

The Nebraska Independent.

The Wealth Makers and Lincoln Independent Consolidated.

VOL. IX.

LINCOLN, NEBR., THURSDAY, DECEMBER 30, 1897.

NO. 132

THE PROBLEM OF TODAY

Grammell Bradford Thinks Tariff Nor Currency Neither The Key.

THE PRESIDENT SHOULD LEAD

Congress is Cited as Harboring Great Dangers to the Welfare of the Republic.

Spoils and Bootie.

In his speech before those at the dinner of the New England free trade club in Boston this month, Gamaliel Bradford gives his ideas on what the country needs in the way of legislation. He says the question of government by the people is first to be adopted and then currency and tariff reforms will be plucked like sunbeams in their proper time.

Mr. Bradford said he did not appear as an expert upon the tariff, and would be sorry to undergo a competitive examination upon the respective merits of the McKinley, Wilson and Dingley bills. He proposed to speak upon a subject which includes the tariff and a great many other questions of equal importance and that is—government.

From the financial side, the tariff means simply whether the people shall be plundered for the benefit of certain private interests. From the political side, it involves the permanent welfare of the people, the whole future of the country and the very existence of our institutions.

Within the memory of men not very old, the "spoils system" was the instrument of carrying on the government, and the public offices were the stimulus of party work and the reward of party victory. But civil service reform, though not yet complete, practically put an end to that. Twenty years ago the speaker used to say to his friends, "It is an admirable work you are doing, but you must remember that the use of offices in politics must be replaced by something, and that something will be money." The prediction has been amply justified.

A difficulty arose at the start, and that was where the money was to come from. To make good the loss of all the government offices would require no small sum, and though some amounts might be obtained from public or party spirit, they would be trifling in comparison with the requirements. To the republican party belongs the credit of solving the problem, for though the democrats would undoubtedly have done the same thing, the republicans had the responsibility. If a number of powerful private interests could have a tariff passed to suit them, they would contribute campaign funds to an unlimited extent. The tariff, however, which enriched the private interests, also poured an immense surplus into the treasury and a new trouble arose. We had bought up government bonds till those outstanding only paid one and a half per cent interest, and the national banks were in a panic lest the basis of their circulation should be withdrawn.

But the republican managers were equal also to this emergency. There was a large number of persons who had been soldiers in the war. If every one of them could be provided with a pension, to date from the war, there would be no more trouble from treasury surpluses. This policy had the further advantage that it would bind all these pensioners with hooks of steel to the party which had so generously provided for them, and still another, that there was a group of pension agents, ready and anxious in view of a commission to carry it into effect. The country was raked with a fine toothed comb for everybody who could set up a war claim. The number of pensioners thus far is about a million, or say one in four of all the northern soldiers of the war. The other sixty-nine millions of the present inhabitants of the whole United States are taxed for the support of this million. In twenty years the treasury has paid out in pensions between two and three thousand millions of dollars, or say nearly one half of the whole cost of the war. But what is more monstrous, a fully equivalent sum has been paid into the pockets of the protected interests which furnished campaign funds.

A single instance will suffice for illustration. The editor of an English Coal and Iron Magazine was recently in the United States and returned home to tell his countrymen that our manufacturers of iron and steel can produce those articles at ten to fifteen shillings per ton cheaper than themselves. Of course this precludes any import of the English articles. The tariff merely means that the home producer can add to the price of his goods and levy as profit on the consumer the whole amount of the duty which the English product would have to pay before coming in competition. If the home manufacturer produces more than the country can consume at those prices, they can avoid a glut or break of prices by exporting the surplus at foreign prices. The same statement might be applied to a great many other staple articles. Of course campaign contributions, however large, can form but a small percentage of returns like those. One is tempted to paraphrase the exclamation of Madame Roland, "Oh! Protection, what crimes are committed in thy name!"

But there is a worse evil even than this taxation of the many for the benefit of the few, and that is the loss of confidence in the government. There is a growing belief that congress is merely an instrument for playing into the hands of the rich and powerful, regardless of the welfare and wishes of the great mass of the people, and this belief is producing a degree of strife and exasperation between classes, which is full of danger. What is to be done? Certainly the remedy does not consist in a change of parties. In 1890 and 1892 disgust with the republican party gave a democratic president and a democratic majority in both houses. They produced the Wilson tariff, but showed such incompetence to govern that the lead passed to Bryan and the populists. The combination of fear and campaign funds restored the republicans to power and resulted in the Dingley tariff, involving that fluctuation which is worse than the worst tariff, if only it could be kept steady.

There are manifest signs that the close of the century will see the republicans again hurled from power, and the substitute offered will be the democrats of the Chicago platform. A few years of these might possibly drive the country back to the republicans and this alternation from bad to worse can have in the end but one result, which is—armed strife.

I repeat that the vital question before us is neither tariff nor currency, but government. The only safeguard in the struggle of private interest and the public welfare, against increasing social restlessness and discontent, against the agitation of demagogues and the combinations of capital is to be found in stronger and more responsible government. Inequalities of fortune and station will be cheerfully borne, if sustained by a faith in the justice and impartiality of intention in the government and its power to carry that intention into effect. It is the reverse of this belief which produces revolution.

The whole history of modern representative government shows that despotism of a legislature leads through anarchy to a despotism of the executive. The Long Parliament landed England in the hands of Cromwell. The National assembly at the convention in France did the same work for Napoleon; and though the Third Republic has preserved peace for a quarter of a century, the despotism of the legislature points strongly towards a similar result. Now despotism of the legislature is the most marked characteristic of the government, not only of the Union, but of the several states. The executive has been reduced to be its mere instrument, and the judiciary is fast following the same road. If we expect to escape the proved consequences, it must be by a restoration of the balance of power. The executive alone represents the whole nation or state, while the legislature represents only so many fractions, all of equal weight and does its work by bargaining and log-rolling. The executive alone represents the administration of the government, whereas the legislature is in no way responsible for it, and regards law-making only as an instrument of party success. The executive should have the same power of addressing its constituents that members of congress have. As responsible for administration it should have the power of publicly proposing and defending measures which it thinks necessary for the public welfare, and of criticizing and opposing those which it believes to be injurious. By taking the lead in all questions of public importance it would provide for public and continuous debate from the opening of the session, thus informing the whole nation both as to the merits of the questions and the character and motives of the individuals advocating or opposing them; instead of leaving them to be settled by secret intrigue in the committee room, with entire ignorance on the part of the public both as to measures and men. In our single executive head, President or Governor, elected periodically by the whole people, we have the finest instrument of government in the world, but we lose almost the whole benefit of it through the grasping and unchecked ambition of the legislatures. Such an executive proposing and conducting plans of government in the interest of the whole people and subject to the criticism and the veto of a watchful legislature would soon place us in the front rank of nations. This is what the Englishman, Mr. Bagehot, meant when he said that "if the New England states as a separate nation had cabinet government, they would be as renowned in the world for political sagacity as they now are for diffused happiness."

There are now two subjects pressing upon us which can be settled in this way and no other, the tariff and the currency. At present they are the football of discordant and conflicting interests, no one of which will listen for a moment to the arguments of the others, while the whole country looks on in hopeless bewilderment. If the executive for the time being were to submit a definite plan, prepared by administrative experts, and not by amateur commissions, and if that scheme were submitted to an exhaustive debate which would bring the strongest minds to the top, and arouse the enthusiasm of the country, five years of intermediate legislative inaction would be more than well spent.

On the 4th of February, 1881, a report to the United States senate, signed unanimously by eight senators of both parties, recommended that the members of the cabinet should have admission on different days to both houses with the right of taking part in debate and answering questions relating to their departments, and provided for the necessary changes in the rules. This report has never received a moment's attention, not because it did not deserve it, but because congress sees clearly the danger to its usurpation of power. The first step forward will be taken when the country understands that so far from its being represented by congress, that body—as was pointed out by Madison in the "Federalist" and Jefferson in his "Notes on a Virginia," is, under present conditions

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THEIR GRAND RECORD

What North Carolina's Delegation in Congress Has Accomplished for the People.

WORK PLEASURES POPULISTS.

Senator Butler Has Stood Successfully Against Great Odds in the Senate.

What They Have Done.

Hon. E. M. White, in an article in a recent issue of the Caucasian, describes the meeting at Clinton, N. C., and has the following on Congressman Fowler's speech and the record of the populists from that state in congress:

Mr. Fowler in introducing Senator Butler referred to some of the fine work which he had done during the brief time he has been in the Senate, and also called attention to the fact that the machine, press and the gold monopoly organs in the State had refused to give him credit for the same, or to even make a note of it when they could avoid doing so. But he said that there was one publication which showed no discrimination and where the people could find the official facts, and that was the Congressional Record. This has caused me to use some of my spare time in examining this impartial journal. I find many important things in it that the public has not learned of through the newspapers. I ask for space in your columns to refer to some of these.

Congressman Fowler referred to how every few months Cleveland was issuing a batch of government bonds, when this state sent Marion Butler to Washington as the youngest senator in the United States senate, and how, in less than thirty days, he introduced a bill to prohibit the further issuance of bonds, and how for three or four months he pressed it and fought for it vigorously, and at last succeeded in passing the bill through the senate, while no other senator in either one of the old parties had ever offered such a bill or attempted to do anything to prevent these bond issues.

Attention was also called to his efforts and bill to cut off the big mail subsidies that are each year being voted to railroads as a free gift, also to reduce the enormous price which the government is paying these railroads for carrying the mails, and besides to stop the payment each year to the railroads for the rent of postal cars twice as much as it would cost to build the cars. No one else had ever called attention to these big steals or attempted to stop them.

Attention was also called to Senator Butler's amendment to reduce the armor plate for our vessels from \$450 to \$300 per ton, and also to his exposition of the fact that the armor plate trust had been putting off inferior defective armor plate upon the government at this enormous price, and also to his further amendment providing for the building of a government plant factory if the armor plate trust did not agree to furnish armor at that price. He forced these amendments through congress, and at the very hour the government is taking action in accordance therewith. This one amendment means a saving of over one million dollars to the government on the three battleships now under construction.

In addition to these things to which Congressman Fowler referred, I find that there is much more that Senator Butler has done in the short space of two years, and in fact Mr. Fowler could not have rehearsed his proud and remarkable record in the short time for an introductory speech.

I wish to ask space at this time to refer to some of the other measures introduced by Senator Butler, and the work done by him as given by the Congressional Record.

I find that he introduced an amendment to the postoffice appropriation bill, making an appropriation of fifty thousand dollars and directing the postmaster-general to use it in making experiments in free mail delivery in the country as the city people now have it free. This was done in the first session of the Fifty-fourth congress, the experiment was made in several different localities in the United States, but the postmaster-general informed the last congress that he had not been able to complete the experiment sufficiently for him to make a recommendation to congress. Whereupon senator Butler secured another appropriation of fifty thousand dollars during the last session of congress to continue these experiments. In his speech supporting this amendment he showed that the government today pays for delivering the mails to every man in the cities free of charge at his door, while the man in the country, living from two to three or four miles, if not more, from the postoffice, is forced to stop his work and go for his mail or allow it to lie at the office until he can find time to go. He showed how much time was lost to the farmers by having every man in the whole community to waste several hours or one-half a day's time two or three times a week to get his mail, while the government could get any man at a very small cost (and there are plenty of them idle on the farms) to take mail from any postoffice as soon as it arrives and deliver it at once to the door of every patron of the office, and besides take up his mail and carry it back to the office. He showed

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that this would not cost the government one-fourth as much as we now spend each year for pensions, and that it would be a convenience and a blessing that every single individual in the country would enjoy and share equally in. Besides it would increase the amount of mail and therefore increase the receipts of the postoffice department. In concluding, he said: "Let us have free delivery for the people in the country and villages or else stop free delivery in the cities, because every man in the city is near enough to get his mail in a few minutes walk."

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STARVATION.

Klondike Food Supply is Running Very Low.

Adventurers returning from Klondyke report the supply of food running very low. The mines will not be as productive as they should be on this account. Kerosene is \$45 per gallon and candles \$150.00 per hundred. The shortage of lights will prevent much work in the mines until supplies can arrive next summer. Temperature was 70 degrees below zero on November 30th.

A meeting was held to apportion the supply of food—the people holding that those who had plenty must divide with the destitute. The police interfered in behalf of the provident.

ANOTHER TRUST FORMING.

Wire Combination Trying to Interest the Billet-Makers.

There is talk among the steel men of a further extension of the scope of the new wire trust. It is now said that efforts will be made to induce all the steel billet mills in the country to ally themselves with the trust, not as members, but as contributors. The trust will seek to induce the manufacturers of billets to promise not to sell to wire manufacturers that they may possibly start outside of the trust, and in return the trust will promise to take billets from all these manufacturers as they may make them. The object is to keep the billet makers in good humor and prevent their going into the wire business themselves. Those who are closest to the sources of information express the utmost confidence in the carrying through of the plans for the formation of the trust and it may be said that all the negotiations are progressing favorably.

OUTGOING TREASURERS.

They Should Settle With Successors in Actual Cash.

Auditor Cornell and his assistants are busy with the settlement of the accounts of the outgoing county treasurers.

Fifty-three county treasurers will go out of office next year, and the accounts of all of these as well of those who succeed themselves are being carefully adjusted.

The auditor has sent the following advice to outgoing treasurers:

"As you go out of office this year it is necessary that the transfer to your successor be made so complete that you and your bondsmen will be relieved from annoyance and possible loss in the future. There is no way you can do this but by counting out the actual cash for all money in your hands except what is in the depository banks, whose bonds are in force at the time the transfer is made.

The supreme court has said that certificates of deposit, checks, etc., are not money and will not release the retiring treasurer, should they for any reason not be realized upon. I make this suggestion as the court's opinion in the Hill case is not fully understood by many."

AMMUNITION FOR CUBANS.

Flibustering Ship Leaves New York Loaded With Supplies.

New York, Dec. 23.—The Press says: During the thick fog of the early morning of last Saturday the schooner James M. Haskell skipped quietly from its pier fastenings in the Erie basin, turned its nose toward the bay, evaded the customs officers and under the mantle of the fog began its fourth filibustering expedition to Cuba. The James M. Haskell in view of its recent performance is credited with being the fastest and most successfully managed filibustering schooner afloat.

On its last trip, begun on Saturday morning, it carried grain and provisions openly. Its clearance papers read, as usual, for Charleston, S. C. In its hold it carried 500,000 rounds of ammunition and 2,000 rifles. The cartridges were carefully packed in baled hay, the rifles in boxes. All the important loading was done at night. Boxes and dozens of big tin marked "canned apples" were carried on board as if they contained the most precious of cargo, and it is said, they contained the most dangerous dynamite. The schooner Haskell was formerly a Boston boat. Its crew is composed mostly of foreigners, but its captain's name could not be ascertained.

John Anderson was last Thursday convicted of the murder of William Wallace Saunders, mate of the schooner Olive Pecker, on the high seas, on August 6 last and under the sentence of the court is to be hanged on March 18 next, unless the supreme court of the United States in the meantime interposes.

WHO'D CRUCIFY HIM

How One Teaching as Christ Taught Would be Received Today.

THE RICH WOULD HATE HIM.

Less Resistance to the Encroachments of Wealth Today Than Ever Before.

Christ Would be Called an Anarchist

Walter Clark, of the supreme bench of North Carolina has the following in "New Time" for December.

Every age has its special vices as well as its special religious development. The past centuries were often marked by great fame, and sometimes great fortunes acquired by military triumphs. But there at least was this redeeming feature that the despoilers had the manhood to risk their lives and persons on the battlefield. This age is marked by the accumulation of still vaster fortunes, but it is done without personal risk, without heroism, by the wholesale deprivation and spoliation of the masses of the people—the creators of this wealth—in the interest of a few combinations of capital.

Do you think that if Christ came today He would be better received in this so-called Christian age and land than He was in Judea nineteen centuries ago? Remember that He was a carpenter and His apostles were poor laborers and fishermen. Suppose some obscure carpenter, in this day and generation, accompanied by such companions, should go about the country denouncing the robberies of the rich and corruption in high places; suppose he should say that salvation could only be had by believing in him and that it was more possible for a camel to pass through the eye of a needle than for a rich man to enter the kingdom of God; suppose such a one should enter your rich churches, where the preacher, reclining on soft cushions, offers incense and adulation to the millionaire bond holders, gorged with the wealth they have illegally wrung from the people, and with his knotted cord should scourge those ministers and those worshippers of Mammon from those temples erected to God, how would he fare? Suppose he should teach the naked gospel as Christ taught it, that wealth confers no privileges, but imposes great duties and responsibilities. Suppose further that when these men who daily rob a whole people of their just earnings shall be wont to give a hundred dollars here, a thousand yonder, a million to this hospital, two million to yonder college, and every time they thus give back a small part of their stencils they should cause every newspaper in the land to proclaim their magnificent generosity, and that this obscure carpenter, with his barefooted followers, should denounce such hypocrites, as he of Nazareth did those in his day, who, in like manner, when they gave their alms, had a trumpet blown before them; and suppose that obscure man who was no respecter of persons had aroused their fears as well as their hate by his miracles, which should cause the common people to hear him gladly, and what, I ask, would this generation do to such a man? If it did not crucify him, it would be only because of the influence of his teachings, which in the lapse of nineteen centuries have given the masses a power they did not have in Judea. The millionaires and their tools, the preachers that worship them; the papers, whether church or secular, that defy them, and all the other followers of Mammon would hate Christ, as those other rich men hated Him in the coasts of Jordan and Galilee nineteen centuries ago and as they today really hate everyone who truly teaches His sayings in their purity. If the rich syndicates and trusts other robbers of the people of this day and their toolies and beneficiaries were not allowed to crucify Christ they would wish to do it. They would surely hale him into prison and denounce Him and His followers as anarchists, socialists, and communists.

\$400,000 FAILURE.

Krag-Reynolds Company of Indianapolis Go Under.

The great prosperity wave has claimed another victim. The Krag-Reynolds Co., of Indianapolis, Ind., wholesale grocer, failed last Monday for over \$500,000. The company was unable to meet its various mortgage indebtedness and was forced to assign. The great wave was too much for it.

TOMORROW NIGHT AT 12 O'CLOCK IT BECOMES "GREATER" NEW YORK.

When the bells toll for the death of another year, they will be ringing with an unusually significant purpose in the great city for with the last stroke of midnight on December 31 dies the city of New York, and is born the Greater New York. It has been decided to hold a "wake" over the remains of Father Knickerbocker's city, although some have protested against the use of the term as signifying that New York is to die, while as a matter of fact it is to live, with additional importance and power. The celebration will take the form of a mass meeting of representative citizens of New York and Brooklyn, which meeting is to be addressed by three chosen orators who will recite the history of the city from its early stages to the present day, each orator a speech dealing with a section of the period and his successor taking up the recital where he leaves off.

The speech of the orator who is to bring the recital to date and wind up the oration will be replete with facts of interest to the patriotic American. He will show the citizens that on January 1 America will possess the second largest city in the world as regards population, the vast city of London alone exceeding her in the number of inhabitants. The New York of 1898 will comprise an area of 106,800 acres, or 307½ square miles, thus making it the largest in the world, so far as extent of territory is concerned. London having but 74,672 acres. And how much better off are the residents of the Greater New York.

"Go where money is if you want to make money," says the wise man of business. That being interpreted means go to New York, and so the nations of the earth flock to the eastern gateway of America. They find here a city that it has cost \$75,000,000 a year to maintain in the past, and during the four years of the new mayor's coming will necessitate an outlay of \$100,000,000. The money has been well spent, for it has given to the citizens 1,002 miles of paved streets, 1,156 miles of public sewer, a daily water supply of 330,000,000 gallons, 6,587 acres of public parks and pleasure grounds, schools that cost \$15,000,000 a year to maintain, and the largest police and fire departments of any city in the world.

The gigantic growth of the greater city can be estimated by the way in which investors are adding to the great buildings that rear their heads to the sky in the Greater New York. These operations aggregate \$150,000,000 a year, and, like the city, the amount is always growing. Through the clearing houses in New York three passes every day a mass of checks whose value totals up to the immense total of \$96,000,000, or to make an interesting comparison, an amount double that of all the other cities in America together. From the great docks of the Greater New York there will be carried by ocean greyhound, tramp steamer and sailing vessel, merchandise to foreign shores that represents a value of \$40,000,000,000, and there is ample room for more vessels, for the harbor could hold the ships of the world.

Search all history and you will find no age when the robbery of the just earnings of the masses was more systematic, more shameful and less resisted than today. There never was a time when the worship of great riches, however badly acquired, was more open than now. While the pure in heart are commencing with the invisible God on the summit, amid clouds and darkness that are round about Him, vast numbers, and among them, as of old, many Levites are bowing down to the calf of gold, and they say to us, "These be thy gods O Israel." When Moses and Joshua reproached Aaron with his con-

duct, he laid the fault on the people and said that to please them he had thrown the gold ornaments into the fire and "there had come out this calf," implying that it was accidental (though he did not dare to say so), and that he was in no wise responsible. So in this country, in which the public opinion of today, they who like Aaron do not enlighten it, but on the contrary, without resistance to the robbery of the people, bow down to those who have taken away their earnings, in effect say with the idolaters of old, "We did not do it; we merely cast the gold into the fire," or permitted it to be done, "and then there came out this calf;" hence we are not to blame for worshipping it. For my part, I believe that something more is required, and that resistance to wrong is obedience to God.

POSTAL SAVINGS BANKS.

Failures More Frequent in Savings Banks Than Others.

The report of the comptroller of the currency to July 1897, shows an increase of bank failures for the year, as compared with the year preceding. During the twelve months ending July 1, 1896, the percentage of banks failed to the total number of banks was 1.06 per cent, and of savings banks 1.18 per cent. During the year ending July 1, 1897, the last report gives the number of banks and failures as national banks in existence, 3,619 failures, 38 per cent, 1.05. State bank trust companies in existence 4,999; failures 56; per cent, 1.33. Savings banks in existence, 1,273; failures, 19; per cent, 1.49. Private banks and bankers, in existence, 3,826; failures, 47; per cent, 1.23.

Thus it is seen that a greater per cent of savings banks fail than of any other class, notwithstanding the fact that these institutions have a greater per cent of their business with the poor than any other banks and should be made all the more solid and sure of safety to their depositors.

NEW YORK NO MORE.

Tomorrow Night at 12 O'Clock It Becomes "Greater" New York.

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