CHAMP CLARK'S LETTER

Corruption In the Election of Senators.

METHOD NEEDS REVISING.

Three Propositions Now Pending In Congress.

SENATORS OPPOSED TO CHANGE.

Amending the Constitution Is a Slow Process, and Years Must Elapse Before Upper House Can Be Elected by Popular Vote—What James Madison Thought—Governor Dingley's Successor Scores a Hit—The Roberts Discussion.

[Special Washington Letter.]

The contests now going on in the senate—Matthew Stanley Quay of Pennsylvania, fighting to break in on the commission of a governor, appointing him when he had no right to do so, and William A. Clark of Montana, fighting to stay in, though charged with wholesale bribery—are once more fixing the attention of the country on the method of electing senators of the United States. That the method will be changed by constitutional amendment I have no doubt. It is a slow process, but it will eventuate in a plan whereby every state will always have two senators and that they will be elected by a method which will reduce bribery and corruption to a minimum.

My own opinion is that the nearer we get to the great body of the people and the nearer we stay to them the better we will be off. The people can be trusted and ought to be trusted.

That the situation may be thoroughly understood, it is well to restate the fact that at present there are four vacancies in the senate caused by deadlocks in the legislatures of Utah, California, Pennsylvania and Delaware, in all cases produced by corruption. It is easier to produce a deadlock by boodle and corruption than it is to secure an election by such practices. There is a growing belief that the number of senators who hold their seats by purchase is increasing and a growing determination to put an end to such a travesty upon free government.

At present there are three different propositions pending in congress: First, a senate proposition providing that a plurality of a legislature instead of a majority thereof may elect a senator of the United States; second, the proposition of Hon. James T. Lloyd of Missouri to submit a constitutional amendment empowering the people to elect senators of the United States by popular vote, as governors, representatives in congress and other state officers are now elected; third, a proposition by Mr. Corliss of Michigan to submit a constitutional amendment authorizing each state to determine for itself how it will elect its senators.

The senate proposition to authorize a plurality of a legislature to elect would, in my judgment, be a positive premium on corruption and further reduce the dignity of a senatorship. It is too preposterous to be discussed.

Senators Oppose Change.

I am unqualifiedly in favor of Mr. Lloyd's proposition, but as that of Mr. Corliss is more likely to prevail I hereby give the views of both Mr. Lloyd and Mr. Corliss just as they wrote them, observing, as a matter of justice, that they prepared them hastily at my request and that in the very nature of things I had to restrict them as to space.

I beg my readers to remember that this is not merely a perfunctory performance on the part of Lloyd and Corliss to attract attention to themselves and to curry favor with the people. On the contrary, the public sentiment in favor of a change is overwhelming, and these gentlemen are simply voicing that sentiment. It may be proper for the further elucidation of the situation to state that Lloyd is a rampant Missouri Democrat and Corliss a rampant Michigan Republican. I state this to show that politics has nothing to do with it. The movement is for the purpose of preserving free institutions on this continent.

The trouble is that nearly all the senators are against any change of method, especially opposed to the plan proposed by Mr. Lloyd, as they have demonstrated by killing just such a proposition as Lloyd's on three or four different occasions after it had passed the house.

People generally do not comprehend how difficult it is to amend the constitution of the United States. First, a resolution submitting the amendment must receive a two-thirds majority of both houses, a thing almost impossible. Then it must be ratified by three-fourths of the state legislatures. Lloyd's resolution, and Corliss' pro tanto, proposes to take away from the senators, or asks them to take away from themselves, the easiest way of securing reelection, and, with one or two exceptions, they are all candidates for reelection. Human nature crops out certainly in such cases.

Then the members of the legislature are asked to take away from themselves one of their chief prerogatives, that of electing senators of the United States. Human nature again crops out. Love of power next to love of fame is the strongest passion of the human heart, overtopping even the love of money, which the great apostle to the gentiles declares to be the root of all evil.

In my judgment, a long crusade is ahead of those of us who would have senators of the United States elected by a free and untrammeled vote of the people.

This crusade must begin in the township primaries, mass meetings or conventions of both parties to instruct delegates to county conventions to vote for no man for a nomination to the legislature who will not pledge himself to vote to ratify such an amendment and not to vote for any man for United States senator who will not pledge himself to vote to submit such an amendment for ratification. Beginning resolutely and systematically in this way such a constitutional amendment can be secured in about ten years. But it is well worth working for and will be worked for, and the present movement in congress is only preliminary to the main battle.

Inasmuch as the committee will report in favor of the Corliss proposition, Mr. Lloyd will offer an amendment to the committee resolution when it comes before the house for consideration embracing the provisions of his resolution and will insist on its adoption. Mr. Lloyd says: "The committee resolution will have the effect, if adopted, of encouraging to a very great extent the evils sought to be remedied. The states in which this law would be the most salutary are likely to be the states where the legislature would make the selection.

"The senate bill, if adopted, would make it more easy to buy senatorial position than now. It would overcome deadlocks, it is true, but it is better to fail to elect than to have senators who are representatives only of aggregated wealth and who are to be the tools of corporate greed.

"There are few elections for senator where there are not charges of bribery and corrupting influence. In many instances men are selected for legislators not because of their qualifications, but on account of their pledge to vote for certain candidates for senator. Others seek and obtain the office as the hireling of a candidate for senator that his vote may be secured in the legislature.

James Madison's Views.

"Each branch of congress should be responsible directly to the people. The more removed the individual is from this responsibility the less interest he is likely to manifest in them.

"James Madison said when framing the constitution on this exact proposition:

"'This great fabric to be raised would be more stable and durable if it should rest on the solid foundation of the people.' It is unfortunate that his views were not then accepted."

Mr. Corliss says: "The object of this resolution is to place in the hands of the people of the respective states the right, if they so elect by constitutional or legislative enactment, to afford the people the privilege of expressing by direct vote their will in the election of a United States senator.

"The chief concern of all good governments is the welfare and happiness of the people, and we believe their welfare and happiness are best secured and preserved through the powerful agency of the direct action of the citizen as the sovereign.

"Had the people enjoyed the rights guaranteed by the proposed amendment in recent years the election of senators in the states of Kentucky, Idaho, Delaware and others and the disgrace to such states and the humiliation of the nation by the deplorable conduct of the members of such legislatures would have been avoided.

"In the election of United States senators by members of the legislature corruption cannot well be proved.

"The fundamental principle of a republican form of government is based upon the idea that they derive their 'just powers from the consent of the governed.'

"If the people have the wisdom in our states to elect our governors and state officers, if the people have the wisdom to elect our state judiciary, why may they not be permitted to enjoy the right of selecting United States senators?

"'Lead us not into temptation,' says the Lord's Prayer. The constitution in its present form spreads in the pathway of members of the legislature a moral temptation through which many good and true men of merit are forced to defeat and the glory and honor of a senatorship snatched from the hands of the people by corrupt means.

"Take from the legislature the selection of the United States senator and you will destroy one of the most potent powers through which corporate influence now holds its sway.

"The impression prevails that it is as difficult for a poor man to enter the senate of the United States as for a rich man to enter the kingdom of heaven.

"Give the people the right proposed by this amendment and you will once more restore the United States senate to the position intended by the fathers of our country and remove the influence that now threatens the confidence of the people in this important branch of our government.

Conkling's Prophetic Words.

"Under the present constitution the people have no means through which they can discover, punish and condemn the corrupt conduct of the members of the legislatures. This would be remedied by the proposed amendment. In a state convention of the respective parties candidates for the senate would have to be nominated, and should such honor be secured by corruption they would be condemned by the people on the day of election.

"The unit of power in the senate, under the constitution, is held by the state, through her two votes, each state exercising equal influence and power without regard to her boundaries or population, and it was intended by the framers of the constitution and expressly provided that vacancies in the senate should never occur. Yet through the manipulations of state legislatures vacancies of recent years have repeatedly occurred, and at the present time four vacancies exist—to wit, in Pennsylvania, California, Delaware and Utah.

"Under the constitution when vacancies occur it is provided that they shall be filled temporarily by appointment by the governor prior to the convening of the state legislature and the election of a senator at the first session thereof.

"Never in the history of the senate, it can be creditably said, has that body seated a person seeking admission by appointment from the governor after the legislature of the state had failed to elect.

"After a trial of over 100 years of the present method of electing United States senators it has been found the exception, instead of the rule, that the states have been upon terms of absolute equality, as intended by the constitution, in the United States senate.

"The following prophetic words of Senator Conkling, in discussing the right to fill vacancies where the legislature fails to elect, are most applicable at the present time:

"'That the governor of a state and his friends, by cabal, intrigue and maneuver, may so arrange that the legislature will decide not to elect, or would fail to elect, in order that the governor might gather to himself the power to fill the vacancy.'

"With the adoption of the proposed amendment to the constitution it would be impossible to defeat the will of the people in any election. The vacancies that are now too frequent in the senate and occupy the time and attention of that body would never occur, and the all important influence and power of the respective states in the exercise of their constitutional prerogatives as a unit would be maintained.

"It will be observed that the proposed amendment broadens and extends the sovereign right of the people of the state by placing in their power the right to either continue the present method for the election of United States senators by the legislature or by a direct vote of the people, when in the judgment of the people of the state such method would correct the existing evils and insure to the state her full representation in the United States senate.

"This provision preserves the unit of power in the state, in no way affects the rights of a state or the power of the senate and maintains the fundamental principles of the constitution."

Dingley's Successor.

When General James A. Garfield said that there was no place on earth where a man would more certainly reach his true level than in the house of representatives, he stated a great truth. Some begin under favorable circumstances; some under unfavorable, but they all find their place at last.

For instance, Mr. Littlefield of Maine, Governor Dingley's successor, made a great hit in the Roberts debate. Hereafter he is a prominent member. He made his debut as a congressional orator under ideal circumstances. He came with the eclat of being an ex-attorney general of his state. By the favor or friendship of Speaker Henderson he was placed on the special committee to investigate Roberts. He not only had ample time to prepare his speech—some seven weeks—but making a minority report, he knew in advance that he would control half of the time during the three days' debate, and would, therefore, have all the time he desired in which to deliver his speech. It would have done him little good to have prepared a three hours' speech and then had only 5, 10 or 15 minutes in which to deliver fragments of it. If he is not the sworn friend of the speaker hereafter, he will be the veriest ingrate, for he owed his great opportunity solely to the favor of the speaker, who passed by veteran and distinguished members from all parts of the country and of all parties, and gave him the opportunity of a lifetime, one that comes to few men in a lifetime. More than all else he had a great case to argue.

With these favorable surroundings, facing a vast audience, Mr. Littlefield spoke for nearly three hours, his maiden speech in congress. It was tip top, and he received his due meed of praise ungrudgingly on every hand.

Entertaining Speeches.

Indeed the speaking on the Roberts case was all of an entertaining kind, largely from the fact that the members of the select committee monopolized the three days of time almost to the entire exclusion of other members and therefore had ample time for preparation and delivery. Perhaps the turn of representatives not on that select coterie will come some day, and those illustrious orators will find themselves listeners instead of talkers. I am not complaining. I had no desire to speak on the Roberts case.

It is highly probable that the Roberts case will never be duplicated while there exists an American congress.

If the Mormons were desiring by the election of Roberts to make a test case, they succeeded beyond their most sanguine expectations.

They could have elected a Mormon who was not a polygamist. Few men in the Fifty-fifth congress stood higher than Judge King of Utah; certainly no new member stood higher. Yet he was a Mormon, though not a polygamist. Senator Rawlins stands high. He, too, is a Mormon, but not a polygamist. They could have elected some such man in lieu of Roberts, the polygamist, but nothing would do them. They at least know more than they did. That is one of the certain results of the Roberts case.

Champ Clark

Call for State Convention People's Independent Party

The electors of the people's independent party of Nebraska are hereby notified that on the 19th day of March, A. D., 1900 at 6 o'clock p. m. of said day, in the auditorium building, city of Lincoln, and state of Nebraska, there will be held a convention of delegates, from the several counties of said state, representing the people's independent party.

Such convention is called for the purpose of selecting such number of delegates as the national committee of the people's party may hereafter determine as Nebraska's representation to the national convention of said people's party, the time and place of holding said national convention being as yet undetermined but subject to the action of the meeting of said national committee to be held in the city of Lincoln, Nebraska, in the month of February, A. D. 1900, and for the transaction of such other business as may lawfully come before said convention.

The state committeemen, acting on behalf of the people's independent party in and for the several counties, are requested to advise with the county central committee of said party and perfect arrangements for calling and holding county conventions in time for the selection of delegates to attend the state convention hereby called.

The chairman and secretary of each county convention, called in pursuance with and conformity to this call, are requested to forward as soon as possible credentials for the delegates selected to J. H. Edmisten, chairman, Lincoln, Nebraska.

The basis of representation is one delegate at large for each county and one delegate for each 100 votes, or major fraction thereof, cast for Silas A. Holcomb, in the election of 1899, for supreme judge; and the several counties are entitled to the following representation:

Adams	22	Jefferson	16
Antelope	14	Johnson	12
Banner	2	Kearney	14
Blaine	2	Keith	4
Boone	14	Keya Paha	5
Box Butte	6	Kimball	2
Boyd	9	Knox	19
Brown	5	Lancaster	47
Buffalo	23	Lincoln	13
Burt	13	Logan	3
Butler	23	Loup	3
Cass	24	McPherson	2
Cedar	17	Madison	16
Chase	4	Merrick	12
Cherry	8	Nance	10
Cheyenne	6	Nemaha	18
Clay	21	Nuckolls	16
Colfax	14	Otoe	23
Cuming	18	Pawnee	12
Custer	25	Perkins	4
Dakota	8	Phelps	14
Dawes	8	Pierce	10
Dawson	16	Platte	21
Deuel	4	Polk	16
Dixon	12	Red Willow	12
Dodge	23	Richardson	25
Douglas	105	Rock	4
Dundy	4	Saline	22
Fillmore	21	Sarpy	11
Franklin	13	Saunders	27
Frontier	11	Scott's Bluff	4
Furnas	16	Seward	19
Gage	28	Sheridan	9
Garfield	4	Sherman	9
Gosper	7	Sioux	4
Grant	2	Stanton	9
Greeley	9	Thayer	17
Hall	20	Thomas	2
Hamilton	18	Thurston	9
Harlan	14	Valley	10
Hayes	5	Washington	15
Hitchcock	7	Wayne	11
Holt	16	Webster	15
Hooker	2	Wheeler	3
Howard	14	York	20
Total			1226.

By order of the people's independent party state central committee.

E. W. NELSON, Secretary. J. H. EDMISTEN, Chairman.

Nearly every republican paper in Nebraska last week contained a supplement giving Senator Beveridge's speech on the Philippine question—twelve columns of closely printed matter, furnished, no doubt, through the republican national committee.

Senator Beveridge outlines the republican policy on this question to be pursued in the coming campaign. His speech is a grand plea for commercialism, for imperialism, for militarism. It is intended to dazzle the eyes of American citizens by presenting a glowing picture of the untold wealth which the possession of the Philippines will give us.

There is not a drop of the milk of human kindness in the whole twelve columns; but every neatly rounded period appeals to the cupidity of man.

"This island empire," he said, "is the last land left in all the oceans. If it should prove a mistake to abandon it, the blunder once made would be irretrievable. If it proves a mistake to hold it, the error can be corrected when we will. Every other progressive nation stands ready to relieve us."

"Most future wars will be conflicts for commerce. The power that rules the Pacific, therefore, is the power that rules the world. And, with the Philippines, that power is and will forever be the American republic!"

"No land in America surpasses in fertility the plains and valleys of Luzon."

And so on, ad infinitum. Then several columns of quotations from rich planters and business men to show that the Filipinos are incapable of self-government in a sort of half-way apology for forcing upon them a government they do not desire, and the only time the senator allows conscience to assert itself in the least.

This speech should be translated into German, Bohemian, Swedish, and other foreign languages and extensively circulated in the United States. If there was any doubt last fall in the mind of any man as to the attitude of the republican party, a careful reading of Senator Beveridge's speech will dispel it. The republican party is irrevocably pledged to imperialism in its three important phases: Imperialism in finance, the gold standard and increased powers to national banks; commercial imperialism, gigantic corporations and trusts crushing all smaller business concerns; and imperialism by the sword, wars of conquest and a great standing army.

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Utility, Value, and Price

One of the best and clearest definitions of value is "power in exchange." Another, "human estimation placed upon things which may be exchanged." From the latter definition we may make the following deductions: There must be at least two persons, and at least two things to be exchanged, before either of the two things can be valued. If there were but one person in the world, all the property in the world would be valueless, because there would be no other person with whom to make exchanges. Yet each portion of the vast amount of property would contain the qualities which render it capable of being useful to mankind, and, hence, would have utility.

If there were but one thing in all the world of utility to mankind, that thing would be valueless, because there would be no other thing to be given in exchange for it.

A correct understanding of the meanings of the terms, "value," "utility," and "price," will go a long way in clearing up the so-called mystery which surrounds the money question. "Price" is value expressed in terms of money. Without money things would be without price—but not without value or utility.

Imagine a state of society without money. The cow you traded for two hogs would have value—just twice as much as each of the hogs; the hogs would have value—each half as great as the cow. But to name the value of the cow or the hogs would be awkward. Now, under modern conditions, suppose you set a price of $40 on your cow; then the price of the hogs would be $20 each.

Utility is a considerable factor in determining the value of a thing; but the two do not necessarily go hand in hand. Some things of the greatest possible utility have no value at all; and many things of little utility have great value. Supply and demand govern the value of all things; but the intrinsic qualities of a thing give it utility, great or small, as the case may be. Air is an absolute necessity to human life; its utility is very great. But air has absolutely no value. Why? Because the supply is unlimited and easily obtainable by all. It cannot be exchanged, and if it could be, there is nothing on earth, except light, perhaps, that could be used for purposes of comparison in estimating its value.

Diamonds have but little utility, yet great value. Why? Because the supply is greatly limited, while human desire to possess them, coupled with ability to gratify such desire, create a great demand for them.

Supply and demand govern the value of all things—and money is no exception to this rule. A short wheat crop with undiminished demand means that the value of wheat must necessarily rise—there will be fewer bushels obtainable. But a shortage in the wheat crop does not necessarily mean that the PRICE of wheat must rise. A sufficient shortage of money occurring at the same time, causing the value of each piece of money to rise, might cause the price of wheat to remain stationary. But the fact that each piece of money and each bushel of wheat had risen in value would be shown in a decline in the price of other things.

CHAS. Q. DEFRANCE.

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The state treasurer has called $42,000 of registered general fund warrants, registry numbers 51451 to 51650 inclusive for payment February 1, 1900.

The insurance department is very busy these days receiving and filing annual statements of the various insurance companies doing business in Nebraska.

Settlement by county treasurers with the auditor is progressing rapidly, about forty-three treasurers having complied with the law.

An inspection of the list of county treasurers in Nebraska shows that 42 of them were re-elected last fall. Very few who ran for a second term were defeated.

Judge Holcomb has settled down to business and is grinding out opinions just as if he had been supreme judge all his life.

The twenty-eighth annual meeting of the Nebraska Press Association, held in Lincoln last week, is regarded as the most successful in the history of the organization.

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Among these were a few who had, for a number of years, been suffering with Chronic Rheumatism, who had piloted themselves around on Crutches. They came to my office without Crutches and told me they were perfectly Well. They give all the credit to "5 DROPS" and to "5 Drop" Plasters and this is their testimony to the Swanson Rheumatic Cure Company for their kindness and for the conscientious way in which they are placing these Wonderful Remedies among suffering humanity, which they told me to write to the Company as an acknowledgement.

As I have seen the Curative Power of "5 DROPS" and "5 Drop" Plasters, in a great many instances, I can Truly recommend them and also that the firm is perfectly honest and reliable to deal with. C. A. JACKSON, Physician and Surgeon, Kearney, Neb., Aug. 29, 1899.

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