

bills, what can I advise republican newspapers to do except what, in substance, I advise democratic newspapers to do? All I can say to republican newspapers is this: "Stick to your party and make it democratic in the good old Jefferson and Lincoln sense. Drive out your monopolists. Drive out your trusts. Put your corrupt bosses out of business. Stop writing your editorials in bank parlors and plutocratic clubs. Stop selling your advertisers anything but advertising space. Take your editorial conscience out of the money market. And then pound the democratic party without mercy for everything in it and about it which isn't democratic.

The fight between republican newspapers and democratic newspapers ought to be for the promotion of democracy. Each side should pound the other side for not being democratic enough. That would be an ideal situation in American politics.

And now you may ask: What about democracy and the independent press. Well, a lecture on the independent press would have to be like that famous lecture on snakes in Ireland. There is no independent press.

The third party papers are not independent. They are partisan to the last degree. For pure, unadulterated, unyielding devotion to party organization, as if a party were a principle, and no matter how small the party—in fact, the smaller the party the greater the partisanship—for the very original Jacobs of a partisan, commend me to your third party editor or organizer. Mind you, I am not saying it isn't right. It may be right enough, but it is partisan journalism and not independent journalism.

Then there are pretentiously independent newspapers, those which boast of their non-partisanship. Well, they may be non-partisan. I guess that much is true; but they are not independent. They merely transfer their dependence from political parties to financial combines. Watch the non-partisan paper, and you will find that it always dances to the music of some monopoly orchestra. It may be independent so far as parties are concerned. It may be independent at elections which the great monopolists care nothing about. At such times it may often be truly democratic. That is because its editors and other writers are democratic in their hearts. They are either democratic republicans, or democratic democrats, or may be they are democratic independents. But when an election is on at which some great monopoly interest is at stake, then the monopoly orchestra begins to play and the independent newspapers begin to dance.

No, there are no independent newspapers in this country. All our newspapers are partisan. When they are not partisans for monopoly, nor partisans for a political machine, they are partisans for a cause. And this is what the American newspaper ought to be. Let us not be scared at being partisans. Partisanship isn't unpatriotic. The important consideration is not that we are partisans, but how do we come to be partisans.

There are two kinds of partisans. One kind take sides according to the opinions they form. That is legitimate. The other kind form opinions according to the sides they take, and that is illegitimate. When a man is a democrat or a republican merely because his father was, he is a partisan in the bad sense, in the unpatriotic sense. A man should take sides under

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the inspiration of his brain cells, not of his birthmarks.

All this is as true of editors as of any one else. They ought to be partisans. They ought to make their papers partisan papers. Partisanship for their cause should rise above all other considerations.

And what a great cause the newspapers of the country have to work for. What a great cause is the cause of genuine democracy—the cause of human rights. This cause is at the heart of all wise politics. It is the outgrowth of all true religion. Democracy is a universal principle. Democracy is part of the moral law. It is the essence of the moral law. And the moral law is as universal as the laws of electricity, and no more mysterious.

Democracy is likewise the great human doctrine of Christianity. What is the difference between the democratic principle of equality of human rights and the Nazarene's command to love one another and to do unto others as we would have them do to us. There is no difference.

A great responsibility, then, has the journalism of this country to bear. It has the religious responsibility of holding our laws and policies within the bounds of the golden rule. It has the moral responsibility of maintaining national fidelity to the moral law, which is no respecter of nations nor of persons. It has the political responsibility of maintaining fidelity to the Declaration of Independence, that people's charter of our national liberties, on which the republic is erected and by which both the democratic and the republican parties were originally inspired.

Most of all does this responsibility rest upon the newspapers that acknowledge allegiance to the democratic party. For not only was the democratic party originally inspired by the principles of elemental democracy, as was the republican party also, but it bears the democratic name.

More than that, though of vastly less importance, upon the democratic newspapers of the country rests the responsibility for the perpetuation of the democratic party. He who will, has only to look about him today to see the rising tide of genuine democracy. It is rolling over the seas of common feeling and common thought, like the great heaving billows of the ocean. Whether this rising tide will carry the democratic party upon its surface or submerge it in its depths, depends upon the democratic journalism of the republic. Our democratic newspapers have it in their power either to sink or to save the democratic party. If they encourage plutocracy, they will sink the party, and sink themselves. If they insist upon making the democratic party democratic, they will honor themselves. They will restore its inheritance to their party, they will glorify their country, they will advance the cause of human rights the whole world over.

THAT GARFIELD REPORT.

In stock yards circles the Garfield report is regarded as bearing all the earmarks of "Packing Town" authorship. It is merely a statement of packers' profits, prepared by themselves. The average net profit on cattle for a series of years is given at 99 cents per head.

Eliminating discussion as to profits in 1902, admittedly an abnormal period, an estimate of profits per steer, as the basis of present markets, both live and dead, throws considerable light on the subject.

Dressed beef is selling in Chicago today at from five to eight cents per pound. The cost of cattle on the hoof is 3½ to 5½ cents per pound. So few worth more than the latter figure are available that they are not worth considering. Packers, in fact, but few cattle in access of five cents a pound.

The Garfield report ignores a number of by-products which go to make up the gross returns from the carcass.

The Real Revenue.

An illustration is afforded by a 1,000 pound steer costing 4¼ cents, live weight, and dressing 56 per cent of beef. Such a steer costs \$42.50. The gross returns are:

Beef, 560 pounds, at 6½ cents, \$35.50; hide, 68 pounds, at 10 cents per pound, \$6; butter tallow, \$2; head and feet, 40 cents check meat, 12 cents; tongue, 60 cents; liver, 10 cents; sweetbread, 10 cents; tail, 4 cents; tallow trimmings, 30 cents; blood, 10 cents; horns, 10 cents; total, \$45.56, or a net profit of \$3.06.

In addition to this the killer has the residue of the carcass, which is convertible into fertilizer and other product and will fully reimburse him for the cost of handling.

A \$14.00 Profit.

The slaughter of a five-cent steer weighing 1,200 pounds and dressing 58 per cent, affords another illustration:

Cost, \$60; carcass, 700 pounds, worth at 7½ cents, \$52.50; hide, \$7; butter tallow, \$2.50; tongue, 80 cents; heads and feet, 40 cents; cheek meat, 15 cents; liver, 12 cents; sweetbreads, 12 cents; tail, 5 cents; tallow trimmings, 35 cents; blood, 10 cents; horns, 10 cents; total, \$74.10, or a profit of \$14.

The cost of handling cattle, the "running expenses," is given in the Garfield report at \$1.90 per head. Any trade expert will admit that \$1.75 is ample to cover every possible contingency. The figures given were prepared by a trade expert and are based on Chi-

cago prices. If they err it is on the low side.

Guessing at Combine's Output.

According to the Garfield report the so-called "Big Six" killed but 5,521,670 of the 12,500,000 cattle slaughtered in the United States in 1903. As a matter of fact no data exists as to the number of cattle slaughtered annually and the figure given is a guess, pure and simple.

The statement that in 1903 less than 50 per cent of the cattle marketed were received at Chicago, St. Louis, St. Paul, Sioux City, Omaha, Kansas City, St. Joseph and Fort Worth, is absurd on its face. That with the exception of a few localities the territory east of Chicago has gone out of beef production is an admitted fact.

The year 1902 affords no criterion. The trust, as at present in operation, was not then perfected. It was meeting active competition from the Anglo-American company, the Hammond company, the United States Beef Company, the St. Louis Dressed Beef Company and smaller concerns, all of which have since been absorbed by the trust.

Absorbed Rivals.

In 1903 a meat war was waged between the "Big Four" and these independent concerns. Facing defeat, the packers bought up their competitors at fancy prices.

The cost of organizing the National Packing Company was enormous, involving as it did payment of fancy prices to the owners of the properties absorbed. It was the cost of suppressing competition.

In 1903 the meat war naturally diminished the average cost of dressed

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MR. BRYAN'S NEW BOOK TRAVELS, SPEECHES, LECTURES.

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