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WE TOIL FOR EUROPE.

In the Last Thirty Years We Have Given to Old World Monarchies $14,000,000,000 More Than We Have Received.

Everybody knows that the republican party began its rule in 1861 and has been in power ever since except for the short reign of Cleveland, which for the most part was the same as republican and a little more so.

According to republican treasury department figures. from June 30th, 1861 to June 30th, 1899, thirty-eight years the people of the United States exported merchandise to the value of $2,638,715,398 more than they imported.

It would be reasonable to suppose that this sum of exports over imports should have been received back to this country in coin. But no, according to like figures as above named exactly, the people of this country exported $1,103,688,349 more coin, gold and silver than they imported, making a total of exports over imports of merchandise and coin to the amount of $3,742,403,707.

It would be reasonable to suppose that having exported that much more merchandise and coin than they imported, our people would have owing to them from abroad the amount above named with interest, which latter would much more than double the sum. But no, according to figures, equally reliable as those above named, in less time than that above named, towit, all since the great war, the people of the United States, in their various capacities of states, counties, cities, corporations and individuals gave to foreigners, mainly British, bonds and mortgages to amount of over six billion dollars more than they took of foreigners.

And furthermore, according to reliable figures like those last above named people of the United States have given to foreigners, mainly British, real estate title deeds and transfers of railroad, mining, manufacturing and other stocks of vast amount, the extent of which cannot be definitely here stated, but probably to amount of about three billion dollars, more than they received of such deeds and transfers from foreigners.

The above four items show an outgoing from this country of values to amount of more than twelve billion dollars, for which this country has never received anything and never will.

It will be noticed that the bonds above mentioned are other than the national bonds. By the December 1, 1899 treasury report, the bonds of the interest bearing national debt are shown to amount to $1,037,049,690. Considering the increase of the dollar value the national debt is larger than it was at the close of the great war or any time since. Add the national bonds that are held abroad to those herein before mentioned and it makes seven billion dollars of coin bonds held by foreigners against this country.

Before 1860 three-fourths of the traffic to and from the United States was carried in American vessels greatly to the advantage of this country in balances for freight coming to our people. But under republican rule our merchant marine has so dwindled down that there accrues yearly a freight balance of about $100,000,000 in coin against our people and in favor of foreigners as is plainly proved by Money Chart.

According to republican treasury reports, in 1861 when the party came into power there was in this country gold and silver coin and bullion to amount of $250,000,000, and against this there were no foreign coin bonds outstanding. Since which time down to June 30, 1899, according to republican treasury reports, gold and silver have been mined in the United States to the amount of $3,181,749,000, which being increased by the $250,000,000 on hand in 1861 makes $3,431,749,000.

And yet by the treasury report of September 1, 1899 it is shown that there was then only $1,420,819,212 of gold and silver coin in the United States. and against this sum there is outstanding in the hands of foreigners, mostly British, coin bonds to amount of seven billion dollars, very nearly five dollars of bonds to every dollar of coin.

Our country is very prolific in gold and silver mining, but it does not own a dollar of gold or silver money. We have some borrowed on which we pay interest to foreigners, mostly British, as also on five and a half billion more that we have not, never had, and under republican rule can never get or pay.

The coin in this country can easily be so drawn upon at any time by the British oligarchy under their bonds as to reduce our money circulation to any degree of panic or bankrupt purposes, and enable the oligarchs in the future, as they have in the past, to proceed as fast as they may deem prudent to take in American property at their own prices.

This Philippine war is to keep the bond business growing. Republican leaders have no care for ways and means to pay off the great foreign coin debt, but only to keep it growing. If the country is to continue under republican rule it is hopelessly bankrupted, and the bankruptcy will grow fast and strong as long as the party is in power, as is verily proved by Money Chart.

MARVIN WARREN,

Fairbury, Neb.

BENTON'S WORDS OF WARNING

"Wildcat" Has Returned From the Jungle With Her Kittens Multiplied.

Let the men who are now at work changing the contract so as to compel the American people to make them a present of $250,000,000, by making their bonds payable in gold, remember that dishonesty is a bad thing to teach a nation. The bonds were purchased in the first place on an average of fifty cents on the dollar. Then the contract was changed in 1868 from "lawful money of the United States" to "coin." In 1873, a gang of thieves, under pretense of "reforming the currency," surreptitiuously demonetized silver. The Bland-Allison act of 1878, in response to outraged public sentiment of that time partly righted that wrong. In 1893, Grover Cleveland, casting manhood and honor behind, and with the brutal ingratitude of a drunken debauche began the third attempt to tripple the value of Shylock's holdings. In their effort to rid themselves of Clevelandism, the American people chose the political thimble-rigger from Canton. Now we stand face to face with the issue, that has been studiously plotted for during thirty years. In the language of Thomas H. Benton over forty years ago, the "wild cat has returned from the jungle with her kittens multiplied." The question now is, have the conspirators wore the people out, by fooling and brow-beating them? The coming political contest will try the intellectual vigor of the American people. Maukish sentimentalism ought not to pass current in this contest. It is not current with bond-holders, cash only goes with them. They own the gold and will soon issue all the paper. They want money dear and everything else cheap.—Butler County Press.

If this article is marked it is a particular request to you to send in your subscription. It is to remind you that you are not doing what you should towards supporting the paper.

ALLEN AFTER HIM

The Senator Wants to Know What Sort of a Deal Secretary Gage Made With the National City Bank.

Washington, Jan. 3.—Senator Allen introduced in the senate today the following resolution:

Resolved, That the secretary of the treasury be, and is hereby, directed to transmit to the senate complete and literal copies of all letters, communications, agreements, papers and documents between the treasury department of the government of the United States and the National City bank, and the Hanover National bank of the city of New York, or either or both of them, since the 4th day of March A. D. 1897, in any manner respecting the deposit of public funds, bonds and revenues of the government of the United States with said bank or banks, and inform the senate respecting any other relation or relations now or heretofore existing between the government of the United States and the said bank or banks and the amount of money, bonds, public funds and revenues, respectively deposited in said bank or banks by the government of the United States. the reasons therefore, and whether, said bank or banks have paid the government of the United States any interest on said deposit or deposits, and if so, how much interest and the length of time the money, public funds, bonds and revenues or any portion thereof were loaned to other banks, corporations or persons, giving their names and addresses respectively and if so the amount and dates thereof respectively.

And the secretary of the treasury is further directed to inform the senate what compensation has been paid to said bank or banks, directly or indirectly by the government of the United States for the custody, handling and disbursement of said money, public funds, bonds and revenues of the government of the United States, and give to the senate all other information in any manner pertaining to said transaction or transactions.

REPUBLICANS SCARED

Their Constituents View their Work with Fear and Send in their Protestations.

Washington, D. C., Jan. 6, 1900. (Special Correspondence.)—Notwithstanding the fact that the republicans of the house have openly and defiantly repudiated their position taken in 1896 on bimetalism by the passage of the financial bill, many of those representing the west have serious misgivings as to the result of the legislation upon the coming campaign. The effect of the entire change of front of the republican majority from the advocacy of bimetalism, to that of the gold standard, with the support of the English banking system is unprecedented and atrocious, say many prominent republicans, and shows a lack of sincerity which will not be pardoned by the people. In conversation with a republican I was refreshed by the following view: "No amount of sophistry and pretended change of conditions and acquirement of information by party leaders will satisfy those of the rank and file of republican voters who have so ardently believed with Senator Chandler that the gold standard policy is the curse of the nations, and these people will look on these shifting statesmen as having stultified themselves by a change of front on a question the basic principles of which have not changed for generations.

Speaking further on the subject this republican said, "If bimetalism was right in 1896—and the St. Louis platform declared that it was, then no thinking man who so believed will uphold the President and the majority of congress in seeking to commit this country to a gold basis. This question is centuries old and the main propositions are unchanged, and no statesman can deliberately go from one side to the other of this controversy in the short space of four years without being looked upon as a political makeshift by all honest and intelligent men. The fitting of such sentiment as this from various parts of the country into the political circles of the capital city may cause much modification of the financial measure before it leaves the senate, and when it becomes a law it may be far different from what it was on passing the house.

THE POPULIST CONFERENCE

It was the Largest and the Most Prominent so far ever Held in the State.

Many of those who intended to take part in the work of the state central committee and the populist conference called by Chairman Edmisten began to arrive in the city the day before and all of them stayed until the last business was done. The sessions were for the most part executive as was necessary, but it began with an open meeting to which admittance was given to all who could crowd into the room. They were treated to a lot of enthusiastic speeches. Governor Poynter opened with a simon pure pop talk and was followed by Ceneral Weaver, Hon. Tom Patterson of the Denver News, Mr. Rozelle of Missouri, W. J. Bryan, Hon. Geo. W. Berge and Judge Holcomb.

All the speakers were fervid and enthusiastic. Mr. Patterson thought that the party in Nebraska had been unusually fortunate in the character of its leadership. If Nebraska populists would point out the path for the party to pursue in the future, those in Colorado and other states would go that way. Mr. Patterson said that the people's party had advocated the reform issues at a time when the democrats were indifferent or antagonistic and had finally forced the latter to take a position in favor of the people. The populists were ready he concluded, to continue the co-operation until through the election of W. J. Bryan the face of the nation should be turned to a new and brighter era.

Mr. Bryan arrived late in the evening and was received with round after round of cheers. In his characteristically humorous way, Mr, Bryan said that he was glad to see so many visitors from other states come in, as it showed that there are some good people who live outside of Nebraska. One reason why the populists of this state had been able to accomplish more than their brethren in other states, he thought, was because they had been continually co-operating with those who, in the main, have advocated the same principles. As early as 1891 and ever since, Mr. Bryan continued, he had urged the democrats to treat the populists with consideration.

It might not always be easy to divide the offices, he said, but the allied parties have, nevertheless, been able to get along in harmony; even since the advent of the silver republicans as a third division of the reform army. The signal victory gained in Nebraska this fall had been of immense importance to the whole country, as all talk of abandoning the Chicago platform has subsided since that time.

The populists and democrats did not advocate exactly the same things, Mr. Bryan went on, but when all the things which everybody in both parties wanted should have been secured, no one would be worse off for the fact. The movement of reforms had always been slow. To those who might be discouraged after four or five years of work, he would show them General Weaver, who had been twenty years in the movement, and was still fighting the battle of life.

In conclusion, Mr. Bryan expressed the belief that many of those who had supported the republican candidates in the last presidential campaign would be with the reform parties this year. The republicans had no time to spare in the fight of 1896 nor would they have in the coming campaign. He was certain that all republicans could not be carried over to the new policies of putting the dollar above the man.

G. W. Berge was called upon for a speech and he responded by reviewing the republican policy for twenty years, calling attention to the many times when the party had reversed itself on public questions. Judge Sorenberger made a talk on the Philippine policy of the present administration.

Governor Holcomb declared that the last victory was simbly amazing but he believed that it could not be more than duplicated next fall. It was very late when the open meeting broke up, but members of the national committee had long previously retired to take up national matters, The regular conference of the state committee and invited guests began the next morning behind closed doors. All that was given out of their doings for publication was the following:

Decided to hold the state convention at New Auditorium, Lincoln, March 19, beginning at 8:00 p.m. Basis of representation to be same as used for convention in August, 1899.

The following resolutions were passed during the course of the meeting:

Resolved, That the name "The People's Independent party" of Nebraska be changed to "The People's Party."

Resolved, that the foregoing resolution be brought before the next convention of the people's party for ratification or rejection. (This is to have the party name in Nebraska conform to the name used by the party in all other states.)

Resolved, That it is the sense of the populist state central committee of Nebraska, in conference assembled, that the idea of holding the populist national convention thirty days prior to the democratic and silver republican convention, is unwise and would result in producing discord and unharmonious action in the reform ranks of the nation, and that we disapprove of such a proposed course and declare that we are in favor of holding the populist national convention at the same time and place as the democratic and silver republican conventions, and are further in favor of united action against the party of imperialism and gold standard. Unanimously carried.

Every day or two a new case of government by injunction comes up. This time the district court of Lancaster county is considering the advisability of enjoining the state printing board. The legislature of 1899 appointed two employees to prepare the house and senate journals and copy for the printer. This work was duly performed and the state printing board let the contract for printing the journals to Jacob North & Sons, who had their work about completed when their printing plant was destroyed by fire. In the fire was lost the copy of the journals. The Norths stood ready to do their work over again, but needed new copy. The printing board was not certain it had jurisdiction in the matter, but finally decided to advertise for bids for preparing copy, and let to the lowest bidder, such bidder however, to look to the next legislature for payment, no available appropriation being at the board's disposal. The former legislative employes who made the first copy wanted permission to make the new, but did not want any specific amount named; but the board insisted that the lowest bidder should do the work, and accordingly let the contract to R. H. Langford, who agreed to perform the work for about $700—about half what the others bid. Those who made the first copy now come into court and seek to prevent Mr. Langford and the board from carrying out their agreement.

THEY ARE AFTER GAGE

Allen in the Senate and Sulzer in the House Want to Know all those Bank and Bond Deals.

Washington, D. C., Jan. 5, 1900, (Special Correspondence.)—It has been a very quiet time in congressional circles since the adjournment for the holiday recess. The house of representatives was not in session more than thirty minutes on either Wednesday or Thursday, at which latter time it adjourned until Monday, January 8, and the senate did likewise.

Senator Allen's resolution calling for investigation of Gage's transactions with the New York banks was adopted. Congressman Sulzer's resolution similar to the Allen resolution was adopted in the house. Today's Star, a republican paper, says that it will take some time for Secretary Gage to comply with the resolutions as it will be necessary to copy more than five hundred documents from the files.

Most of the city papers, regardless of politics, resent British interference with American commerce, and urge the president to more prompt action. Some make strong comments on Germany's promptness in protesting against English interference and unjust aggression. Attention is called to our dilatory manner of dealing with the situation as contrasted with Germany's quick response.

It would seem from the vote of the senate committee on privileges and elections today, in which by a vote of four to three it was decided that M. S. Quay is not entitled to the seat to which he has been appointed, that the days of the "blocks of five" statesmen are about numbered.

INDEPENDENT ALL RIGHT

The Banking Department says its Predictions have been Fulfilled and its Political Economy sound.

Department of Banking, Lincoln, Jan. 9, 1900.—In response to your inquiry of even date will say that the annual report of this department is not yet compiled. We hope to have it completed in a few days and you will then receive an abstract of the condition of the banks of Nebraska.

You ask me what I think of the Independent and especially of its editorials on finance. Permit me to say that I consider the Independent as doing a splendid work for the fusion forces in this state and entitled to generous support. As to the financial articles which appear in its columns, without any attempt at flattery, permit me to say that they give evidence of a thorough knowledge of sound economic principles. While you and I do not always agree, as you well know, and remembering that you have often charged me with being influenced by my banking environments I will with pleasure and frankness state that the economic reasons advanced by you months ago in the Independent, why just such a financial collapse as now has eastern money centers trembling with fear, were sound, and time and events have vindicated the position you took. You had good reasons for the basis of your prophesies. You are also right in the position, that if we are to remain free from the disturbing influences of European financial matters, we must preserve an independent and exclusively American system of finance. If the victory of a handful of Boers in South Africa may affect our financial affairs as it has the last few days, it is about time to "cut the wires," abandon the Gold Standard and finance our own affairs in our own way and cease trying to imitate European Nations.

I hope you will continue to expose the purpose of the vicious and dishonest currency measure which lately passed the House and is now pending in the Senate of the United States. It is more dangerous than fire, pestilence and war.

Respectfully,

P. L. HALL.

GIVE US A MAN.

Nebraska's great state university is without a chancellor. Our state university is entitled to about third rank among the universities of the entire country. Give us a man worthy of the place. Let us not be afraid to pay well for such a man. Give us a David Starr Jordan, a Canfield or an Andrews. Great men, not necessarily great buildings and equipments, make great institutions of learning. Give us a great man for this most responsible and honorable place.—Hamilton County register.

M'KINLEY SCORED

Dr. Swallow sizes the Methodist Bishops and McKinley and declares that they are not Christians.

When Dr. Silas C. Swallow gets after a case of wrong doing he makes it exceedingly lively for the subject of his remarks, as several Pennsylvania statesmen can bear witness. He asks the Methodist bishops some very pertinent questions which they will not attempt to answer. The doctor says:

"The bishops of the Methodist church, backed by the general conference, its only law making body, have placed in their book of discipline the following utterance:

"'The word of God, the teaching of science and the lessons of experience all combine in declaring total abstinence from intoxicating beverages to be the duty of every individual.'

"The inference is that a man who does not so abstain is not a Christian, We are prepared to call witnesses to prove William McKinley does not so abstain, but drinks, mingles with drinkers in a social, unnecessary way, and puts the bottle to his neighbor's lips at his own table. Therefore William McKinley is not a Christian.

"Second—They say in their book of discipline: 'It is expected of all who continue in the church that they continue to evidence their desire of salvation by avoiding,—many sins among them—'drunkenness, buying or selling spirituous liquors, or drinking them, unless in cases of extreme necessity.

"William McKinley encourages their sale by not preventing it in the army, at military posts, and in the newly acquired territory, over all of which he has supreme control, and the encouragement has resulted in a holocaust of debauchery and death. He drinks intoxicants with drinkers and drunkards, and gives it to others.

"Therefore William McKinley should not continue in the church.

"The church law again says: 'In case of —— using of intoxicating liquors as a beverage —— let private reproof be given by the pastor or leader, and if there be an acknowledgment of the fault and proper humiliation, the person may be borne with. On a second offense the pastor or leader may take one or two discreet members of the church. On a third offense let him be brought to trial, and if found guilty and there be no sign of real humiliation, he shall be expelled.'

"William McKinley has so offended, and the pastor of the Methodist church at Canton, O., where William McKinley, it is said, holds his membership, or the Rev. Dr. Bristol, pastor of the Metropolitan Methodist church, if his membership is now held there, should so proceed unless the law is made only for the poor and not for the rich, only for the plebian and not for the heirarch.

"The bishops say over their signatures: 'The liquor traffic cannot be legalized without sin.'

"William McKinley legalizes by permitting it in the canteen. Therefore, William McKinley is a sinner, and willful sinners should not be retained in the church.

"The book of discipline calls drinking liquor as a beverage 'unchristian conduct.' William McKinley drinks it as a beverage; therefore he is guilty of 'unchristian conduct,' and one so guilty is not a Christian.

"William McKinley, when owning and receiving revenue from a saloon in Canton, O., was continued a member of the Methodist church. He was received with open arms by many of the bishops at the general conference at Cleveland in May, 1896, where he was accorded a public reception. Many of them quietly, some of them openly, labored for his election.

"The bishops as members of the missionary committee, held a meeting during this month in Washington and were given a public reception at the White House by President McKinley. They afterwards appointed a committee to express their thanks to the president for his kindness, which was done in the following language, which was either voted upon by the missionary committee, including the board of bishops, or, at least, if allowed by them to go uncontradicted, must be interpreted as their sentiment:

"'We believe President McKinley to be actuated by lofty motives and hail him as a worthy successor of the illustrious men who have preceded him in the presidency. We greet and congratulate him on his able administration of our public affairs, both at home and abroad. And as a broad minded patriot, as a Christian gentleman, as a devout husband, and a God fearing American statesman, may heaven bless and preserve and guide him in the execution of his great office. Very respectfully, John F. Hurst, S. F. Upham: Thomas Bowman, James F. Rusling, James M. Buckley, committee.'

"Now, what 2,000,000 of the common people composing the rank and file of the Methodist church want to know is:

"Whether a man who fraternizes with the millionaire brewer Cox of Cincinnati, accepts the costly entertainment of Greenhut of Chicago, drinks intoxicants again and again at public banquets and at his own table, protects the liquor traffic in the army canteen in the Philippines and in his own saloon when he had one in Canton, gives young men liquor to drink at his own table, and does it all in the face of the protest of the Christian public, in open violation of his church vows, and of the repeated avowals of the board of bishops in the quadrennial deliverances, as also in the general conference as embodied in the law of the church, whether such a man is, in the language of the resolutions at the bishops' meeting, and signed by two bishops, 'a broad minded patriot, a Christian gentleman, a God fearing American statesman?"

"The bishops were wrong when they made the utterances still found in the book of discipline, or they are wrong now. Will they kindly tell the church which standard set up by them is the right standard? We desire to be loyal Methodists. S. C. SWALLOW.

ANGLOPHOBIA

The Youth's Companion Distorts Literature and Misrepresents History for Fear of Offending the British.

Every school boy has read with delight, though tears dimmed his eyes, the beautiful story written by Elihu Burrit, found in the school fourth reader, of the brave Boer and his horse. Last week, with a meanness that is hard to match in the records of the past, the Youths Companion published the touching story, but changed it to the "farmer" and his horse. Burrit describes the wreck of the ship and the fearfullness of the storm and says:

"Right in the rage and roar of wind and sea a great ship, with sails rent and helm gone, came in sight. It rode on the high, white waves, straight on the reef of rocks too far from the shore to reach with a rope. The ship was full of young and old, whose cries for help could be heard, loud as was the voice of the storm. Their boats were gone like the shells of eggs. There was no wood nor time to build a raft. The waves heaped on the ship like great white wolves bent on their prey. How could one soul of them be saved?

"The men on the shore could but look on the sad sight. They could give no help. They had no boat nor raft; their hearts were sick within them. Then the Dutch Boer was seen to draw near at full speed on his horse. Down he came to the beach, nor did he stop there one breath of time. He spoke a word to her, (his mare) which she knew, and with no touch of whip or spur she dashed in and swam to the ship's side with a rope tied to her tail. She wheeled and stamed her way on the white surge with a row of men to the shore. There she stayed but for a breath. At the soft word and touch which she knew so well, she turned and once more plowed her way through the surge to the ship and brought a load of young and old.

"Once more she stood on the beach, amidst tears of joy that fell from all eyes. She stood there weak, as wet with sweat as with the sea. The night fell down fast on the ship. There were a few more left on it and their cries for help came the wind to the shore. The thoughts that tugged at the brave man's heart will not be known in this world. The cries from the ship pierced it through and through. He could not bear to hear them. He spoke a low, soft word to his horse, he put his hand to her neck and seemed to ask her if she would do it. She turned her head to him with a look that meant, 'if you wish it, I will try.' He did wish it and she tried to the last pulse of her heart. She walked straight out into the wild sea.

"All on shore held their breath at the sight. She was weak, but brave. Now and then the white surge buried her head; then she rose and shook the brine from her eyes. Foot by foot she neared the ship. Now the last man had caught the rope. Once more she turned her head to the beach. Shouts and prayers came from it to keep up her strength. The tug was for a life she loved more than her own. She broke her veins for it half way 'tween ship and shore. She could lift her feet no more. Her mane lay like black sea weed on the waves while she tried to catch one more breath. Then, with a groan, she went down with all the load she bore, and a wail went up from the land for the loss of a life that had saved from death near a ship's crew of men,

"Thus dared and died in the sea the brave Dutch Boer and his horse. They were as friends, one in life and death; and both might well have place and rank with the best lives and deaths we read of in books for young and old."

To distort literature, to misrepresent history for fear that the truth will be offensive to the power that is trying to wrest independence from as brave and chivalrous a people as ever bore arms, is carrying anglophobia to a point never reached before.

Good Selections

In the selection and promotions in his office force, consequent upon the return of the insurance department to his control, Aoditor Cornell has very wisely selected those who have been faithful and reliable in the past. Mr. Wm. B. Price who has been selected for insurance deputy, is an attorney at law, and with his experience in the Auditor's office is entirely qualified for the place. He will conduct the department in a manner acceptable to his chief and to the satisfaction of all who have business with that department.

Another deserved promition is that of J. M. Whitaker, of Falls City, from recording clerk to insurance clerk, carrying with it a raise of $200 per year in his salary. Mr. Whitaker is a populist and has devoted much time to building up the party in the past.

Mr. Cornell very properly recognized the democrats by the promotion of J. M. Gilchrist to be book-keeper at a salary of $1,500 per year, and the selection of Leon Crandall for recording clerk and Philip Cole for bond clerk.

Mr. Lyman Fitch, an old time populist, was selected for county treasurer examiner, to succeed Mr. Gilchrist, promoted.

DISGUSTING TOADYISM

American Joe Chamberlain Sycophants Compared with the Scholars and Thinkers of England.

The Independent has a very great regard for the common people of England. It is to their love of liberty and bravery on a thousand battle fields that the world owes much of its progress and freedom. It holds in the very highest estimation its scholars, its poets, its scientific writers. They have the courage to speak the truth when men in the same class in this country turn sycophant and fawn at the feet of wealth. There was an example of this in the professors of political economy durng the fight that has been going on for the last ten years to establish the gold standard. All the professors in this country repudiated the well-established truths of political economy and became abject slaves of the banks and Wall street, while every professor of political economy in England stood by his guns and refused to cringe to the power of gold. Every one of them wrote and spoke in favor of bimetallism.

Among the most distinguished men of England is Rt. Hon. James Bryce, member of parliament, author of Transcaucasia and Ararat, The Holy Roman Empire, Impressions of South Africa, and the American Commonwealth. His reputation for accuracy of statement and truthfulness is such that his work on the government of this country has become a standard and text book in all American colleges. He is an Englishman of the English and of the sort of men that have made England great. Compare his statements with the writings of the McKinley tories in this country. He has an article in the North American Review of December.

After a survey of the relations between England and the Transvaal Boers from 1836 to the present day, in which he shows that England acted wholly without justification in annexing the Transvaal in 1877, Mr. Bryce declares that "under the convention of 1884, which fixes the relation of Britain and the South African Republic, the latter had the most complete control of its internal affairs, and Britain possessed no more right of interfering with those affairs than with the affairs of Belgium or Portugal.

The "suzerainty" claimed for Great Britain, if it existed at all, related solely to the power of making treaties, and did not touch any domestic matter.

"When, therefore, the British government was appealed to by the Uitlander British subjects who lived in the Transvaal to secure a redress of their grievances, her title to address the Coer government and demand redress depended primarily upon the terms of the convention of 1884, any violation of which she was entitled to complain of; and, secondly, upon the general right which every state possesses to interpose on behalf of its subjects when they are being ill-treated in any foreign country. Under these circumstances it might have been expected that the questions which would have arisen before Britain went to war for the sake of her subjects living in the Transvaal would be these two:

"First, were the grievances of her subjects so serious, was the behavior of the Transvaal government when asked for redress so defiant or so evasive, as to contribute a proper causus belli?

"Secondly, assuming that the grievances (which were real, but in my opinion not so serious as has been frequently alleged) and the behavior of the Transvaal did amount to a causus belli, was it wise for Britain, considering the state of feeling in South Africa and the mischief to be expected from causing permanent disaffection among the Dutch population, and considering also the high probability that the existing system of government in the Transvaal would soon, through the action of natural causes, break down and disappear—was it wise for her to declare and prosecute war at this particular moment?

"Strange to say, neither of these two questions ever in fact arose. That which caused the war was the discussion of another matter altogether, which was admittedly not a grievance for the redress of which Britain had any right to interfere, and which, therefore, could not possibly amount to a causus belli. This matter was the length of time which should elapse before the new immigrants into the Transvaal could be admitted to citizenship, a matter which was entirely within the discretion of the Transvaal legislature. The Boers made concessions, but the British government held these concessions insufficient. In the course of this discussion the British minister used language which led the Transvaal people to believe that they were determined to force the Boer government to comply with their demands; and they followed up their dispatches by sending troops from England to South Africa. They justified this action by pointing out (and the event has shown this to have been the fact) that the British garrison in South Africa was insufficient to defend the colonies. But the Boers very naturally felt that if they remained quiet till the British forces had been raised to a strength they could not hope to resist, they would lose the only military advantage they possessed. Accordingly, when they knew that the reserves were being called out in England and that an army corps was to be sent to South Africa, they declared war, having been for some time previously convinced, rightly or wrongly, that the British government had resolved to coerce them. They were in a sore strait, and they took the course which must have been expected from them, and indeed the only course which brave men who were not going to make any further concessions could have taken.

"And thus the question whether the grievances amounted to a causus belli never came up at all. The only causus belli has been the conduct of the two

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