented the quantity of money more than he had hoped for from the free coinage of silver. In other words, nature has supplied the quantity of money in gold which Bryan demanded of the government in silver. To say then, that he has changed his position is a misrepresentation. Aside from this, however, the Press very correctly accounts for Bryan's popularity. "The events of the last ten years," it says, "have proved that most of the charges which he made concerning the special privileges and defiant crimes of the great corporations are true. By bit-

ter experience in their efforts to correct the evils which Mr. Bryan preached were threatening them, the American people have been convinced that the abuses which he related from the stump are more virulent than the free silver candidate himself declared them to be. They have learned that so-called conservative programmes for correcting what is wrong in combinations of capital and in fulfilling the will of the people have failed to do what must be done. All over the country, therefore, the voters are turning to men of more 'radical' principles and methods for the solution of the problems which will not be laid aside until they are settled as public sentiment demands and has the right to demand they shall be settled. It is our judgment that unless a Ryan-Belmont combination can corner the Democratic convention two years from now as it cornered that of two years ago, virtually buying the delegates on the hoof, Mr. Bryan or some one like him will be the enthusiastic choice of the Democratic party; and if Bryan is nominated we have no doubt that he will poll the votes of all those who gave him their ballots in 1900 and hundreds of thousands besides." To the same effect is an editorial of another Republican paper, the Chicago Inter Ocean of the 6th, which foresees that the practical problem for the Republican party in 1908 will be "how to beat Bryan." The Inter Ocean, however, differs as to methods. Whereas the Press would have its party beat Bryan by being more radical, the Inter Ocean would have it "stand pat." But most significant of all signs with reference to Bryan is the action of the Missouri convention of the 5th, which, in obedience to a demand from the people of the counties, names Bryan as the candidate who was defeated by corruption in 1896 and who alone can unite the Democratic party in 1908. Such a union of the party is to be hoped for, for unlike the "union" of 1904, it means union under the leadership of a democratic Democrat.

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The Land Question in Russia.

Although the reports from St. Petersburg emphasize the struggle in the Douma over the land question, there is nothing to indicate that the land question in the form of a true issue has come before that body. The peasants need more land for agriculture, and are demanding a distribution of crown, church, and nobility lands. They are not now demanding individual titles to these lands; what they propose is to add them to the communal lands, the possessory right to which is redistributed at frequent inter-

vals. Through increase of population these redistributions have come to yield to the peasants for cultivation hardly more than seven or eight acres per family, and they are consequently obliged to eke out their meager living by working for large land owners. These are the economic circumstances that have generated the demand for expropriation from the crown, the church and the nobility.

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If successful the demand would probably culminate in a peasant proprietary, resulting from taking the titles to agricultural land away from a landed class and giving them to one branch of the working class. Were that objection raised by the landed class, it would have merit. But it would also suggest the true distribution as an alternative, namely, the appropriation of the rent of all valuable land to common uses and the emancipation of all non-valuable land from monopolization; and this is a suggestion which the landed interests of Russia and everywhere else wish to evade. So the Russian landowners object to the expropriation of their titles as destructive of property rights. What an absurdity! How did they get property rights in the land of Russia? On what theory can any one have property rights in the planet? The logical culmination of such a claim is that a few inhabitants of the earth, or even one, might rightly own the whole earth to the exclusion of everybody else. That is palpably absurd. But it is no more absurd essentially than that millions might own the earth to the exclusion of one. Property rights inhere not in the natural and indispensable source of products, but in the products. Consequently the public policy that destroys property rights is not that which expropriates land from idlers, but that which enables idlers to expropriate products from workers. The latter is precisely what the great Russian landowners do and insist upon doing. They compel the peasants to part with some of their products as the condition of their getting access to the earth in order to produce at all. It is curious to observe the contrast of so much tenderness for the property rights of these idle monopolizers of natural working opportunities, along with so much indifference to the property rights of the busy users of such opportunities. It is highly significant of love of graft.

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The Typical Tax Dodger.

If all real estate observers were as acute and as candid as the editor of the real estate department

of the New York Herald, a very great improvement in our methods of taxation would be immediately possible. In this department, a very conservative one by the way, the observation was recently made—issue of the Herald of March 28—that real estate men are quick to raise an outcry against any attempt to increase real estate taxes. The Herald man realizes that this outcry is either stupid or dishonest, as does almost every one else, but he has the courage to say so and the skill to express himself very forcibly. “They forget,” he says, “that real estate is the direct and inevitable beneficiary not only of all private constructive enterprise, but of every public or semi-public improvement that can possibly be undertaken.” And here he illustrates so aptly that even the fool ought to see the point and the knave to hold his peace: “If Andrew Carnegie were to devote millions to establishing a system by which the streets of New York should all be perpetually kept as clean as a hound’s tooth he would be acclaimed as the benefactor of New York. In reality he would be benefiting only the property owners, who would get increased rentals to represent the value of all the better sanitation and more sightly aspect that Mr. Carnegie had arranged to provide for the city. In the same way every dollar spent on the police and fire department, on sewers, water mains, bridges and tunnels is a dollar directly deposited in the treasury of the property owner, who collects toll for every advantage that adheres to life in this city. Yet the real estate owner thinks it is unfair that he should have to pay the lion’s share of the taxes.” What is true of New York in this respect is true of every city and village in the land. The owners of their sites charge in rents for all the advantages of public improvements. This is proper enough; everybody who shares in these benefits ought to help pay for them. But after collecting this toll the real estate men put the money, not their own money but public money, into their own pockets and then roar like a wounded lion when confronted with a tax law that would squeeze some of this public money out of them.

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This matter has recently come up in a very practical way in Chicago in connection with a movement for establishing a high pressure water system in the business center—beyond question a great improvement in the way of protection from fire. The insurance companies have agreed to reduce rates five per cent. in the affected territory of the city if the improvement is

made, and this alone would amount to \$100,000 annually, or about 7 per cent. of the cost of the improvement. Other advantages would combine with this to increase rental values, especially in the business district, and everybody knows it; yet the business men have tried to get the city to bear the expense, because the site owners whine at a special assessment for the betterment. Of course special assessments are crude and often unfairly imposed, but in a rough way they do fall upon the class that benefits financially by public improvements, whereas general taxation is double taxation for tenants—once for the cost of the improvement and again for the higher rent which site owners exact because of the improvement. Fortunately the city authorities would not listen to the proposition to make landlord interests a present of eight or ten per cent. a year on the cost of this improvement at city expense, and at last the business interests are trying to get the property owners of the district to be specially benefited to submit to a special assessment. It is difficult to reconcile with any rational idea of simple honesty the disposition of the so-called property interests to force others to pay the cost of enhancing their income.

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The Servant Girl Question.

It was an acidulous reply that a working woman delegate to the convention of women’s clubs at St. Paul last week made to a querulous inquiry by a delegate of another class, whose problem seemed to be not how to get a living but how to get servants. Yet we should hesitate to say that the reply was not entirely just and full of wholesome suggestion. The working woman delegate had spoken in behalf of working girls’ unions, when the inquiry came: “We have been ridden to death by the working girl; why don’t you come into our homes where you can get good wages and easy hours, instead of working in ill-smelling shops?” Then came the sharp reply: “Working girls do not intend to run homes for women who are too lazy or incompetent to do it for themselves!” It seems an easy foil to the labor question as it affects women, to ask the complaining women why they do not leave stores and factories and offices for “comfortable homes” as domestic servants. But what would the questioners themselves do if forced to earn wages? It is safe enough to say that nine out of ten would avoid what they themselves regard and treat as the degraded, even if not degrading, vocation of a household servant.

Economical Living.

The household economics committee of the Federation of Women's Clubs is reported to have mapped out a plan for economical living. By elaborate estimates they show how a young man and his wife can live comfortably on \$100 a month. This plan would be ever so much more useful if it were supplemented with one for getting the \$100 a month. When it is considered that only exceptional employes command more than \$20 a week, plans for living on \$100 a month are of limited value.

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The Negro Vote.

Most bitterly does the New York Age, Mr. Fortune's paper, complain of what it regards as the apostasy of Senator Foraker. Among all its surprises of a quarter of a century it heads the list with this Ohio senator's attitude toward the question of forbidding railroad discriminations against Negro passengers. He practically admitted, says the Age, the right of a State to authorize this discrimination and disclaimed any design to interfere. Not only did Senator Foraker apostasize, but not a single friend of the American Negro appeared in the Senate. After this not very original discovery The Age exclaims that the race it represents, although numbering 10,000,000 American citizens—about an eighth of the total population of the Republic—is without one representative in Congress. All this is regarded by the Age as "one of the most remarkable and significant facts in the history of the Federal Republic." Significant it is, indeed; but not remarkable. The reverse of this situation would be remarkable under the circumstances. Why should either party send Negroes to Congress. The Democratic party doesn't want to, and the Republican party doesn't have to so long as it can get the Negro vote on the strength of mere party traditions. When Negro leaders learn how to utilize the fact that the Democratic party (at the North at any rate) would be glad to get the Negro vote, and that the Republican party would be aghast at losing it, they will no longer have reason to complain of political neglect.

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MUNICIPAL OWNERSHIP IN GREAT BRITAIN.

From time to time the beneficiaries of private monopoly favor the American public with reports by "experts" regarding municipal ownership and operation in Europe. Great Britain has usually

been the place for their researches, and, of course, the reports are always discouraging. The latest of these experts is Mr. Everett W. Burdett, a Boston lawyer, who in "The Journal of Political Economy" for May, published by the faculty of political economy at the University of Chicago, tells us a great many things indicating that municipal ownership has in general proven a failure in Great Britain, from which he infers that it would be certain to prove a failure in this country.

It is to the credit of Mr. Burdett that he frankly states in whose interest he went to England last summer to study the question. In doing so he discloses his reason for saying so little about successes and so much about failures. At the beginning of his article he insists upon the inviolability of private property, telling us all that "we must in our own interest, as well as that of the body politic, try to enlighten and educate the honest and intelligent portion of our citizens." "*In our own interest*" implies a great deal; and when reading his report it is well to always keep those words in mind. Mr. Burdett evidently did when writing it.

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The immediate cause of Mr. Burdett's going to England to find out for himself if there were no drawbacks in municipal ownership which could conveniently be used to head off superficial readers of his report from continuing to listen to the advocates of municipal ownership, seems to have been "the great socialistic agitation that is upon us," and the fact, perceived by him, that there is "largely a spirit of destructiveness abroad in the land." He is evidently frightened by the enormous increase of the Socialist vote in the latest Presidential elections; although, it may be safe to assume that Mr. Burdett and the interests he represents are not so much afraid of party socialism as of a true civic awakening, and a true education of the masses of the voters.

The inquiry begins with the specific question of whether or no municipal ownership in Great Britain has been successful. In only one particular does Mr. Burdett admit success, and even here only partly. He admits that the municipalities have furnished equally good service with private corporations for the same or a trifle lower price. But in all other respects there have not been the expected results, and the measure of success, he says, is due only to such conditions as could not be duplicated in the United States. Thus we are asked to assume that municipal ownership in this country would inevitably prove a complete fail-

ure in all respects, and we must conclude with Mr. Burdett that the municipality should mingle in no affairs "other than those which are clearly within the limitations of ordinary municipal governmental functions."

Right here is just where the trouble begins. For although Mr. Burdett may not conceive of municipal governmental functions outside of street-cleaning, asphaltting, and the like, others believe that gas, electricity, and street railway systems are "clearly within the sphere of ordinary municipal governmental functions." Mr. Burdett fails therefore to be convincing in this particular, and we follow him further.

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He dwells largely upon the detrimental effects of municipal ownership in Great Britain. In the first place, he claims, it has hampered and restricted industry, especially checking the development of electrical enterprises. This he proves by completely contrasting the greater electric traction mileage, etc., of this country with that of Great Britain. But if this be good proof, we must conclude that steam railroads are state or municipally owned in Great Britain because there is not less than ten times the mileage of railroads in this country. Yet all steam railroads in Great Britain are owned by private companies, and anyone having traveled in England knows that the private companies do not show such an enormous amount of enterprise, if one compares the accommodations with those offered either in the United States or on the European continent.

There is no doubt of the backwardness of England in industrial matters; but that is equally true of private and of public enterprises and is no valid reason for condemning municipal ownership. The English are conservative by nature, and do not readily adopt new industrial improvements. It would be unreasonable to expect that the municipalities would in this particular take the lead, if private enterprises are not progressive enough to make use of new inventions and improvements. It is unfair to blame municipal ownership for consequences of the inborn conservative nature of the nation.

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Finally Mr. Burdett tells us that political conditions in Great Britain are different from those of this country, and that we could not expect, with our local governments, to obtain even as successful results as Great Britain's, small as these are. That England has a higher grade of city officials, we do not for a minute doubt. But did it ever oc-

cur to Mr. Burdett to inquire into the causes? Is it not chiefly on account of the absence of the corrupting influences for which Mr. Burdett's article is a plea? Could not we also elect a high grade of officials if we were not the victims of a machine rule created by the very public utility corporations which we are requested to nourish? British representatives of the people guard their honor with jealousy; but so, Mr. Burdett, do American representatives—of the people. Representatives of private corporations, however, are not quite so jealous of their honor. They are perfectly willing to trade it for gold. Let us rid ourselves of these corporations, and we shall also rid ourselves of their representatives. Then we can hope for a class of public officials of an equally high grade with that of British municipalities. Then we shall find that even among us, there are true, honest men, proud of public confidence, who will guard their honor even as jealously as any city official in Great Britain.

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Of the mere details furnished by Mr. Burdett in order to prove the failure of British municipal ownership, we shall consider the more important ones.

In the first place he compares the small number of consumers of municipally owned gas and electricity in England, with the number using the same commodities in this country when furnished by private companies. Here, in fact, we have to deal with differing conditions. But the difference is in favor of the United States, on account of the more general prosperity of its population; the small number of consumers in England only indicates the greater inability of the British masses to afford these comforts. As Mr. Burdett admits that municipal ownership has been measurably successful in Great Britain as regards service and fair prices, it may be inferred that it would be still more successful here, where a greater volume of business would decrease the actual expense per consumer.

The enlargement of public functions is another special objection raised by Mr. Burdett. It is true that governmental functions would be more complex; but it is equally true that governmental functions become more complex when a village of a few hundred inhabitants grows in half a century to a city of half a million inhabitants. As there is no such objection to the growth of the city, there ought to be none such to the city's assuming the new governmental functions that result.

As the objections by Mr. Burdett come in the rotation to which we have already become accus-

tomed, we next find that the great indebtedness which the English municipalities have incurred should not be duplicated in the United States. But if the municipality contracts debt, does it not also make an investment which will yield yearly returns? And if all public ownership functions can be made self-supporting, as they plainly can under proper management, how can municipal ownership increase the taxes paid by the taxpayers?

It is queer, the conflicting statements we hear about the paying qualities of municipal ownership in Great Britain. While official statistics usually indicate that the public ownership of public utilities is an important source of municipal revenue in many English cities, Mr. Burdett's article seems to indicate that municipal ownership there has in general been a losing investment. However, we must not forget what Mr. Burdett said about "our own interest" at the beginning of his article.

Mr. Burdett's points are many, and here is the next. He says:

Without private capital and skill new industrial enterprises do not receive that impetus and development which they otherwise would. Private initiative is always necessary. Public officials do not invent, exploit or develop new things, but leave the field of discovery, initiation and development to private persons actuated by the hope of large rewards.

Even if we admit this to be true, to what extent does it influence the success of municipal ownership? Consider for instance the street railways. The great field for development there is the electric generators, motors and cars. None of these would be manufactured or designed by any public officials. Their building would be left to competitive business, and as the municipalities would insist upon buying only the best, just as private companies now do, the inventions and developments would suffer no harm from the incompetence of public officials in designing electrical machinery. If Mr. Burdett believes that the officials of our street car companies are as a rule inventors, and aid in the development of the machines used in their business, he is not as well informed upon technological questions as upon legal. For it is mostly the case that the real inventor is a man working in obscurity in a far off manufacturing establishment; and to all familiar with mechanical industries it is a well-known fact that the patent is not even always secured in the name of the inventor, but in the name of his employer. Thus the objection to officials who do not invent is very distant from the actual question. We who believe in letting the municipality assume its proper

functions, though we do not expect our officials to be inventors, shall nevertheless hopefully expect the municipality to succeed.

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In conclusion let us meet a few statements, which, although undoubtedly true, are misleading. We are told that Glasgow has less than one-third of the mileage of street railways that the company which serves the City of Boston has, although Glasgow has a greater population than Boston. Even if we here disregard the fact that the company serving Boston runs its tracks far beyond the limits of the city, and thus serves a population far greater than that of Boston alone, even if we disregard this, an analysis of the true state of affairs will show us that Mr. Burdett is making a comparison that cannot be made on the basis of population alone. The length of the necessary track depends largely upon the area of the cities, a fact which Mr. Burdett seems to disregard altogether. Glasgow covers an area of less than half that of Boston, and in an area of only one-quarter of that of Boston it has as many inhabitants as Boston. This makes it appear very natural that Glasgow should not have as great a mileage of street railways as has Boston. It does not discredit its municipal ownership in the least.

We are also informed that the municipal plants do not furnish service at any considerably lower price than do private companies. This we do not doubt. In a country where municipal ownership is so well recognized a policy as in Great Britain, the private companies are well aware of the consequences should they try to extort higher prices than are usually charged by the municipal plants. In this connection it may be of interest to know that the price for gas in England varies from 51 to 55 cents per 1,000 cubic feet, according to one statement in Mr. Burdett's article.

It would of course be unfair to deny that in instances poor business management of municipal affairs may result in unexpected financial outcome. But do not we Americans boast that we are the best business men in the world? Should we not then be able to conduct our public business so that what under good management in Great Britain proves a success, would under excellent management by us, prove a greater success?

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I have endeavored in the foregoing to disprove the importance of the objections of Mr. Burdett to municipal ownership. I do not doubt his statements in so far as they pertain to statistics. But he went to England evidently with the intention

of finding the points wherein municipal ownership had failed, and he has blindfolded himself to the instances wherein it has been successful. If we are to believe Mr. Burdett, who went there thus handicapped, we are equally under obligation to believe the men who return from there having seen only the success, and been blind to the failures. But there is one great difference. Mr. Burdett admits that he went "in our own interest" while others who have gone there have gone in the interest of the people, and with unselfish enthusiasm for a great cause. This one great difference alone should be enough to incline the fair-minded to put greater faith in the reports of those who have proclaimed success, than in him who reports failure.

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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 6.

Official Exposure of the Chicago Packing Houses.

President Roosevelt has sent to Congress the first part of the report on conditions in the Chicago packing houses (p. 202), made under his direction. In his letter of transmittal, dated the 4th, Mr. Roosevelt describes the report as "of a preliminary nature," submitted at this time "because it shows the urgent need of immediate action by the Congress in the direction of providing a drastic and thoroughgoing inspection by the Federal government of all stockyards and packinghouses and of their products, so far as the latter enter into inter-state or foreign commerce." He adds that "the conditions shown by even this short inspection to exist in the Chicago stockyards are revolting," and that "it is imperative necessary in the interest of health and of decency that they should be radically changed." He therefore recommends "the immediate enactment into law of provisions which will enable the Department of Agriculture adequately to inspect the meat and meat-food products entering into inter-state commerce and to supervise the methods of preparing the same, and to prescribe the sanitary conditions under which the work shall be performed."

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Eliminating the details, which are numerous and for the most part revolting, the report thus transmitted to Congress is as follows:

We investigated the conditions in the principal establishments in Chicago engaged in the slaughter of cattle, sheep and hogs, and in the preparation of dressed meat and meat-food products. Two and a half weeks

were spent in the investigation in Chicago, and during this time we went through the principal packing houses in the stockyards district, together with a few of the smaller ones. . . . We have made no statement as a fact in the report here presented that was not verified by our personal examination. Certain matters, which we were unable to verify while in Chicago, are still under investigation. The following is therefore submitted as a partial report touching upon those practices and conditions which we found most common and not confined to a single house or class of houses. A more detailed report would contain many specific instances of defects found in particular houses. . . . Abominable as the above-named conditions are, the one that affects most directly and seriously the cleanliness of the food products is An absence of cleanliness was also found everywhere in the handling of meat being prepared for the various meat-food products. . . . The radical defect in the present system of inspection is that it does not go far enough. It is confined at present by law to passing on the healthfulness of animals at the time of killing; but the meat that is used in sausage and in the various forms of canned products and other prepared meat foods goes through many processes, in all of which there is possibility of contamination through insanitary handling, and further danger through the use of chemicals. During all these processes of preparation there is no government inspection and no assurance whatever that these meat-food products are wholesome and fit for food—despite the fact that all these products, when sent out, bear a label stating they have been passed upon by government inspectors. As to the investigation of the alleged use of dyes, preservatives, or chemicals in the preparation of cured meats, sausages and canned goods, we are not yet prepared to report. We did look into the matter of sanitary handling of the meats being prepared for the various food products. The results of our observations have already been partly given. Other instances of how products may be made up and still secure the stamp of government inspection are here given. . . . The lack of consideration for the health and comfort of the laborers in the Chicago stockyards seems to be a direct consequence of the system of administration that prevails. The various departments are under the direct control of superintendents, who claim to use full authority in dealing with the employes and who seem to ignore all considerations except those of the account book. Under this system proper care of the products and of the health and comfort of the employes is impossible, and the consumer suffers in consequence. The insanitary conditions in which the laborers work and the feverish pace which they are forced to maintain inevitably affect their health. Physicians state that tuberculosis is disproportionately prevalent in the stockyards, and the victims of this disease expectorate on the spongy wooden floors of the dark workrooms, from which falling scraps of meat are later shoveled up to be converted into food products. Even the ordinary decencies of life are completely ignored. . . . The neglect on the part of their employers to recognize or provide for the requirements of cleanliness and decency of the employes must have an influence that cannot be exaggerated in lowering the morals and discouraging cleanliness on the part of the workers employed in the packing houses. The whole situation as we saw it in these huge establishments tends necessarily and inevitably to the moral degradation of thousands of workers, who are forced to spend their working hours under conditions that are entirely unnecessary and unpardonable, and which are a constant menace, not only to their own health, but to the health of those who use the food products prepared by them. . . .

The report concludes with extended recommendations for Federal inspection and labeling of products for interstate and foreign commerce.

* * *

The Packers' Defense.

Replying to the President's message and the Neill-Reynolds report, Mr. J. Ogdan Armour called from Paris on the 4th an interview to the Chicago Tribune in which he said:

It is preposterous to believe for a moment that the great Chicago firms with hundreds of millions of dollars

invested in their business are or could be guilty of the sensational charges brought against them. It is obvious it is to their interest to conduct their business in the cleanest and most scientific manner possible, with the best quality of material and the most modern appliances. I know nothing of the conditions prevailing in some small packing houses. No sane man ever would believe the newspaper stories that have appeared upon the subject. The whole of these so-called revelations have been engineered directly by Mr. Roosevelt himself. The truth is that Roosevelt has a strong personal animus against the packers of Chicago and is doing and will do everything in his power to discredit them and their business. The reason is too obvious to require explanation to anybody knowing anything of American politics and American public life. I consider that the system of inspection in the American packing industry is fully adequate, but even supposing that some changes were necessary, do you suppose the best way to go about the matter is to boom it as a newspaper sensation? If what Mr. Roosevelt wanted was only a change and improvement in the inspection system, surely the most straightforward way would have been to tell us so, to have required us to make whatever alterations he thought necessary.

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All the heads of the big packing houses who were in Chicago held an afternoon conference on the 4th. President Roosevelt's report was spread out before them. At the close of the conference a formal statement was given out signed by Armour & Co., Swift & Co., Morris & Co., G. H. Hammond company, Omaha Packing company, Anglo-American Provision company, Libby, McNeill & Libby, and Schwarzschild & Sulzberger, in which the charges of the Neill-Reynolds report were denied. This denial was supplemented by a report made at the instance of the packers by Prof. T. J. Burrill, vice-president of the University of Illinois and chief of the department of bacteriology, and by Prof. H. S. Grindley of the chair of chemistry of the University of Illinois. These gentlemen had made their investigation on the 24th and 25th of May. In the report they say that they have nothing at stake for themselves or for friends or enemies. "No claim is made that this was an exhaustive investigation." Wherever they went they had a competent guide and they went wherever they chose. The report notes that "this is a butcher's, not a milliner's or jeweler's work," and must be judged from its own standpoint. After a description of the conditions, this report concludes:

Briefly, our visit was a very satisfactory one to ourselves, except that the time for such an inspection was much too short. We were previously acquainted with only one man whom we met, a chemist in the employ of one of the companies. He endeavored to aid us to see anything and everything which we chose to inspect, and introduced us to the men who could give us such aid. We spent two days of very active inquiry and observation, visiting selected parts of the plants of four companies. Much difference was found in regard to adaptation for such work in the older buildings, compared with those of more recent construction, and especially in the newer substitutes for wood in the floors. We believe that very desirable improvements could be made in regard to the cleanliness of the persons and clothing of operatives by providing further lavatory facilities and by adopting a suitable working uniform with regulations for laundry work. We saw the value of the present inspection procedure, and hope that these may be extended and improved. The packers themselves seem to favor this, but for this we had only the ideas of managers or superintendents and the experience of the government inspectors. We did not find anything seriously repugnant to cleanliness or wholesomeness in the operations or procedures, neither did we find anything which indicated corrupt business practices or deceit, unless we call

artificial coloring of some products, or the manufacturing of certain compounds without showing the constituents on the labels, by these names. We feel certain that the descriptions published of late, showing horribly uncleanly and unsanitary conditions and practices in these packing houses must be themselves open to wide criticism, though we make no claim to anything like an exhaustive examination of the premises. We are under no kind of obligations to any one in this matter, except for the personal courtesies received during our visit.

* * *

Exposure of New York Central.

The examination of railroad officials before the Interstate Commerce Commission at Philadelphia (p. 202) developed facts on the 5th which reflect upon the New York Central Railroad in much the same manner as those developed last week reflect upon the Pennsylvania system. The facts were drawn out by Edward B. Whitney, the New York lawyer, from E. W. Rossiter, vice-president of the New York Central. Mr. Rossiter admitted that the Beech Creek Coal and Coke company had presented the railroad with 5,000 shares of stock, par value \$100, and that later when the Beech Creek company was merged into the Pennsylvania Coal and Coke company this stock was exchanged for \$1,500,000 worth of stock in the latter company. When asked how the railroad acquired the original stock and whether it paid cash for it, Mr. Rossiter replied that it was given to the railroad in 1901 when the coal company was organized, and that the railroad paid no cash for it, but that it was given for traffic reasons. A contract had been signed by the railroad and the coal company and the stock was given in consideration of the contract. This contract was produced. By its provisions the coal company agreed to mine at least 1,000,000 tons of coal every year, and the railroad agreed to furnish cars equal to that amount of coal annually, exclusive of fuel cars. The railroad further agreed to interest itself in no other coal company excepting the Clearfield bituminous coal corporation. The railroad also agreed to purchase 500,000 tons of fuel coal every year. The Clearfield corporation was a merger of a number of smaller companies owned by the New York Central. These companies supplied only fuel coal to the railroad. The witness stated that the railroad also owned the entire stock of the Gallitzen Coal company, but had an agreement with the Webster Coal and Coke company and the Pennsylvania Coal and Coke company by which the latter operated the mines. The inference drawn at the hearing from this and other testimony was that the New York Central discriminates in transportation facilities in favor of coal companies in which it is secretly interested. In this respect its operations were connected by a "gentleman's agreement" with the Pennsylvania road for controlling the development of coal lands along their lines.

* * *

Labor Riot in Mexico.

Sensational reports were published on the 2d of an outbreak of Mexican workmen against Americans at the Cananea Consolidated Copper mines, in the State of Sonora, Mexico, on the 1st. These mines are controlled by Col. W. C. Greene, one of the objects of Lawson's exposures. There are about

2,000 Americans in the camp and about 20,000 Mexicans, and it was reported that some 45, mostly Americans, had been killed. Martial law was promptly proclaimed, and Mexican troops came upon the scene. The Governor of Sonora brought American volunteers over the line, and American Federal troops were assembled at the line. From later reports it appeared that the killed were 19 and that of these 16 were Mexicans, from which it was inferred in Mexican dispatches that the Americans were the aggressors. The American volunteers returned on the 4th.

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An official dispatch from the American ambassador, given out at Washington on the 4th, stated that the outbreak was regarded by the Mexican authorities as a political demonstration against President Diaz, which had been fomented at St. Louis. Newspaper dispatches of the 5th from St. Louis tended to confirm this statement. As published in the Chicago Examiner of the 6th they told of an organization at St. Louis representing the Liberal party in Mexico, and gave an interview with its secretary, Antonio I. Villareal, who said:

Mexico is dominated by a small ring of politicians of which Diaz is the head. Diaz dictates the election of governors and representatives. Officials have grown fat at the public crib. The governors have been made rich with their families and particular friends, while the poor peasants have been compelled to work for a beggary pittance and remain in ignorance. The Liberal party movement is trying to teach our people what they should do. We are trying to teach them that they should assert themselves and demand fair treatment from their employers. The treatment accorded the Mexican laborers in the mines of Cananea has been unjust, and the Mexican officials, not Colonel Greene, are responsible. Greene was willing to pay the Mexican laborers wages as good as those paid Americans, but the Mexican governor and his clique saw the danger in this. It would mean that the Mexican peasant would leave the farm where the Mexican employer pays 25 to 50 cents a day, and seek employment in the mines, where he could get two or three times as much.

* *

Coal Mine Riot in Ohio.

A conflict between striking coal miners (p. 129) and private troops or guards of the United States Coal company is reported to have occurred at Dillonvale, near Steubenville, Ohio, on the 4th. No one was killed, although two on each side were wounded and several of the guards deserted. A detachment of State troops arrived on the 5th, and the private troops or guards were dismissed.

* *

Woman's Single Tax League.

The sixth annual convention of the Woman's National Single Tax League was in session at Brooklyn, N. Y., on the 29th, 30th and 31st. The opening address was by the president, Mrs. Crosby, and the welcoming addresses by Mrs. Minnie R. Ryan, president of the local club, and Bird S. Coler, president of the Borough of Brooklyn. Mrs. Florence A. Burrell of Philadelphia responded. Papers were read by Eva J. Turner on "One Kitchen for the Whole Block," and Mrs. Isabelle Schindler on Fairhope. John Z. White of Chicago spoke on "The Single Tax." On Memorial Day, at the graves of Henry George and Edward McGlynn, addresses were made

by Sylvester Malone, Alfred J. Boulton and John Z. White. After a banquet at which speeches were made by many representative single taxers, new officers were chosen, Mrs. Minnie R. Ryan being elected president; and East Orange, N. J., was named as the place and May 27, 28 and 29 as the dates for the convention of 1907.

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Prior to adjourning, the convention adopted resolutions calling upon Congress to tax franchises in the District of Columbia; expressing sympathy with the efforts that are being made to illustrate as far as possible the operation of the single tax in the colony of Fairhope, Ala.; rejoicing in the active agitation for municipal ownership; welcoming the political campaign for equal taxation and limited franchises now going on in New Jersey; recognizing in the matter of separation of improvement values and land values a distinct gain in the direction of just taxation; expressing confidence in good results to come from the governmental inquiries into insurance frauds, railroad irregularities and the adulteration of foods, including the revelations concerning the beef trust; noting the agitation and progress of the single tax cause in other countries; endorsing the claim of women to the ballot, and approving the initiative and referendum.

* *

Reform Club Banquet.

A significant political dinner was given at New York on the 2d under the auspices of the tariff committee of the Reform Club. Henry B. B. Stapler presided and the speakers were ex-Gov. Douglas of Massachusetts, Congressman John Sharp Williams of Mississippi, Prof. William G. Sumner of Yale, Congressman Henry T. Rainey of Illinois and ex-Congressman John Dewitt Warner of New York, president of the American Free Trade League. All the speakers were against protection, but Mr. Warner was bolder than the others. Speaking on "tariff for revenue only" he said:

Protection is a respectable form of brigandage, and tariff for revenue only is a tariff so adjusted as to give incidental protection to our manufacturers by duties so balanced against their greed that the government shares with them the taxes their fellow-citizens pay. In fixing such a tariff there is the same temptation to lie, the same motive for bribery, the same premium on trickery, as in the case of a tariff solely for protection.

Letters were read from Grover Cleveland, Alton B. Parker, and Henry Watterson. All were conservative, though in opposition to protection.

* *

Pennsylvania Politics.

The breach in the Republican party in Philadelphia (vol. viii, p. 855) has extended to the politics of the whole State (p. 204), through the nomination at Philadelphia on the 31st of a full State ticket by the Lincoln party, its candidate for governor being Lewis Emery, Jr. The platform advocates new laws for the control of railroads and suggests as a means to this end the appointment of a State commission with powers similar to the Interstate Commerce Commission. It demands "the election of legislators and executive officers who will pass just laws and

enforce them impartially, not only against law breaking individuals and combinations but also and with equal sternness against law defying corporations and their corrupt and faithless trustees and parasites." The regular Republican convention, held at Harrisburg on the 6th, nominated Edwin S. Stuart for governor.

* *

South Dakota Politics.

In South Dakota the Republican convention at Sioux Falls on the 5th came under the control of the "insurgents," who oppose the "stand pat" policy of the "stalwarts." They won on a test vote of 901 to 468. The platform demands an anti-pass law, abolishment of lobbying before the legislature, a primary election law, and popular election of United States senators. Robert J. Gamble was nominated for U. S. senator and Coe J. Crawford for governor.

The Democratic convention at Yankton on the 6th nominated J. A. Stranksy for governor.

* *

The Oregon Election.

Returns from the election in Oregon on the 4th (p. 204) show the election of Chamberlain, the Democratic candidate for governor, by about 2,000 plurality, but the defeat of the rest of the Democratic State ticket by about 5,000. On the direct legislation questions (p. 204) the returns are too indefinite as yet to give figures, but the results seem to have been determined as follows:

An amendment to extend the principle of the initiative and referendum to local, special and municipal laws and parts of laws. Carried.

An amendment to allow the State printing, binding and printers' compensation to be regulated by law at any time. Carried.

An amendment giving to cities and towns the exclusive right to amend their charters, subject to the constitution and criminal laws. Carried.

An amendment giving power to the legislative assembly to propose and submit to the people amendments to the constitution, to proclaim such amendments, and requiring the people's approval before a constitutional convention can be called. Carried.

An amendment conferring upon women the right to vote upon the same terms with men. Defeated.

Prohibition of free passes and discrimination by public service corporations. Carried.

Provision for two corporation license laws. Carried.

Modification of the local option liquor law heretofore adopted on referendum. Defeated.

Popular veto of an appropriation bill adopted by the legislature. Defeated.

* *

Missouri Politics.

At Excelsior Springs, Mo., on the 31st, the Republican State convention nominated W. E. Flintje for railroad and warehouse commissioner, and adopted a platform declaring for a State law providing for the punishment by fine and imprisonment of all persons engaged in or connected with the formation and operation of trusts and monopolies.

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The Socialist party in State convention at Jefferson City on the 31st nominated E. T. Behrns for railroad and warehouse commissioner; and by resolution denounced the imprisonment of officers of the Western Federation of Miners in Idaho.

At the Democratic convention at Jefferson City on the 5th Gov. A. M. Dockery was elected permanent chairman and Rube Oglesby was nominated for railroad and warehouse commissioner. The platform opposes railroad passes, endorses Gov. Folk's administration, and censures President Roosevelt for favoring the present tariff system after declaring for revision, and for retreating on the railroad rate bill.

* *

Bryan as the Democratic Candidate for President.

The Missouri Democratic convention on the 5th was chiefly notable for its attitude with reference to William J. Bryan (p. 158). On the eve of its assembling Gov. Folk said to a group of friends, as reported, that—

it would be a fine thing for Missouri to take the initiative in endorsing Bryan. The people want him for President and I am strongly in favor of the convention going on record for him.

When the convention assembled ex-Gov. Francis addressed it, declaring that the party is no longer divided. In the course of his speech he said:

In 1904, what is known as the conservative element of the Democracy, asked the other faction to support its nominee; to give to it, the conservative faction of the party, the naming of the nominee and the conduct of the campaign. Right magnanimously did what is known as the radical wing of the Democratic party respond to that request. A representative of the conservative element was the nominee of the convention held in our own State. The platform they adopted expressed the sentiments not only of what is known as the radical wing but of the conservatives as well. That nominee and that platform were supported by all factions of the party. You know the result. We are now approaching another Presidential election. Those of us who have been affiliated with the conservative element of the party would not be magnanimous, we wouldn't be true to our own convictions of right, we would be false to democratic principles if we failed to say that we will support your nominee. Throughout this country, wherever Democrats have been assembled, whether within the limits of this State, or on the Atlantic seaboard, or on the Pacific coast, there seems to have been one sentiment concerning the great standard bearer of the Democratic party. I don't believe that that feeling, which in some instances has been given expression to and in many other instances has been repressed with the greatest difficulty, is the result of any collusion between the management of the party and the man in whose favor this sentiment exists. Why, then, should there be this sentiment pervading the hearts and minds of the Democrats of this country? It is because of the record made by the man himself. I have differed with him in the past. I have known him well for twelve years or more, and, although I may have differed with his views of public policy, and his position on economic questions, I never have doubted his integrity, his singleness of purpose, and his loyalty to what he believes is right. To-day as a distinguished private citizen of the United States he is journeying around the world. The consideration with which he has been received by all the governments he has visited shows the estimate which they place upon a typical American. The dignity with which he has received the honors heaped upon him shows the breadth of his mind, shows that he has gained by experience, shows the comprehensive character of his sympathy and demonstrates beyond peradventure his ability to fill any office within the gift of the American people. In uttering these words of commendation, and admiration if you will, I feel that I am doing but simple justice to a man whose every utterance and every act has borne out the truth of what has been claimed for him by his friends—that is, that William Jennings Bryan is a sincere lover of liberty and patriotic citizen of the United States.

The mention of Bryan's name was the signal for great applause. Other speakers gave an equally

warm indorsement. Gov. Folk declared that Bryan would be nominated in 1908, and would be elected. The principles which Bryan advocated in 1896, he said were then considered anarchistic, but now are considered the acme of patriotism. The platform declares that Bryan was defeated by corrupt campaign contributions from the trusts in 1896 and 1900, and after describing him as the greatest American Democrat, demands his nomination and election to the Presidency in 1908 and pledges him the support of Missouri.

* * *

Proposed Reception to Bryan in New York.

Arrangements for a national reception at New York to William J. Bryan upon his return to this country were announced on the 4th upon the authority of William H. Hoge, chairman of the Commercial Travelers' and Hotel Men's Anti-Trust league, who has received a letter from Mr. Bryan, written at Constantinople, in which he accepts the invitation to be present at the reception, which will be under the League's auspices. Delegations are expected from different States. The reception is to be at Madison Square Garden, and Gov. Folk is to be chairman of the reception committee.

* * *

Bryan in Hungary.

At Buda-Pesth, Hungary, on the 1st, a distinguished banquet was given in honor of William J. Bryan, at which speeches were made by Mr. Bryan, Count Albert Apponyi, minister of worship, and Francis Kossuth, minister of commerce.

* * *

Proceedings in the Douma.

After its resolutions censuring the Czar's ministry (p. 206), the Douma has proceeded with its debates, which have thus far been confined to the land question raised by the peasant representatives. Cable dispatches are so colored that it is difficult to apprehend the real situation, but one of the dispatches of the week makes this apparently fair classification of opinion:

The land owners of the central provinces, headed by Prince Volkonsky, together with the land owners of Poland and the western provinces under the leadership of Prince Poniatowski and Baron Ropp, while admitting the necessity for a certain amount of expropriation, take a strong position against division of the big estates, which they contend would mean ruin and they equally oppose the nationalization of land as a step backward. Another group of owners headed by the Constitutional Democrats M. Petrajikki of St. Petersburg and Prince Lyoff of the Province of Tula, advocate expropriation of crown, church and private lands, but assert they never will consent to its nationalization. They believe a state fund for leasing of land would only strengthen the power of the bureaucracy over the peasantry and result in a new form of servitude. The peasants of the borderlands, especially those in the Baltic provinces, although insistent on expropriation, oppose the nationalization of land, believing that this would result in civil war. Several of the Constitutional Democratic leaders, like M. Roditcheff and Professor Milukoff, although supporting partial nationalization, which is included in their project, really believe in private ownership. They say the lease system would be merely temporary. The extreme peasant-workmen group will hear of nothing except the complete nationalization of land and the absolute abolition of private ownership.

NEWS NOTES

—Senator Arthur P. Gorman died suddenly at Washington on the 4th.

—The Wisconsin convention of the Social Democrats at Milwaukee on the 3d nominated W. R. Gaylord for governor.

—The National Business Woman's League met in its second annual convention at the Palmer House, Chicago, on the 6th.

—John C. New, active and prominent in Republican politics since the organization of the party, died at Indianapolis on the 4th.

—The grand jury at Philadelphia on the 2d rebuked the health authorities for imprisoning a whole neighborhood (p. 149) for vaccination purposes because of one case of small pox.

—United States Senator Burton, of Kansas, recently convicted of a Federal offense (p. 181), resigned on the 4th, and Gov. Hoch appointed Foster Dwight Coburn to fill the vacancy.

—The coal strike in Illinois (p. 129) was settled on the 1st by the adoption of the wages scale of 1903. This agreement between the operators and the miners is to terminate March 31, 1908.

—Regular sessions of the 12th convention of the Congress of Religions, organized at the Columbian Exposition in 1893, began in Chicago on the 4th at Lincoln Center, the Rev. Hiram W. Thomas presiding.

—On the 6th an injunction suit was begun at Chicago to restrain the issue of Mueller certificates authorized by the recent municipal election (p. 209). The plaintiffs are Francis B. Peabody, Edwin Lobdell and John McLaren.

—By order of the Idaho court, the trial of the officers of the Western Federation of Miners who were extradited from Colorado (pp. 28, 148) has been postponed and bail refused. The postponement was opposed by the defendants.

—The Democratic convention for Arkansas, held at Hot Springs on the 6th, and the convention of the same party for South Dakota, held at Yankton on the same day, named William J. Bryan for the Democratic candidate for President in 1908.

—The monthly statement of the United States treasury department (see p. 131) for May, 1906, shows the following for the eleven months of the fiscal year ending June 30, 1906:

Gold reserve fund	\$150,000,000.00
Available cash	160,385,376.00
Total	\$310,385,376.00
On hand at close of last fiscal year, June 30, 1905.	292,490,322.46
Increase	\$ 17,895,054.54

—King Alfonso of Spain and the Princess Victoria of Battenberg (niece of King Edward of England) were married at Madrid on the 31st. A bomb was thrown at them from a balcony as the wedding procession passed along the street below. Neither was injured, but many other persons were killed or

wounded by it. Manuel Morales, a Catalonian, believed to be the assassin, shot an officer and committed suicide on the 2d when threatened with arrest. An autopsy is reported to have disclosed a degenerative disease. This is denied by another report.

—The monthly treasury report of receipts and expenditures of the Federal government (see p. 131) for May, 1906, shows the following for the eleven months of the fiscal year ending June 30, 1906:

Receipts—	
Tariff	\$274,898,147.98
Internal revenue	226,456,480.53
Miscellaneous	38,693,005.09
	\$539,547,633.60
Expenses—	
Civil and Misc.	\$113,353,507.14
War	88,960,613.92
Navy	103,505,347.96
Indians	11,973,385.93
Pensions	130,660,016.88
Public works	61,039,098.31
Interest	23,893,285.66
	\$533,385,255.80
Surplus	\$ 6,162,378.80

PRESS OPINIONS

THE PACKINGHOUSE REPORT.

The Chicago Record-Herald (Ind. Rep.), June 5.—That there should be a radical change in conditions will be painfully obvious to every reader of the report. It emphasizes the necessity for a general cleaning up and for a thorough reform in the conduct of certain parts of the business. Its details are so revolting that unless there is speedy assurance of a revolution in methods and some satisfactory legal guaranty for the protection of the public the industry must suffer enormous losses.

Chicago Daily News (Ind.), June 5.—In failing to insist upon cleanliness in their own establishments while reaching across the oceans for the world's markets, the packers have brought down a dreadful storm upon their heads. Their present predicament drives home the lesson that clean profits in business are the only kind that are worth having. The old standards, by which success was supposed to justify itself in giving satisfactory results expressed in dollars, are becoming obsolete. The employer's duty to his workpeople is seen to be a part of his duty to his customers. Now that the people of the whole United States are uniting in a vast consumers' league at the call of the President, insanitary conditions not only in Packingtown but in other industrial hives will have to be remedied with little delay.

The Chicago Examiner (Dem.), June 5.—It challenges contradiction because it tells only what two investigators saw themselves. And that is enough. Everybody who reads the report will sympathize with the investigators who had to look upon such unspeakable conditions of brutality and filth. . . . People in this city have sometimes complained of a turbulent populace. There have been strikes in the packing house district savagely fought and savagely repressed. The eminent gentlemen at the head of the beef trust, with their prosperous associates, have been loudest in their condemnation of the "spirit of anarchy and unrest" which too often appears among the working people of this city. It is time for them to consider who is responsible for this spirit. Is it the workmen, many of whom came to this country expecting to find conditions of livelihood, if not easy, at least respectable, and suddenly discovered that to support themselves they have to submit their wives and their little children to degrading conditions of employment? Or is it the trust magnates who sell diseased meat and who, not content with the profit of that

execrable crime, still further swell their fortunes by treating human life as though it were of no more value than that of the cattle they slaughter?

BRYAN.

Omaha World-Herald (Dem.), May 29.—The democracy of the entire nation are turning to Mr. Bryan more enthusiastically and with greater determination than ever before. They are for him because they have seen his principles vindicated and because they love and trust him for having stood unswervingly by those principles in storm and tempest as well as in sunshine and calm. The only serious contest that may possibly confront the next Democratic convention is whether Mr. Bryan or some one still more radical shall be the nominee.

Elizabeth (N. J.), Times (Dem.), June 1.—Bryan has not gone back to where the people were when he started out upon his campaign of popular education. On the contrary the public, under the influence of the lessons taught by Bryan and others like him, has come forward to assume a position at their side. Nor do the people feel uncomfortable there. What discomforts them most is the present-day situation and its dire forebodings. For a time they were afraid of themselves and the consequences of practicing their Democratic ideals. Since then they have learned to fear those who have exploited them for private advantage.

Chicago Inter Ocean (Rep.), June 6.—Evidence comes from all over the country, in the action of conventions, the utterances of local leaders, and the manifest drift of the body of the party, that Mr. Bryan is still the one national leader of the Democracy. There is little doubt that in 1908 Mr. Bryan will still lead the Democracy, probably as its candidate. Therefore the practical problem for the Republican party is likely to be "How to beat Bryan." Evidently he cannot be beaten by trying to be more radical than he is. . . . Evidently he cannot be beaten by being just as radical. . . . Evidently he cannot be beaten by merely going half way with him. . . . What, then, remains for the Republican party to do? Simply to stand fast in its historic position—to refuse to be stamped into either radicalism or reaction—to stand fast for the interests of all the American people, and especially for the material welfare of the nation. To some material prosperity may seem a base and sordid issue. Yet no great moral question, such as slavery in 1860, or national honor in 1898, confronts us now. Furthermore, the safety and comfort of the people are, after all, the daily business of government and politics, and a nation must be prosperous before it can be anything else.

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 May 29—June 2.

Senate.

The joint resolution as to purchase of material, etc., for the Panama Canal was under consideration on the 28th (p. 7715), and on the same day a conference committee on the railroad rate bill was appointed (p. 7722). On the 29th the postoffice appropriation bill was under consideration (p. 7785), in the course of which a debate on second class mail matter occurred (p. 7792). There was no session on the 30th, and on the 31st the employers' liability bill was taken up. It was further considered on the 1st and passed (p. 7903), after which the Panama Canal resolution was further considered (p. 7903). The committee on privileges and elections reported on the 2d against the retention of his seat by Senator Smoot of Utah (p. 7937), and the Senate then resumed consideration of the Panama Canal resolution (p. 7944), which was passed (p. 7959). Conference reports on the Statehood bill (p. 7959) and the railroad rate bill (p. 7963) having

been presented, private bills were considered and the Senate adjourned to the 4th.

*

House.

The denatured alcohol bill was taken up on the 28th and the Senate amendment concurred in (p. 7745), and on the 29th consideration of the diplomatic and consular appropriation bill was resumed (p. 7870). There was no session on the 30th. On the 31st the diplomatic and consular appropriation bill was again taken up (p. 7852) and passed (p. 7858), after which the postoffice appropriation bill as amended by the Senate was ordered to a conference (pp. 7859, 7863). No business of general interest was done on the 1st, but on the 2d the bill to establish a bureau of immigration and naturalization was taken up (p. 7986). Conference reports on the railroad rate bill (p. 8008) and the Statehood bill (p. 8012) were then presented and the House adjourned to the 4th.

*

Record Notes.

Speech of Representative Smith of Michigan in favor of a postal telegraph (p. 7689). Speech by Representative Landis of Indiana on prosperity and protection (p. 7867). Speech of John Sharp Williams of Mississippi on protection and prosperity (p. 7879).

RELATED THINGS CONTRIBUTIONS AND REPRINT

WHAT HAVE YOU DONE TO-DAY?

For The Public.

What have you done to-day to make this world
A better habitation for the sons of God?
How have you worked, what effort have you made
To bring alleviation to the countless horde
Who, like the humble Nazarene of old,
Have hardly where to lay their weary heads?
What have you done to-day to ease the pain
Of outraged and exploited brain and brawn
Of every land, whose ceaseless, patient toil
Produces all that swells our hearts with pride
Of civilization? What the gracious deed
Or generous thought; what noble sacrifice
Of self can you recall with teeming joy
As yonder setting sun, in sweet repose,
Withdraws its purifying rays and sends
A night of contemplation? What have you,
O man, performed to earn the quiet rest
And pleasant dreams of day's accomplishment?

What have you done to-day to make yourself
A better man, more worthy of the love
Of brother here or Father on the throne
Of Heaven; what display of courage bold
In righteous cause, regardless of the whips
And jeers of fool or knave, have you exemplified?
What mercy have you shown as, in mad race
For earthly things, your vulgar pathway led
O'er stifled souls or bodies weak and sore
Of fortune's derelicts? Have you bethought
That mercy blesses him that gives and him
That does receive? Can you in justice claim
Its chastening balm? O, highest type of all
Of God's creation, glorified and raised
Above the brutes by that most precious gift,
Ennobling reason, can you say to-day
That it has been your sure and faithful guide?
You answer, "No." Then come, 'tis not too late;
Retrace your steps, for there lies heaven's gate.

ELLIS O. JONES.

* * *

THE MISSION OF EVIL.

"You tempt men to sin," said I to the Devil.
"Not so," said the Devil to me. "Men desire the
apples of Sodom, which I give to them, that by eat-
ing, they may find that they are filled with ashes."

"You are a bad paymaster," said I to the Devil.
"I am no paymaster," said the Devil to me, "for it
is written, 'they shall eat of the fruit of their own
way.' I only take care that they do."

"You trouble the world," said I to the Devil.

"Nay, I am the left hand of God," said the Devil.

—Bolton Hall, in The Game of Life.

* * *

A SINGLE TAX ILLUSTRATION.

For The Public.

The objection so often raised by opponents of the single tax, and by new students of the subject, that it is only a theory, or a new issue, and has never been tried, can be easily, plainly and convincingly disproved by citing the case of the proprietor of any large office building.

The owner is applying the single tax completely in his management of the building. The study of this example is a forcible and lucid exposition of what single taxers ask in the management of governmental affairs.

The proprietor of a building rents floor spaces according to their rental value; the more valuable rooms for business, ease of access and sightliness, rent for more than back rooms, small rooms and unsightly rooms opening on a court, etc.

The rent paid is a veritable single tax. For this one rent (or tax) per month (or year) the tenant gets heat, light, water, elevator, and janitor services to keep the halls clean, free, or without any further payment.

The single taxer contends that for a single rent or tax, per year, on the land spaces he occupies, he should and could get water, light, street cars, street cleaning and sprinkling free; and that the scheme is as practicable in the one case as in the other.

The office building is a veritable little city, the halls run like streets by the doors. Many and varied are the industries carried on there. The owner does not come around monthly or yearly, prying into your business or private affairs, auditing your book accounts, noticing the elegance or simplicity of your furnishings, for the purpose of fixing your rent; but the more finely you furnish your rooms, the more likely he is to reduce your rent to induce you to stay, as it pleases him to see his building looking attractive to those who come in on business or other matters, and many a man has had his rent raised to force him to move because of the dirty and slovenly appearance of his offices.

The elevator is a perpendicular street car, to all intents and purposes, to facilitate the transportation of passengers to and from their places of business or of amusement, or for other matters that may call them to the upper floors, but more especially is it put in for the purpose of raising the rental value of the upper or more distant floor spaces. How much rent, think you, would the upper floors bring if there were no elevator in these buildings? No body would take the trouble to climb to the third floor even, to see you.

Then again, think of a man who expected to rent a room cheaply because he had no use for it but

as a dumping room for sweepings, old papers, rags, and broken furniture, much as is now done with vacant lots. He would be thought crazy or foolish, and told that some one else would pay full rent who had use for it, and would not make it a garbage can and fire trap, to menace the lives and property of all in the building; and further, that the rent was needed to help defray the expenses of the building and its accommodations.

If "municipal government is business," as we so often hear, why don't we follow the example of this business man and manage our cities in the same way—by putting a rental value on all land spaces (lots) and taxing them only, to pay the expenses of the city government, and for expenses of streets, sewers, water, light, street cars, etc.; and by exempting improvements, stocks of goods, personal property, etc., as the landlord does?

The expense of running street cars free would be met by the higher tax, or rental value of the lots benefited; and just so with the water mains, light, heat and telephone advantages. And our citizens would be saved time and annoyance by settling all these bills at one time, once a year, instead of having to go to the gas company every month, and stand in line for hours to get to your window, and the same at the water company's, and the electric and telephone company's, besides your visit to the county treasurer once or twice a year.

How it would simplify county business and reduce cost, if the assessor had only a map of the lots and lands to assess from, like the plan of the rooms in an office building. The assessor could be the county treasurer, too, as he would have all the year to make out tax receipts, these containing only one item to consider; and when once on the books there would be very little variation from year to year.

Why don't we do business in a business-like way when we have such a good example to follow as the hard-headed, conservative business man who is the proprietor of an office building?

Denver, Colo.

L. C. LAW.

* * *

WOMAN'S RELATION TO PUBLIC AFFAIRS.

Louis F. Post, Member of the Chicago Charter Convention, in the Columns Controlled by the Women's Organizations of Chicago in the Chicago American of May 5, 1906.

Women have public as well as private duties. They cannot rid themselves of these if they would, and no good woman of intelligence would if she could. But public duties can be performed in only one of two ways: either by means of public persuasion and through civic action necessitating the ballot, or by private persuasion and through personal influence exerted in the irresponsible capacity of a non-voter.

Many disfranchised women try to perform their public duties in the latter of these two ways, and all women are urged to do so. Adversaries of woman suffrage urge it as the only way. Women are to solicit, with sweet smiles and engaging frowns, the votes of fathers, brothers, husbands, sons, friends, and dependents, and as mothers to

build up the state by molding the civic character of embryonic citizens.

But how can women fitly solicit the votes of voters, if unfit to vote themselves? Or if the mere vote would burden them unduly? Or if it be "infra dig." for them to vote?

And how can they efficiently mold civic character in the young, if denied other than academic opportunities for molding their own civic character?

The only dignified and effective way for women to perform their public duties is through the responsibility of the ballot. This is also the only way in which most women can qualify themselves to rear worthy citizens or to influence political opinion and action worthily and with propriety.

For as a rule it is only as they face the responsibility of considering and deciding public questions authoritatively that they can practically familiarize themselves with civic principles or become intelligent critics of civic policies and competent teachers of civic life for the young. This is not because they are women; it is because they are human.

So the question resolves itself into this:

Shall women participate at all in civic life and civic thought and the development of civic character and progress?

If the answer be negative, then let women hold their peace entirely on public matters; if it be affirmative, then invest them with the only known method of authoritative expression, which is the ballot.

* * *

STATE AND MUNICIPAL OWNERSHIP IN SWEDEN.

VII. CONCLUDING REMARKS.

For The Public.

In preceding issues the plain facts regarding state and municipal ownership in Sweden have been put forth. We have seen that government ownership is no recent experiment. We have seen that it can be conducted so as to prove a financial success. We have seen it extended to practically all the various public utilities which have a tendency to become improper private monopolies. We have seen how the government's services can be rendered for a very small compensation with no loss to the national or municipal treasury. In short, we have seen that state and municipal ownership has actually proven to be all that its advocates in this country claim for it.

There is no good reason why the success of a European country should turn to failure in this country. The defenders of private monopolies tell us that conditions here and in Europe are so different. Most of those who tell us so have very likely no clear idea of European conditions. All they know of Europe is either from the superficial impressions of a traveler, or from the columns of the encyclopedia. In fact, conditions in Europe and here are not so different after all. Human nature is pretty much the same everywhere, and what differences there are consist more in degree than in kind. Those who thus defend inequity often base their defense upon this alleged difference of conditions, and they particularly love to refer to the "free institutions of the United States," as if freedom were an obstacle to a

more satisfactory solution of the ownership of public utilities. As to the free institutions, let us not forget that Europe does not lack altogether the presence of true, genuine democracy. Let us not forget that Switzerland and Norway are European countries and that although those countries are small in size, power and population they teach a lesson in democracy to the world. The talk of the different conditions can stand no close criticism. We all know that there can be no fundamental difference, and the objection raised on this ground without specifying what these differences actually are, is really hardly worth mentioning at all, were it not for the fact that the expression "differences in conditions" has become a most universally believed phrase.

Then we have the objection by so-called patriots, who object on the ground that government ownership is not a purely American idea. To them nothing is worth while which cannot be traced back to an American origin. They will accept anything if it can be proven to be American, but reject everything which is not so. This statement may seem exaggerated, and it may be so in words, but truly the spirit indicated is no uncommon occurrence. Tariff, for instance, has been defended on the ground that it was an American idea. In fact, of course, tariff is as old as history. But the belief that it is American has given the system an increased prestige.

With government ownership would follow greater publicity of what are now commonly termed private affairs. This is claimed to be un-American. Americans, it is said, want to be permitted the freedom of secrecy of private affairs. Certainly! But what are their strictly private affairs? Can any matter, the publicity of which would be necessitated by the government ownership of what is properly public property, be considered as a private matter, entitled to considerations which private matters naturally have a right to claim?

We have a right to be proud of our country and our government, whether we are Americans by birth or by free choice. But this does not mean that we should reject any lesson given to us by the actual experience of any other nation. True patriotism should tend to make us eager to collect the best of the institutions of all nations, and frame all into a perfect whole in our own government. It is a fatal mistake, common to many reared in false patriotism, to think that our country needs no improvements, because it has always been considered as taking the lead. Our institutions can never be too perfect, and we will never be so clever that other nations will have nothing to teach us. Let us bravely admit where we are behind, and try to improve. Let us be proud of where we are ahead, and continue to forge ahead. That is true patriotism.

The objections of those who disbelieve in republican forms of government by their insinuation that honest men cannot be found for public office have been met in former articles. Their views are so hopeless as to eliminate them from all optimistic discussion of the possibilities of the future democracy.

Finally, we must consider the fear of those who admit the propriety of government ownership, but think that the indebtedness incurred by the purchase of existing private monopolies would be a burden to future generations. This is a thoughtless

view. An increase of the outstanding debt of the nation or the community, is fatal only when it is not followed by a proportionate increase in property. But in the case we are considering, the property would increase, and the nature of the property would be such as to be a blessing for future generations, rather than otherwise.

To prove the possibilities of government ownership we have taken Sweden for an example. We could have taken many another European country, but we could not perhaps have found any other where almost all the proper functions of the government are so well proportioned and exemplified as in the case we have examined. The government of Sweden has in this particular reached a high standard of perfection, although we willingly admit it is far from perfect in a number of other particulars. But this does not now concern us. Our object is to acquire the best, and reject the less good. We can do so only by studying what other nations have accomplished. No prejudice and no false patriotism must enter into our investigation. If we proceed along the lines indicated we shall some day be the creators of a freer and greater America; we shall be able to call ourselves a free nation in a higher sense than now. We will be a "world power," but not by the "glorious feats of our arms," and we shall have collected all the crystals of the true democracy of our sister nations into one glorious crown, with which we shall crown our king—Justice.

ERIC OBERG.

* * *

THE MAN WITH THE MUCK RAKE.

Portions of a Sermon Delivered by the Rev. Thomas P. Byrnes, of the First Unitarian Church of Erie, Pa., May 13, 1906, as Reported in the Messenger-Graphic, of Erie, Pa.

And Nathan said to David, Thou art the man.—II Samuel xii-7.

This is the text that is usually chosen when a particular sinner in the church is to be hit, and hit hard. This text is often commended to the preacher as an example of direct preaching.

Nathan had told David of the rich man who stole the poor man's only lamb with which to furnish his table for the entertainment of his guest. The story touched David, and he threatened the guilty thief with death.

Then it was that Nathan turned upon David, and with dramatic effect said: "Thou art the man"; thou art the thief who stole the poor man's lamb; you are the sinner before God and man.

This method of Nathan's brings up the question of the place and value of the public condemnation of special sinners and wrongdoers.

This whole subject is now before the American people because we have had a season of Nathan's kind of preaching, and because we have a whole brood of Davids who are squirming and wriggling under these modern Nathans' roastings and lashings.

Many kind-hearted people already think that this method of Nathan, of saying to the sinners of our time, "Thou art the man," has already gone too far, and a demand for a let-up is being called for, especially by the big sinners and their friends.

This question has been especially brought up for

discussion because President Roosevelt, in his now famous "Man with the Muck Rake" speech, has made a mild protest against the modern Nathans who have been lashing particular sinners and wrongdoers. The main interest in this speech has been due to the conviction in many minds that the President has seen fit to condemn in a public speech these men and women who have recently been engaged in what is called the campaign of exposure.

President Roosevelt's main contentions in his speech, as I understand them, are that real wrongdoers and corrupters of the public welfare ought to be condemned and exposed, but that the truth only should be told; that good men ought not to be slandered; that the picture ought not to be overdrawn, and made too dark; that confidence in human nature ought not to be shaken, and that the securing of good men for the public service ought not to be made difficult because of the unjust criticism they will be subjected to. With these propositions every sane and fair-minded man will agree.

But in order to agree with the above propositions must we condemn the men and the women who, with high purposes and for the sake of the public welfare, have exposed particular wrongdoers and who have thrown the limelight of publicity upon the sore and ugly spots in our political, social and business institutions?

While the President's address was on the whole sound and wholesome, yet it has been misinterpreted in many quarters, and it has been used as a text to condemn the well-intentioned exposers, to call a halt on the Nathans of our time; it has been used as a plea for leniency and charity for the persistent violators of the moral law, the corruptors of the public welfare, the daily plunderers of the people. It has been used to call a halt upon the greatest moral crusade of our time, to cast discredit upon the best piece of national moral cleansing our country has had since the abolition movement, to cast discredit upon a work that has turned the tide of moral sentiment in our country, and toned up our whole political, social and business civilization.

I protest against these men being called "muck rakers," for they have done a helpful service to our country, and toned up the moral atmosphere of our time.

We are told that a halt should be called upon this campaign in the name of decency and Christian charity. We are told that these so called "muck rakers" have outraged the common sentiments of our humanity in their merciless condemnation of men and measures.

Well, as a Christian preacher I recognize the place of kindness and charity in human life. It is the proper sentiment in our individual relation with our fellows. Made as we all are of the same clay, cast as we all are in the same mold, living as many are in glass houses, it becomes us to be kind and charitable to our fellow men and women. But charity should not be one-sided, nor narrow in its expression. To whom shall we be charitable, to the robber or to his victims?

Charity to the plundered people of America has required this merciless exposure of the brigands who were plundering them.

The men and women who have carried on this campaign of exposure are in good company, for it

will be time to say that they have been too severe when it is first proved that the Man of Nazareth was too severe when he told the Pharisees to their teeth that they were "whited sepulchers filled with dead men's bones."

But this plea for leniency is based upon another and less justifiable reason. It is based upon the plea that the men and interests attacked are great and powerful. It is based upon the assumption that great sinners ought not to be subject to such mean and vulgar attacks. This is the assumption, else why this plea for leniency for great public men, great heads of corporations, great captains of industry, who are daily breaking the law and living in entire disregard of the Ten Commandments? Are these immunities and safeguards the legitimate rewards of wealth and greatness, so that it is to be understood that when men reach the sacred circle of the powerful few they are to be above the laws of the land, above the binding restrictions of the moral law, above the requirements of fair play and all the just rules of the game?

We have heard no such plea for common sinners, no charges of "muck raking" against those who expose the petty pilfering of small thieves, no great campaign to protect from just condemnation the vicious classes in the common walks of life. No, not in the whole history of humanity has a man been called a "muck raker" because he exposed the wrongdoing of the weak and defenseless.

This is the most outrageous privilege of all in an era of special privileges, the one that is the greatest menace to a democratic civilization, the special privilege of being immune from the law, above the law and the moral standards of the time.

So, I say, in this whole question of justice and public condemnation, let there be one law and one method for all alike, one moral standard for all classes, one system of justice for rich and poor, high and low. Here as well as in every realm of the social order should be applied the good old Jeffersonian principle of "equal rights for all, special privileges for none."

+ + +

INTELLIGENCE OF THE NEGRO.

An Open Letter from General Hermann Lieb to the Hon. Chas. Francis Adams, on the Latter's Article in the Century for May, 1906, Denying the Possession by the Negro Race of Inherent Powers of Development.

For The Public.

My Dear Sir:—

It may appear presumptuous to challenge the statements and conclusions of a statesman and literateur of your national renown. Still, since the issues you have raised in your communication to the Century Magazine are of such transcendent importance, both to the Negro population of this country and to our republican fundamentals, I feel it my duty to throw my light weight on the side of fair dealing.

The saying that "the Negro has never been given a chance," may appear to you, after a short visit to Africa, as "the sheerest of delusions"; but it is, in my humble opinion, nevertheless a "self-evident truth," which cannot be lightly sneered away.

The geographical isolation of the African continent and its marvelous expanse; the prehistoric system of human slavery, sanctioned by usage, human greed and cruelty; but, mainly, the facile excuse of a black skin, are facts of sufficient force to prove the truth of the saying.

I believe it may be accepted as a maxim that if a given number of Negroes have achieved equal prominence in the field of human endeavor with that of individuals of any other race, the race, as a whole, is capable of the same degree of civilization, and the greater or smaller number excelling in any race depends on liberty, environment and opportunity.

It will hardly be necessary for me, since you are probably more familiar with the facts than I, to enumerate the Negroes who stand to-day before the American people as eminent professors, physicians, jurists, etc.

I only desire to recall to your mind the historic figure of Francois Toussaint L'Ouverture, the pure Negro slave, hero, and liberator of Hayti, who fell a victim to white civilization, white perfidy and white barbarity more than a hundred years ago.

But I will not further digress.

Since I have learned you once commanded a Negro regiment I may address you as a comrade in arms, starting with my experience with Negroes in the army.

In the early part of 1863 the main portion of Gen. Grant's army for the reduction of Vicksburg was camped about twenty miles above that stronghold on the Louisiana side of the river, at a place called Milliken's Bend. Some time in April Gen. Lorenzo Thomas, adjutant general of the U. S. army, arrived at the Bend with orders from President Lincoln for the organization of colored troops.

The outlook for such an innovation was not propitious by any means. The sentiment all through the army was much like that expressed by you in the Century, and if that sentiment did not manifest itself conspicuously it was due to Gen. Thomas's threat that opposition to the President's policy by any officer, high or low, would be visited by immediate dismissal.

Being as far from racial prejudice then as now, and heartily in sympathy with the President's order and eager to demonstrate that all the clamor raised about the "d— Nigger" was based upon the most stupid prejudices, I resigned my position of Major in the Eighth Illinois Infantry and accepted the colonelcy of one of these regiments.

No difficulty was encountered in securing the necessary number of officers, but colored recruits were scarce; and as the army was moving to the front, most of the available Negroes had been enlisted in the pontonier corps. Also, as two other regiments were being organized, the prospect of completing my own was not encouraging.

Under the circumstances, I obtained permission, accompanied by two of my officers, to follow in the wake of the army, moving up within ten miles east of Grand Gulf, some fifteen miles below Vicksburg. Meeting with my old friend, Gen. John D. Stevenson, commanding the 3rd Brigade of Gen. Logan's Division, of which my former regiment, the 8th Illinois, formed part, I told him that recruiting Negroes was my object.

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"The devil," he replied in disgust. "We shall have a fight in a day or two. You've just come in time to take charge of the skirmishers of my brigade. Your officers can do the recruiting."

I readily assented provided permission from Gen. Grant could be obtained. That was easily procured. Sure enough, two days later the battle of Raymond was fought. There, and in all succeeding engagements, at Jackson, Champion's Hill, on to the assault on Vicksburg on the 22d of May, I had charge of the skirmishers. The day after that unsuccessful attempt I returned to my command at Milliken's Bend.

My two officers had done splendidly; my regiment now numbered some 350 able-bodied colored men, while the two other regiments had done as well, bringing the total force to some 1,100 men, of which as senior officer present I assumed command. Our armament consisted of very indifferent Austrian muskets, but the officers with untiring zeal had brought the recruits, all of them raw plantation hands, to an efficiency in four and six weeks' drill which could not have been surpassed by white recruits.

On the 7th of June we were attacked by about 2,500 Texas rangers and 200 cavalry under the command of the Confederate Gen. McColloch—Gen. Taylor's army—which ended, after an unprecedented slaughter, with the enemy repulsed, our loss being 12 officers and 90 men killed, and 17 officers and 268 men wounded—the highest percentage of loss in battle on record.

In his official report of that battle the Confederate commander, McColloch, says: "The line was formed under a heavy fire from the enemy, my troops charging the breastworks. This charge was resisted with obstinacy by the Negro portion of the enemy's forces, while the white portion ran like whipped curs almost as soon as the charge was ordered." In this latter stricture McColloch probably meant a detachment of white cavalry, as an Iowa regiment was sent to our assistance and did good service. But that battle has gone into history, and the question, "Will the Negro fight?" was then and there settled for good.

Having been wounded, I obtained leave and went North. Upon my return early in July I found orders from Gen. Grant to report at headquarters. Boarding the same steamer that brought me down, I met the General next day. He received me very cordially and effusively complimented the officers and men for the gallantry they had displayed at the Bend, finally instructing me to reorganize my regiment into one of heavy artillery for the defenses of Vicksburg. A steamboat was placed at my disposal to proceed to Natchez, where a large camp of Negro Contrabands offered a splendid opportunity for recruiting the regiment to the full standard of 1,800 men. I secured about 500 volunteers whom I took to Vicksburg. The remnant of the 9th Louisiana Infantry at Milliken's Bend was added, and the new organization, under the designation of 5th U. S. Heavy Artillery, Colored, I promptly took in hand. While the new line of fortifications around Vicksburg was being erected by my force, under Gen. Grant's chief engineer, I was looking out for an additional supply of colored recruits for the complement of the regiment. I was informed that Gen. Sherman, who had pursued the

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Confederate forces about Jackson into Alabama, was expected to return to Vicksburg with a great number of Contrabands. Gen. McPherson insisted I should have the pick. Their arrival caused a general turnout of citizens and garrison through which the endless cortege passed. Such a sight was never seen since the exodus of the Jew from Egypt. Hundreds of vehicles of the most varied description, from the mule cart to the family equipage of their former masters, loaded promiscuously with women and children, household and kitchen furniture, while their male protectors, not so naked as you saw them in Omdurman, but just as dirty and uncivilized, marched in file on both sides of the caravan. In apparel they presented a most laughable spectacle, the majority in bedraggled plantation clothing, some with boots, some in shoes, most barefoot, in parts of Confederate and Union uniforms, a few here and there with stovepipe hats, caps, or colored handkerchiefs on their heads; in short, the whole cavalcade could not be better characterized than by calling them a lot of black savages returning from a pillfering expedition.

From this motley crew the army surgeons selected a sufficient number of recruits to fill my regiment to the full quota. After a bath in the Mississippi, with a scrubbing with brush and soap, and after shearing off their braided curls, they were given their military outfits and enrolled in one of the twelve companies. Clad in Uncle Sam's uniform, their physical appearance was all the most critical could wish, and after a few weeks' drill, the company officers were unanimous in their opinion that never had they met with a body of white recruits more willing and more amenable to military discipline than these lately collected half-savages from Alabama. They all had heard of the fine conduct of their comrades at Milliken's Bend, and now met their white brothers in arms with the proud feeling of equality. But to make out of this material an effective military force was not the end of my aims. They had enlisted for three years, at the end of which time they would be thrown out into the more or less prejudiced world, to stand upon their own feet. I felt that I was upon trial as much as these half-civilized recruits. After a consultation with my officers I resolved to impart to all of these Negroes as much elementary education as would be required for a discriminating American citizenship. A number of carpenters were selected from among them to erect a commodious school house; through the aid of the commanding general of the post of Vicksburg, a bevy of school ma'ams was secured from the North; the chaplain was charged with the superintendency, and shortly all the school rooms were in full operation.

Had you, Mr. Adams, witnessed the joy of these Negroes at the prospect of getting an education, their alacrity to get to their school rooms; had you seen them stretched on the grass on the slopes of the fortifications, the first reader in hand, intent upon solving the educational question, you would have spared yourself a trip to Omdurman to ascertain what the Negro would do if given a "chance," and you would have retained the confidence of thousands of your admiring friends which your cruel and absolutely uncalled for impeachment of an unfortunate race has estranged.

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In "Free America" I show how all this is just what was to be expected and how it would be a puzzle and an inconsequence if there were only so much graft as we know of yet. I find no discouragement in this at all, but the contrary.

The book costs, postpaid, 25 cents in paper or 75 cents in cloth. If you buy it in consequence of seeing this ad., and are dissatisfied with it, say so and send it back to the publishers, The Public Publishing Company, First National Bank Building, Chicago. I have authorized them to refund, at my expense, the price they got for it.

BOLTON HALL

Look at the noble work of Booker Washington! He does not raise up inventors, but he imparts to his scholars the primal instruments for intellectual progress. Few professional men will leave his school, but all are fitted for some useful trade or occupation, most of them as skilled agriculturists. That is all there is to your Negro problem, so called. As Carl Schurz aided in founding this noble institution, and also the one at Carlisle, cannot you with your knowledge and wide influence assist in promoting and extending such institutions? You would earn the blessing of millions of your Negro countrymen, and would feel as proud as I do to-day of my work from having the consciousness of imparting to 1,000 raw plantation hands the rudiments of an elementary education before their muster out of military service in the United States army.

In addition I wish to state that with the aid of a German band master, I organized a brass band of musicians, the proficiency of which challenged the admiration of all privileged to hear it—the army inspectors from Washington included.

I was convinced that it would be of great use if this finely drilled regiment could be kept in the service, as I believe the army is a civilizer. With this view in mind, I went to Washington shortly before our muster out, and saw General Grant, then acting Secretary of War. "I agree with all you say," said the general. "I know all about your regiment, but it would require an act of Congress." And so my splendid regiment broke up and turned to the task of earning a living, for which they had been fairly prepared.

H. LIEB.

+ + +

KINDERGARTEN STATISTICS.

"Suppose," said the wise orator—"though 'tis a thought stupendous—
Suppose a baby one year old, with arms of the tremendous
Length of 93-odd million miles,
Should, in a freak of fun,
Reach up and touch the sun.
That child would be
253
Years old,
I'm told,
Before it learned
Its hand was burned."

—Liverpool Post.

+ + +

"You say that the sun rises at 5 o'clock now in the country?"

"Yes, about then, and one minute earlier each morning."

"Just to think, and is it light enough to see it?"
—Brooklyn Life.

+ + +

It is not often that one finds a colored man acting in the capacity of mayor of a city of 208,000 inhabitants, yet when I visited Toronto, Canada, not very long ago, I found that for two months during last summer a Negro had occupied that position while the regular Mayor was absent in Europe. The man to whom I refer is the Hon. William P. Hubbard, President of the Board of Control, which in Toronto is the Mayor's Cabinet. As the highest officer in the

Why is Russia on the Brink of Revolution?

To understand, read

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GULLIVER AND THE LILLIPUTIANS.

The Trusts seem to own Congress, the Senate, and the courts, but their power is as nothing compared to that of the American people aroused.

Cabinet, Mr. Hubbard becomes acting Mayor when the regular Mayor is away.

—Booker T. Washington.

BOOKS

MAN AND THE OTHER ANIMALS

The Universal Kinship. By J. Howard Moore, Instructor in Zoology, Crane Manual Training High School, Chicago. Published by Charles H. Kerr & Co., Chicago.

That all the inhabitants of the earth are related, physically, mentally, and morally, is the theme of this book, its chief purpose being to prove and interpret the kinship of the human species with the other species of animals. To attempt in restricted space to present the argument for this conclusion would not be fair to the author. It is enough to say, perhaps, that it is the "scientific" argument for evolution from protozoa, through worms, reptiles, and apes, to man.

The chain of proof is not strong in every link, and one might be pardoned a suspicion that here and there a link is missing. But what discredits the theory most is not the weakness of the evolutionary chain, but the conclusion, by no means peculiar to this author but characteristic of his evolutionary

school, that proof of evolutionary progression from protozoa to man is equivalent to tracing man's origin to protozoa. No proof of that progression, however perfect, would warrant the conclusion. The proof must go further and show how evolutionary progress is possible from inferior to superior grades without the aid of some force which, though operating upward along the evolutionary path, possesses originally all the potentialities of the highest attainable point.

As water does not rise above its source, but will rise to the level of its source from a lower level to which it has descended, so it would seem that human development could not proceed from protozoa as its source, but might proceed through protozoa from a higher source. One might agree with Mr. Moore in holding that man is "a promoted reptile"; the difficulty is in believing that the reptile did the promoting. In other words, while evolution from lower to higher, as an original process, does not seem like a rational conception, evolution from lower to higher as a process secondary to involution from higher to lower would be a rational conception. But if Mr. Moore's scientific school were to concede involutionary force as a prerequisite to the evolutionary process, they would get perilously near to conceding a spiritual hypothesis.

So much for the controversial aspects of Mr. Moore's book, which is controversial in spirit from

cover to cover. Its scientific excellence we do not venture to consider. The author is, however, undoubtedly competent as a scientific student in the zoological field; and his book is reputed to be a fair condensation of the argument for evolution by natural selection. It is certainly rich in its collection of data and attractive and readable in presenting the theory. Nor should it be inferred that the author occupies a position of absolute negation toward the idea of spiritual origins. In his sense of kinship with the lower animals and his sympathies for man as well, he rises higher in the spiritual scale than many an author who makes spiritual pretensions. And in turning to sympathy rather than self-interest as the substance and only sure basis of morality he indicates the possession of an ethical sense which, whether it originated down in protozoa and was cultured by worms and promoted by reptiles, or descends from an ethical source higher than all physical forms, has the stamp of genuine spirituality.

BOOKS RECEIVED

—*Shifting Scenes*. By George Edgar Hobson. Published by Arthur C. Fifield, 44 Fleet St., E. C. London. Sold by The Public Publishing Co., Chicago. Price \$1.00. To be reviewed.

—*The Teeth and Their Care*. By Thaddeus P. Hyatt, D. D. S., Member Second District Dental Society of the State of New York. Published by the Author, 44 Court St., Brooklyn. Price 50 cents; postage, 5c; popular, yet scientific.—A monograph of elementary principles and facts regarding the teeth and their intimate relation with the structure of the whole body.

PAMPHLETS

Oscar L. Triggs's little story of William Morris (Triggs Co., Chicago) is a biographical sketch of Morris and an explanation of the man and his career by an admirer whose pleasing pen makes the story very attractive.

PERIODICALS

The Review of Reviews for May contains an extraordinarily accurate and judicial review of Mayor Dunne's administration with special reference to the traction question. It is at once the fullest and fairest report of the Chicago situation yet published in the East.

Like a joke of Fate, James Creelman's "impartial tale," in which he pictures the rise of the Pennsylvania Railroad system "from the confusion and corruption of government ownership and operation," appears in the June Pearson's just in advance of the revelations of confusion and corruption in the Pennsylvania Railroad under private ownership and operation, which the Interstate Commerce Commission is making. This was an inopportune time for the Pennsylvania to get found out; and as Mr. Creelman writes avowedly for the information of "demagogues and bewildered writers," he may find in his article wholesome food for his own thought.

THE CENTENARY OF THE BIRTH OF WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON IS MARKED BY THE PUBLICATION OF THE NOTABLE BOOK

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This little volume will serve an admirable purpose. The author has succeeded remarkably in packing into a small compass the substance of the life and work of the great anti-slavery leader, and has made the book as fascinating as a piece of high-class fiction.—*The Advocate of Peace, Boston*.

Mr. Crosby has written a wholesome book for the times, and we hope that it will have a wide reading.—*The Dial, Chicago*.

A daring challenge.—*Unity, Chicago*.

The book is rich in quotable passages, and for those who can enjoy a skillful argument waged upon a strictly unconventional point of view, it makes uncommonly lively reading. Since the author is always so terribly in earnest, his style is trenchant and vigorous, and "Garrison the Non-Resistant" is an example of this strenuous peace maker at his best.—*The Philadelphia Record*.

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THE CIVIC EFFICIENCY OF THE EDUCATED CLASS, by Henry Mitchell Whitney, A. M. A paper of more than ordinary interest and value to thoughtful friends of the Republic, the author of which is a fundamental thinker and a man of unusual broad mental vision.

ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE: A STATESMAN AFTER THE ORDER OF LINCOLN. An exceptionally fine paper by William Kittle, Secretary of the Board of Regents of Normal Schools of Wisconsin. The author is thoroughly acquainted with his subject and has followed Mr. La Follette's political life with deep and critical if sympathetic interest.

BRITISH EGYPT, by Ernest Crosby, late Judge of the Mixed Tribunal at Alexandria, Egypt. In this paper the well-known author gives a striking and authoritative survey of the historical events which led up to Great Britain occupying Egypt.

STATE-OWNED SAVINGS-BANKS, by G. Cooke Adams, M. D.

J. N. ADAM: A MUNICIPAL LEADER OF THE NEW TIME. An editorial sketch of the Mayor of Buffalo, another high minded municipal leader.

DIRECT PRIMARIES, by Ira Cross.

THE FEMINIZATION OF THE HIGH SCHOOL. by William Lee Howard, M. D. The author's attitude is that of a scientific student of physiology and psychology, and in this paper he antagonizes the unequivocal position which has been taken by many prominent educators in our leading institutions.

THE SOCIALIST PROGRAMME, by Edward Slade. An admirable paper that will give the general reader an intelligent conception of just what Socialism the world over means.

A PRIMER OF DIRECT-LEGISLATION.—Chapter II.—The Initiative, by Leading New World Authorities on Direct-Legislation.

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