And Then Pass Judgment.-Mr. Burrows' Statement Laid Before our Readers, and

FULLY ANALYZED AND REFUTED.

Truth and Falshood, Faithfulness and Treachery set Side by Side That all Men May see and choose Between Them.

A Review of The Case

When congressman Kem says, "I believe the time has come when it is more dangerous to keep still than to speak out," he takes a manly stand, one which will draw forth a hearty "amen" from thousands of earnest independents. It is because I firmly bedangerous enemies of our movement.

A goodly number of prominent men in the independent party have known Mr. Burrows' real character for years. They know how he betrayed the old anti-monopoly movement in 1886 when he withdrew from the race for governor just before election. They know how he betrayed the union labor ticket in 1888 in favor of John A. Mc Shane. They know how desperately he fought against the organization of the independent party in 1890. The people generally have an impression that Burrows was the chief organizer of the new party in this state. The truth is that Burrows never ceased to fight against and I believe had made no attacks to the organization of the new party till he was virtually forced to do so. There is no room for reasonable doubt that Burrows' "rule or ruin policy," together with his refusal to push the organization of alliances during the campaign lost the independents the election of 1890.

All these facts have been known and deplored by the leaders of the party. But they have uniformly said, "It is better to endure these things than to Independent would do the same. I then precipitate a desperate conflict by an saw all the publishers of that paper and effort to expose Burrows. Let us bide told them what I had done, and urged our time."

danger to the party, and perhaps to its lasting benefit. Circumstances have forced upon me the unpleasant task of making the exposure, and I shall not shirk the duty.

Not a Personal Matter.

controversy. It is not. Of course there has been some personal feeling shown. It could not well be otherwise under the circumstances of the past two months with which the people are familiar. But at the bottom this is not a personal matter. It is not such articles about the Homestead strike. with Mr. Burrows. I do not think he would put forth much effort to personally injure or humiliate me. But he knows that the ALLIANCE-INDEPEN-DENT under its present management stands as an insuperable barrier in the way of his schemes. On the other hand I would not lift my hand to personally injure or humiliate Burrows. But I know his character and I know that for him to regain power, and presmy course is justified. Otherwise I deserve condemnation. Now that is certainly a fair statement of the issue.

Mr. Burrows has been demanding that alliance men should not censure him until they have heard his side of the case. Hence I have decided to present his side as he presented it in a circular a few days ago. Here it is:

A GROSS ATTACK.

Upon Mr. Burrows and Mr. Thompson. Some Plain Facts.

Mr. Burrows' Statement.

1. I had supposed that the newspaper business was not in any way a private from him in the Alliance, I soon found monopoly, but that any man who chose that he was an impossible man. He to risk his money had a right to engage had so little sense that he generally

But it seems that Mr. Thornton. the editor of THE ALLIANCE INDEPEN- insufferable bore. I had to stop his DENT, thinks otherwise, notwithstand- speaking and decline his articles. ing he himself did for a year or more publish an independent paper in this Thornton became editor of the Alliance city supposed to be in opposition to the he took Romine up, the fact that he Farmers' Alliance, without a word of hated Burrows being sufficient credenadverse criticism on my part. Upon tial. The tellow, by the help of inde-learning that Mr. Thompson and myself pendents who did not know him, obproposed to start a new independent tained a place in the senate at the prespaper, editor Thornton opens an attack ent session, and after a short service upon both of us in his issue of Feb. 23 was discharged by the squate, by public Mr. Thompson will reply for himself, vote, for neglect of duty and disrepuso I shall confine my remarks to the table practices. This is the kind of a charges made against me. I do not man Thornton calls to his aid to smirch wish to use any harsh language in re- Burrows and Thompson gard to Mr. Thornton, but the strict I regret the necessity truth in the charges he brings against paper to oppose any reputable indeper

den has been industrously circulated by Thornton ever since Mr. Holden has been in the city; though how, or why, or when, I incurred Mr. Thornton's hatred in so great a degree I am en-tirely ignorant. The only color for such a charge is derived from the fact such a charge is derived from the fact that I wrote a complimentary line to Mr. Holden shortly after he began his paper here. I give the letter below:

W. C. HOLDEN, Editor Liberty.

DEAR SIR:-It gives me great pleasure to learn that your new paper, Liberty, is having such excellent success, and taking the place which your ability and experience as a newspaper man entities t to. There never was a time when fearlessness and independence in jour-nalism were more needed than now. Of course I sincerely regret the controversy that has occurred; but the assault and is a consummate hypocrite. that was made upon you was unprovoked and brutal, and I do not see how you could have passed it by without retaliation-possessing as you do the frailties common to all of us

The attempt by certain independents to proscribe you and read you out of the party is as absurd as it is malignant and dictatorial, in the light of the facts as I know them. I have known you for more than ten years as a consistent and fearless anti-monopoly worker, renoun-cing the position you might have achieved in the republican party and casting your lot with a hopeless minority You were in that work for many years before the men who are now attacking you had begun to realize the need of any reform. If there is a true indepenlieve such a time has come that I have dent in this state you are the one; and undertaken to expose one of these most you may be sure that the day will come when your fearless and true independence will be fully appreciated.

> The success of these schemes will be the destruction of the party. I trust your efforts will be directed to waking up the delegates outside of the cities to the situation, and to the saving of our grand young party from irretrievable disaster. In such efforts you will certainly have the support of all true in-Sincerely Yours, J. Burrows. dependents.

4 Now taking the circumstances under which that letter was written, and taking the letter just as it was written, without italies or any forced construction, and it is a very good letter. Mr. Holden had started only a few weeks, speak of on any independent except Thornton.

5 He had stated some unpleasant facts about this person which I believe have

not been successfully disputed. 6 I will explain my allusion to the assault upon Holden which I have called "unprovoked and brutal." When Mr. Holden came here and began the attack upon Thornton, I saw that in-jury to the independent party would result, and I intervened as a peacemaker. I induced Holden to promise that he would desist if The Alliancewas time."

Now the time has come when this took place. But in the next issue: waged unrelenting warfare upon him ever since.

7 In making these statements I do not have to either approve or disapprove picion on general principles." I wonder if of the course of Mr. Holden's paper that is his opinion of himself at present. since the above letter was written.

8 I will say, however, that of an old give it the appearance of a personal thing that occured before I came to the

9 I will say further that I have never influence in regard to its course, political or otherwise, nor have I written for it, except some matter in opposition to Van Wyck's nomination and two short This denial seems to me sufficiently

entered into a conspiracy to wreck the Alliance-Independent, it is purely a believe that they will desert faithfulfigment of Mr. Thornton's fancy. I do not pretend to admire Mr. Thornton. In fact I have no respect for him in have no fear of such competition beeither his mental, moral or physical aspects. But at the same time I have never done an unfriendly act to him. I have never lifted a finger to injure him or his paper, and never had the remotest idea of ever regaining any intige, means the most serious danger to terest in the paper. I have had too our cause. If I am right in this, then much trouble under my own roof during the past year to allow me any time to interfere with Mr. Thornton, even

had I been disposed to do so. 11 The trouble of the Alliance-Independent has come entirely from the in- leaky memory he has. All through ide. The scheme of watering the stock of that concern up to \$15,000 or \$20,000 was conceived in iniquity, and brought its proper retribution of sorrow. Under Mr. Thornton's management the paper gave up its principles for railroad trans portation; and naturally a sacrifice of principle brings retribution.

12 Mr. Thornton has opened his col umns to one Romine to aid in his attack upon Mr. Thompson and myself, whose statements may have some effect where he is not known. The statement of a few facts about Romine will be quite sufficient. Sometime in the last year of my term on the Alliance, Ex-Com., at Mr. R.'s earnest so icitation I aided him in making speaking appointments. I also published a few communications succeeded in disgusting or offending his audiezco, and as a writer he was an course I incurred his enmity. When

I regret the necessity for publishing truth is that there is not a scintilla of this circular. I have not started a me. These charges are that I have dent paper, cor to war upon any indivi-been supporting and backing Mr. Hol-dual But the statements that have den, that I have entered into a con-spiracy to wreck the Alliance-Indepenmet; and as I will not insert such matter

ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION OF MR. BURROWS' STATEMENT BY THE EDITOR OF THE ALLIANCE-INDEPENDENT.

I have never seen a more feeble,

whimpering, hypocritical plea put up by a man of such reputed ability. Considered either as an attack or a defense it is utterly unworthy of attention. In discussing it at length I have two great objects:

1st. To demonstrate the fact of Burrows' alliance with Holden during the past year, and to show the treachery involved therein.

2nd. To prove beyond question that Burrows has no regard for the truth,

I ask all readers to lay aside their prejudices, if they have any in this matter, and carefully read und consider. This done they will be prepared to pass judgment.

discussion to correspond with the May 5, 1892: paragraphs in Burrows' statement.

First.

When this "gross attack" was made last February I put myself on record in the following words:

"I do not object to any man starting paper on its merits, but I do object to any man or set of men attempting to wreck another paper to build up on its ruins, and then attempting to steal the name and good will which they them-

I certainly meant what I said. I have always been ready to welcome to the ranks of reform journalism any worthy man who employs honorable methods. But no false idea of propriety or courtesy will ever cause me to extend the right hand of fellowship to a man who carries up his sleeve the dagger with which he has stabbed the people's party.

The first issue of Mr. Burrows' paper came out under the name FARMERS' ALLIANCE, Finding that he might get into trouble he tacked on the word Leader. How would Mr. Burrows have talked if he had been in my place? The following paragraph from the Farmers' Alliance of July 12, 1890, will show. It was written by Mr. Burrows when in the height of his glory as supreme dictator:

SOME GALL.

The Nebraska Alliance is the name which a new paper somewhere in Hamilton county has taken. It bears the old party ear marks very plain, and we advise Alliance men to look out for it. A wuold-be publisher who has no more sense than to start a paper with a name so plainly identical with another paper in the same state is an unmitigated ass, and an object of suspicion on general principles.

According to Mr. Burrows at that somewhat like that of his paper was 'an unmitigated ass, and an object of suspicion on general principles." I wonder if

A young man who was working in matter that was brought up against Burrows' office during the summer of I regret however that this matter has Mr. Holden I was entirely ignorant come up under circumstances which when I wrote the letter. It was some Gibson started his Industrial Alliance Monthly, here in Lincoln, "Burrows raved and swore about it for haif a day. had a farthing of pecuniary interest in He said it was outrageous and nothing Mr. Holden's paper, and have had no less than robbery for Gibson to use the name Alliance."

I have no desire for a monopoly of the newspaper business. Further I wish to Holden theu as he is now. say to Mr. Burrows that I have no fear of his competition whatever. I know 10 As to the other charges that I had the good people who support THE ness and reward treachery. Further I cause I think our people are good and that article is in our possession at judges of real merit in a newspaper.

Second.

Yes, I did run a newspaper for a year in Lincoln in competition with the Farmers' Alliance, but not in opposition to it. When Mr. Burrows says I ran The Independent "without a word of adverse criticism" from him, he shows what a that year I endured the most contemptible cowardly flings from Mr. Burrows' pen. These I endured for the most part in silence, and whenever I made any reply, did it in a most friendly and respectful manner.

The following sample of these flings appeared in the Farmers' Alliance of (of backing Holden) is that I wrote a July 2, 1891:

A BAD CASE OF BIG HEAD.

Our friend Holden, editor of Liberty bell, of Kearney, published a letter from Lincoln signed "Admirer," which a bad case of big head which was partly developed in the atmosphere of Lincoln, and partly in that of Buffalo county, is excellently described. A man who puts out a little patent sided sheet as "the only independent paper published in Lincoln," and tries bamboozle advertisers into the bellef that he is an authorized representative of the Farmers' Alliance, has an unlimited amount of gall. But friend Holden must consider his youth and in-

experience and not be too hard on him. The above shows on what friendly terms Burrows and Holden were at that time. In fact these two reformers got 1892, Holden had filled THIRTY-NINE together in the spring of 1891, and conspired together to down "this man Thornton" (as I learned from a reliable source.) They have been at it ever since but, I am happy to say, with very

Later in the year, Mr. Hurrows dipped his pen in a bottle of gall and assailed the Independent as a "snake in the grass paper." He charged that in ac- Yet that letter was carried in Liberty a. The charge that I was backing Hol- of meeting them.

J. Bunhows.

Independent had virtually sold out to the

railroads. To this I replied showing up Mr. Burrows' hypocrisy very effecup Mr. Burrows' hypocrisy very effectually. I proved that he had been riding ever the country on transportation secured in return for railroad advertising, and quoted one of the advertisements from his paper.

Now I am not relating these things with a view of getting even with Mr. Burrows; not at all. I wouldn't go three steps to get personal revenge for these old insults and slanders. I am recalling these things to show Burrows' utter disregard for truth and incidentally to illustrate his fairness (?) to com-

Third.

Mr. Burrows' third paragraph, like most of the others, is just the reverse of the truth. Instead of circulating the report that he was backing Holden, the only time I ever referred to it was to defend him against the charge in the

A FALSE REPORT.

Somebody started the report this week that Mr. Burrows had purchased a half interest in Liberty, the paper lately started by W. C. Holden. Mr. Burrows' friends were dumb founded by such news. They could not believe that Mr Burrows would ally himself with such a notorious boodler. We are happy to announce, however, that the report is false. Mr. Burrows personally and in writing authorizes us to say that he has bought into no paper and does not intend to in the near future."

This was the only editorial reference The Only Line Under One Management ever made to the matter during the entire year. I learned very soon after writing the above what the real facts were. Although aware of Mr. Burrows' DAKES ABERDEEN FIERRE HURON party, I never alluded to it in these columns. I see now that I made a mistake in so doing. But there were plead for "harmony at any price" and I followed their advice, as I shall never do again.

Now what was the result of my effort ESCANABA WYOMING ELGIN to defend Mr. Burrows against the Fast Trains to Chicago and St. Paul. charge of backing Holden? Did I get any thanks for it? On the contrary, he flew into a great rage over it, and the next week rushed into Liberty with his Office 1133 O St -- Depot Cor. S and 8th St, first letter of endorsement. He wrote two letters endorsing Holden; the one he gives in his statement is the second. In this first letter dated May 5th, 1892,

MR. HOLDEN, ESQ. EDITOR OF LIBERTY: DEAR SIR:- In the Farmers' Alliance of this week is an editorial item contradicting the report that I had become associated with you in the conduct of your new paper Liberty. The portion of that item denouncing you as a "noto rious boodler." I read with pained surassociated with you was quite natural as we had talked much about the matter and I had at one time quite fully deternined to become so associated. I have known you for the past twelve years as an honest, consistent and able worker in the anti-monopoly and independent cause and, in all that time, never heard an intimation that you were a boodler, notorious or otherwise, or in any way dishonest or corrupt."

success," and promising to contribute to his paper, Mr. Burrows signed himself "Sincerely your friend J. Burrows."

Mr. Burrows wasn't as auxious to be defended against the charge of backing

Just following Mr. Burrows' letter of May 5th, appeared the following state. ment of facts written by Mr. Holden:

"Mr. Burrows and ourself had agreed on a partnership; details were arranged and price set. Mr. Burrows wrote his salutatory, in which he stated that he had purchased a half interest in Liberty, this moment. This was on Tuesday of this week. On Wednesday morning he asked me to release him from the agreement and I did so. There was no misunderstanding between us. The deal was declared off with the best of friendship between us. W. C. HOLDEN.

In the light of Mr. Burrows' present defense, all this is very interesting reading, isn't it.

There is no doubt that the facts are exactly as Holden states. I have other reliable proof aside from Holden's word which, to say the least, is not very good.

In Mr. Burrows' statement he makes no reference whatever to this deal. He says the "only color for this charge complimentary line" etc. He should issue another circular explaining this

Fourth.

Certainly that was "a very good letter" for the purpose. It was intended to give Holden a character, to put behind him all Mr. Burrows' influence which be imagined was boundless.

When Burrows stated that, at the time he wrote that letter (June 23), Holden "had made no attacks to speak of on any independent except Thornton" he states as deliberate and glaring a falsehood as he ever penned. An examination of a file of Liberty yields the following result: Prior to June 25, COLUMNS, by actual count, with the most slanderous attacks on Ke'n, Dech, Wolfe, Greene, Pirtle, and other true and loyal independents. This Mr Burrows knew perfectly well, and in file letters he virtually endorsed all these

Mr. Burrows tries to laugh this latter off as a more "complimentary line."

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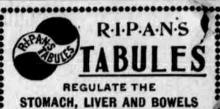
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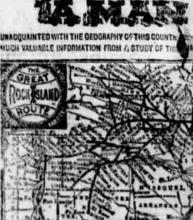
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