The Nebraska Independent.

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A HEARTY WELCOME

The Boer Envoys Came to Nebraska and Received a Joyful Welcome—W. J. Bryan, Governor Poynter and Mayor Moores Assure Them Sympathy.

Part of the delegation of the Boer envoys came to Omaha last week and were met by enthusiastic crowds telling them that they were welcome and that the people of this state most heartily sympathized with the brave little republics which were making such a heroic fight for liberty and self government. A reception was given them at the city hall and a public meeting was held in the Creighton theatre. Both places were crowded with people and many turned away who could not get in. Speeches of welcome and sympathy were made by Governor Poynter, W. J. Bryan and others. Mr. Bryan spoke in part as follows:

"I came as a citizen—an American citizen—to be present with other American citizens to meet the representatives of the Boer republics, to join with you in presenting to them our sympathy for their cause, and as I earnestly believe the sympathy of the American people. I trust that the day will never come when a nation fighting for liberty will look in vain to the American people for sympathy and aid. These envoys have honored us by coming to seek our sympathy, giving us as Americans the opportunity to assist them to gain that liberty which is dear to us.

"Once each year, on Decoration day, we carry flowers to place on the graves of our soldier dead. Do these flowers do the dead any good? No! It is to honor the living that this loving custom is maintained and that they may express their gratitude for what the heroic dead have done for them. It is hard to understand the feelings of the man who has sympathy for the Boer cause, but who is concealing it for political reasons. When a young man I heard a very able sermon, which has always clung by me, on the text: 'As he thinketh, so he is.' Why should any American citizen who feels for the Boers fail to express himself? I do not see how one can do other than choose the cause of the two republics in preference to that of a monarchy; an American citizen who has learned to love and venerate our forms of government.

"There comes a time when the millions of American people have that privilege of rising and casting their ballots against that administration of government which fails to carry out their wishes, and when those ballots are sent counted I believe that they will be an expression of the American people for those people fighting for their independence.

"We know by history that as monarchy increases so government by the consent of the people decreases, and that as government by consent of the people increases so monarchy decreases. We know that if a monarchy overcomes those two republics, government by the people ceases.

"It is said that the blood of the martyr is the seed of the church. If it is found that these republics shall be over come, they will not have fought in vain. Sometimes the men who die do more for liberty than they who live, and ere the struggle is over I believe that the Boers will arise from a hundred fields and liberty will be victorious.

"There are men among us who say that because England sympathized with us during the Spanish-American war we ought to say nothing against such a friendly nation. I deny that such sympathy binds us to act for England. We did not need the sympathy of England during the Spanish-American war. We need the sympathy of no nation on earth. We have received nothing that obligates us to remain passive and helpless while liberty is being crushed. We should not be unmindful of our duties to the people of this world struggling for their liberties—we, the greatest nation on earth, founded on liberty.

"We must keep inspired with that love and reverence for the blessed name of liberty till every American citizen goes down on his knees and asks the God of battles to bring victory to the Boers."

This conclusion for the close of Mr. Bryan's speech was the signal for a cheer and a grand rush for the stage to shake his hand, as well as that of Mr. Wessel.

They Were for Bryan

New York state swept into line with the democracy of the nation under the leadership of Mr. Bryan, and former Governor Hill regained control of the party machinery in the democratic state convention yesterday.

Without a dissenting vote the convention instructed its delegates at large—David B. Hill, Edward Murphy, Richard Croker and Augustus Van Wyck—to vote in the Kansas City convention for Mr. Bryan.

There was no hesitation, no sense of pressure, no trickery in this unanimous endorsement. Many of the men who voted yesterday for instructions were bitter opponents of Mr. Bryan four years ago.

The Chicago platform was not indorsed but the convention pledged the support of the party in New York to any platform adopted by the national convention.

A large body of delegates under the leadership of Norman E. Mack, of Buffalo, fought in committee for either an endorsement of the Chicago platform or the omission of the resolutions altogether. The compromise, which threw the responsibility for reaffirming the Chicago platform upon the national convention, fairly represented the opinion of an overwhelming majority of delegates.

It is not an exaggeration to say that the ice trust scandal, exposed by the Journal, enabled Mr. Hill to regain his leadership in the state.

In the morning session the convention hissed the names of Mayor Van Wyck and Augustus Van Wyck—not gentle sibilations of reproach, but fierce, angry, old-time democratic hisses.

That gave Mr. Hill his opportunity. He knew the temper of the convention. During the recess he notified the Tammany and Brooklyn leaders that if they did not surrender the control of the state committee to him and re-elect Frank Campbell chairman of that body, the names of Norman E. Mack and Frank Campbell would be substituted as delegates-at-large for those of Richard Croker and Augustus Van Wyck—whose names are writ large on the stock books of the ice trust.

That ended it. The leadership was surrendered to Mr. Hill, who has no ice trust stock.—James Creelman.

A PROGRAM OF MURDER

Let us not Forget the Fate of Bloody Spain once the Mistress of the Whole World.

Is there an American man or woman who can read without a shudder the announcement that our troops have been ordered to treat the Philippine insurgents as bandits? That was the policy of General Weyler, the monster of the nineteenth century, toward the Cuban insurgents. Is our flag to be stained as the Spanish flag was stained with the blood of unarmed prisoners of war?

A man does not have to sympathise with Aguinaldo in order to protest against this awful program of murder in cold blood. Men who publicly declare war for political objects and who openly take the field with arms in their hands are soldiers, not bandits. The Philippine insurgent government declared war regularly, and its troops have made war according to the usage of civilization. There may be a difference of opinion in the United Stntes regarding the merits or demerits of the insurgent cause. But one thing is certain, the insurgent army has treated prisoners of war as prisoners of war. Every American prisoner who has been held by Aguinaldo's army will bear witness to the fact that the Filipinos do not kill prisoners.

This new barbarity is a personal invention of General Otis. It was he who conceived the idea of calling the insurgent columns "robber bands," Even when the insurgent army, uniformed, officered and intrenched better than our own, fought day after day against overwhelming numbers in Luzon, General Otis denounced them as "robber bands." It is true that the Philippine troops have generally ceased to fight in massed bodies; it is true that they forage for food. But our troops have done the same thing. Soldiers who seize food supplies, means of transportation, clothing or munitions of war to aid them in continuing their fight are not bandits.

This nation is on the edge of an abyss of shame. If the country does not protest against the policy of Weylerizing the Philippines the story of our struggle for mastery in the archipelago will turn the sentiment of the civilized world against us. It will be the darkest, the most loathsome page in American history. I am not now discussing the question whether a nation is ever justified in shedding human blood for the sake of trade. That is another issue. But I do not believe that there is an American citizen who will assent to the ignoble, unsoldierly butchery of prisoners of war which General Otis has inaugurated. Men who are brave enough to expose their lives in a public cause—even if it be held that the cause is a wrong one—deserve at least our respect as soldiers. Let us not forget the fate which has overtaken blood-guilty Spain, once mistress of the whole world. If her crimes in the field have stirred the heart of humanity against her, can we imitate her example and hope to escape an inheritance of guilt and shame?—James Creelman.

The State Fair

The indications are that the Nebraska state fair will be a huge success this year. The fair will be advertised as never before, and all because after years of injustice toward the country press the state fair management has decided to deal justly with the newspapers of the state. They are no longer "complimentary" tickets, and there are no humiliating conditions attached. Secretary Furnas has realized that every newspaper in Nebraska pays for its state fair tickets ten times over every year, therefore he is sending out tickets that are to be honored under all conditions. The man or woman who presents the ticket is to be admitted to the grounds. This is because the ticket has been paid for. Now that justice has been done the country editors, they will turn in and advertise the coming state fair as a state fair was never before advertised. And advertising—judicious advertising—will make a success of almost anything. The World-Herald rejoices to see this evidence of good judgment on the part of the state fair management, and it congratulates its friends of the country press upon their victory in the fight for the recognition of their rights. Now let us all join in making the Nebraska state fair for 1900 a three-time winner.—World-Herald.

When sending in clubs of subscriptions DO NOT FAIL to mention the premium you desire. Best plan is to cut out the premium list and check the article or articles desired. Remember we are neither hypnotists nor mind readers and must depend solely on you to state plainly what you want.

Farmers' Club Meeting.

The Lancaster Farmers' club will hold its next meeting at the home of Mrs. Deitch, 2½ miles northeast of Malcolm, June 21. G. S. Paswaters, Pres.
Clyde Holenbeck, Secretary.

THE PIRATES DISPERSE

After Spending Six Months in Devising Ways to Fleece the People for the Benefit of the Syndicates, Congress at last Adjourns.

Washington, D. C., June 8, 1900.—The worst congress in the history of the country has adjourned. For the first time since political parties have been organized legislation has been introduced, promoted and passed by the majority party for the sole purpose of securing campaign contributions.

It is true that the Gold Standard bill was passed with enormously increased powers given to the National banks to pay for contributions to the campaign of 1896.

But for the first time can it be said that legislation was introduced and passed with a specific understanding that a certain percentage of the appropriation should be turned over to the chairman of the Republican National Committee, Senator Hanna of Ohio.

The "striker" methods of a corrupt city council have been transferred to the Congress of the United States.

The most notorious of these successful schemes of corruption is the armor plate grab, whereby the armor plate Trust is assured of contracts, the net contracts of which, will exceed $7,000,000 at prices three times the cost of manufacture. Senator Pettigrew made the charge outlined above on the floor of the Senate, and in proof of his charge of present purpose on the part of the republican managers he quoted Mr. Charles Cramp of the Cramp ship-building company who told him personally that his firm had given $400,000 to the republican campaign fund in 1892, with the expectation that his firm would be reimbursed by government contracts. The republican defense of this charge was pitiable indeed. Senator Carter, of Montana, who received the money, put up the baby cry that Senator Pettigrew had received this information in confidence and that it was unfair for him to make it public. But it is just that sort of information which the public wants to receive.

But in twenty different directions Hanna's schemes for accumulating an enormous campaign fund have been put into operation. They are varied in character. Over $50,000,000 of naval contracts are to be provided for. If it was worth $400,000 for the Cramps to take their chances in 1892 it is safe to say that the combined ship building plants of the country, with a $50,000,000 dangled before them, will "bite" to the extent of $5,000,000. Were this bait not big enough the Ship Subsidy steal of $120,000,000 is still held in reserve in the republican bait.

The most impudent hold-up which the republican leaders engineered is the anti-Trust law. The republicans reported from the judiciary committee of the House an anti-Trust bill amendatory of the Sherman act. With one important Democratic amendment forced upon it, exempting trades unions from its operation, the bill seemed so desirable that it received the practically unanimous support of all parties in the House. When it reached the Senate, despite the utmost efforts of the Democrats to bring it to a vote, the bill was sidetracked into a committee where it will lie until next winter.

Now Senator Hanna can hold his right hand out to the dear people and say, "see what we are going to do with the Trusts." But his other hand will be behind his back and he will whisper in an aside to the Trusts, "Cough up or we'll pass it next winter."

The coughing is distinctly audible even this early in the campaign.

The eight hour labor bill is being handled in exactly the same way. It was passed in the House and stalled in the Senate. Now Hanna says to the labor organizations: "Re-elect Major McKinley and we will let it become a law." To the government contractors he says in stage whisper: "Pay your assessment and we will defeat it."

The republican campaign fund raisers have entered upon the grandest scheme of blackmail and bunco that the country has ever witnessed.

With three years in office gone and the long session of Congress at an end in which the republicans have been in full possession of every branch of the government not a single measure of general importance in the interest of the people has become a law. On the other hand to reckless extravagance in appropriations is coupled legislation in reckless disregard of public and party pledges. The Porto Rican tariff bill is but one of many striking examples of a deliberate violation of pledges.

The appropriations for the current fiscal year reach the enormous figure of $709,000,000. Enormous though they are they do not include the usual appropriation for river and harbor work, for public buildings, for the $50,000,000 of naval work authorized or for any portion of the $140,000,000 covered by the Nicaragua Canal bill. There is an increase of $32,000,000 in sundry civil expenditures, or over $35,000,000 in ordinary naval expenditures and of over $90,000,000 in army expenditures. Despite all these increases it is further certain that a deficiency bill will have to be brought forward next winter covering well up to $40,000,000 in the various branches of the service. Government expenditures are now on the basis of nearly $10 per capita and show signs of increasing rather than of decreasing.

The ways and means committee was authorized to sit this summer and formulate bills for tax reduction. It is now announced that the committee will not begin its sessions until after the fall elections. The reason for this is that Mark Hanna preferred to have his own private understandings with the various interests which want changes in internal revenue and tariff taxation, rather than to have too much publicity given by public hearings before the ways and means committee. Hanna will see to it that his campaign fund throbs responsive to the appeals of special interests for relief.

There is some humor in the campaign after all. Mark Hanna has witnessed with some trepidation the fact that the democrats are getting to be altogether too fond of quoting Lincoln. So he concluded to engineer a counter stroke. It would be a fine scheme to assemble at the Philadelphia convention all the surviving members of the republican national convention of 1856. The presence of these venerable men would serve to enthuse the assembled convention and lend eclat to an otherwise cut and dried operation. A careful research developed the fact that fourteen of these ancient men were still alive, ardent for the principles which Lincoln represented. But—here draw the curtain over Hanna's wounded feelings—they are nearly all populists now and are going to vote for Bryan next November.

Another incident which worms in the bud of Hanna's happiness is in connection with the Cuban scandal. Rathbone, the director of Cuban posts, has made good his bluff. He threatened to pull down the pillars of the republican temple if the administration should attempt to disturb or harm him. It is needless to say that he is neither disturbed or harmed, and although he has been relieved from duty, his salary and emoluments still go marching on. In view of this fact it was cruel on the part of Senator Pettigrew to make a speech on the floor of the senate and have published in the Congressional Record the full report of the Ohio legislative committee, a republican organization, which showed up how way into the senate was bribed and bought and this same man Rathbone was the chief manipulator of legislators in Hanna's interest. He was afterward smuggled out of Ohio and kept at a convenient distance in order to prevent the investigating committee from putting him on the rack. It is a safe assertion that Rathbone will not be harmed.

It is interesting to note at the same time that Postmaster General Smith's newspaper, the Philadelphia Press, has the effrontery to claim editorially that every criminal in the Cuban postal fraud is under arrest. The editorial follows in a long and labored attempt to minimize the crime and to maintain that every criminal will be punished. All this in the face of the notorious fact that not one-fourth of the criminals have been apprehended, and that not one of them has yet been brought to trial.

Eva McDonald Valesh.

The War Power

The republican organization has written itself down as the party of high taxes, boodle expenditures and special privileges, the latter to be paid for in generous contributions to its campaign fund, which in turn is aimed at the purity of the ballot, heretofore regarded as the palladium of free institutions. The congress which has just adjourned could have abolished the great bulk of the war stamp taxes had it felt so disposed. We say this upon the authority of Secretary Gage, whose official statement to congress, dated May 28, sets forth that receipts on that date from internal revenue were $314,467,812.70 and from customs $270,992.33, bringing the total revenue for the fiscal year from all sources to $543,206,652.89. Of this total the sum of $265,471,269.31 came from internal revenue, which includes the revenue derived from the war stamp taxes.

The total disbursements for the fiscal year up to and including May 28 were $450,561,793.21, leaving an excess of receipts over expenditures amounting to $62,644,180.58, exclusive of the $150,000,000 gold reserve. The excess of receipts over expenditures on April 30 was $58,490,205.93. March 31 the excess amounted to $54,393,150.34:

It will be seen from these figures that the surplus, in spite of heavy war expenditures, is climbing at the rate of about $4,009,000 a month, so that by the end of the calendar year it is apt to reach $80,000,000 or $100,000,000.

The estimated receipts from the war stamp taxes for the year are from $45,000,000 to $50,000,000. It is easy to see that congress could have wiped out the stamp taxes and left in the treasury at the end of the calendar year a surplus ample enough to meet all possible national necessities.

But the war power is too useful a privilege for the party in control to let go. It will even glory in a treasury surplus of $100,000,000 exacted from the business of the country and in a form that should only be tolerated when the direct necessity exists.—Denver News.

A National Infamy

For a secretary of war and a United States senator to embroil this nation in controversy with Germany, is an international infamy. It is an affront to a friendly power and to the millions of sturdy citizens in the United States of German origin. It ought not to pass unrebuked, and the Times looks to the cultured diplomat at Berlin, Andrew D. White, to administer the rebuke by expressing to the German court and people the evidences of the cordial goodwill of this republic.—Buffalo Times.

McKinley's Rascals

All sorts of shifts and makeshifts are being tried to excuse McKinley for the appointment of the rascals who looted Cuba. While the mullet head editors were busy about that McKinley appointed another man of the same sort to a federal judgeship in New York who received $5,000 as his share of the swag for assisting in engineering a deal to sell the government a yacht for $80,000 that only cost $30,000. The candidate is repudiated by the bar of New York state generally as being unfit for the position. But the candidate has a strong backing nevertheless. All the other thieves are standing by him.

A GOOD DOCUMENT

Every Reader of the Independent Should Take an Interest in Circulating the Following:

The following editorial appeared in the State Journal last Saturday morning, the day of the reception of the Boer envoys by the citizens of this state. Every populist can do some good work for the party by circulating it among his German fellow-citizens and those members of the republican party who still love liberty and desire to see the two little republics live. It will be noticed that the Journal says "a Pittsburg gentleman," without giving his name or the name of the publication in which the interview is said to have appeared. Whenever a newspaper man sees an article beginning in that anonymous way, he puts it down as a fake concocted by the writer furnishing it, and in ninety-nine cases out of a hundred, that is true. The Journal editorial was as follows:

"A Pittsburg gentleman who has lived in the Transvaal tells his people who are wanting to invite the Boers right over here to settle and 'till the soil,' that the invitation would be all right for the grazing lands of Wyoming, but in Pennsylvania the Transvaal Boer would soon become a public charge.

"The trekking Boer of that province, he says, tills no soil; he tills the Kaffir. He may be likened unto a multitude of his pop friends who do not farm the farm but who farm the farmer. His favorite amusement is to sit in the shade of his porch and smoke a large pipe, and watch his blacks, his wife, and his ungrown children as they rustle around and keep the stock properly fed and watered.

"The Boer tillers of the soil live in Capetown, Natal and the Orange Free State that was. They are industrious and thrifty, and seek the education of the schools. The Transvaal is settled by the Boers who will not work themselves so long as there is a Kaffir boy or girl to catch and reduce to order with sjambock. He plows for no crops, he works not with his hands, but he gathers a bunch of cattle, camps out on the great plains and table lands and kopjes and lets his black cowboys do the rest. He is the European Dutchman gone to seed."

TOM PATTERSON'S RECORD.

The Last Fight That He Made in the Democratic Convention for Free Coinage of Silver.

Mr. Walter Johnson sends the following for publication in the Independent. The record is what occurred in the national democratic convention of 1892. Shortly afterwards Mr. Patterson left the democratic party and joined the populists. Mr. Patterson would not use the term "intrinsic value" now. A great deal has been learned about economic terms since then. Mr. Johnson says:

I take from my own note-book the following account of Tom Patterson in the democratic convention of 1892, as clipped from the Chicago Record:

"After the chairman had succeeded in partially restoring order, Mr. Patterson said:"

"Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen of the Democratic Convention:—There is a matter of difference between the members of the committee on resolutions. The difference relates to the coinage planks [hisses], and is embraced in the use of one single word—'free.' The speaker addressing you accepts the unimous amendment that is suggested by the word. The substitute offered is the resolution of the committee, word for word, with the addition of the simple word that I have suggested. I desire, for the information of the delegates, to read the substitute exactly as it stands."

Tom then reads the democratic plank, in which one thief accuses another thief of stealing. Then Tom continues:

"Gentlemen of the convention, if you will do me the honor and kindness to bear with me a short time, I will endeavor to tell you why this difference has been brought before this body of delegates. The difference, fellow delegates, was fundamental. It was not a matter of whim. It has been charged that the free coinage men of the west and south ought not to foist the extreme views of bimetallists upon the democratic convention. [Cries of 'time, time.'] "Free discussion and a respectful hearing is due to every honest advocate of an honest cause. [Loud applause.] And though you may differ from me, there are millions of people in this country, whom you are seeking, who do not differ from me, and who will feel toward the party as you conduct yourselves toward their representatives for the short time they may be before you." [Loud applause and also cries of "time, time." A delegate from the platform: "Go, on. go on! That is from the gallery and not the delgates."

Mr. Patterson:—"I will go on. I will try to speak through, though unless I be partially heard if it takes all night. [Loud applause.] It has been charged that the free coinage men of the west and south came to this convention to air what has been denominated as their extreme views on the coinage question. On the contrary, they are satisfied to receive from this body its expression of faith as the most pronounced opponent of free coinage loves to assert as his belief. We agree that the free coinage of silver shall consist—" [Cries of "time, time," and "Go on, Go on."]

Mr. McKenzie of Kentucky—"Mr. Chairman!"

The Chairman—"For what purpose does the gentleman from Kentucky rise?"

Mr. McKenzie—"I rise for the purpose of making a suggestion to the gentleman from Colorado."

The Chairman—"The gentleman from Colorado yields to the gentleman from Kentucky."

Mr. McKinzie—"It must be evident to that gentlemen that in the impatient temper of this convenoion that it is not the time to make the address that I know so much interest attaches to, as he is making. I therefore suggest that the whole matter be recommitted to the committee on resolutions." [Cries of No! No!"[

Mr. Patterson—"All we have asked is the recognition of the doctrine of free bimetallic coinage as a doctrine of the democratic party; not the coinage of a seventy cent dollar, but the coinage of gold and silver dollars of a fixed parity and each dollar containing metal of equal intrinsic value. The only matter of dispute between us and the committee was whether or not the democratic convention would recognize the bimetallic coinage of dollars of equal intrinsic value as a part of the democratic faith, or take refuge under the same kind of a contemptible straddle that disgraced the republican convention at Minneapolis." [Cheers.]

"Gentlemen of the convention, I recognize and respect your impatience. I have said all that was necessary to bring before you the matter of difference. Having done that as a representative of the free-bimetallic coinage men of the convention, I have done my duty, and the responsibility now rests with you."

The Chairman—"The question is on the adoption of the amendment offered by the gentleman from Colorado."

The motion was put to the convention and declared lost

Walter Johnson.

Populism in England

Populism is making grand strides in England. Recently more "tramways," as they call them over there, have been taken over to public ownership and now there is an extensive movement for the government ownership of the railways. A recent cablegram says:

London, June 8.—England's commercial travelers have inaugurated a campaign for the nationalization of the railways of Great Britain. The companies' recent decision to charge for excess baggage has excited the antagonism of the commercial men's fraternity, and the annual conference of travelers' organizations which has just adjourned at Norwich has resolved to agitate for relief from what are denominated the extortionate charges of the railways. The travelers advocate government ownership and declare that they propose to carry their grievance into the politics of the kingdom.

No Chance for John and Jim

What is there in a name?

I never thought there was anything till I ran up against the William combination in Nebraska. The entire reform movement has Williams sticking out all over it, like protuberances. First there is the chief of all, William J. Bryan. Then there is Senator William V. Allen; there are ex-Congressmen William A. McKeighan and William L. Greene; the present congressmen Wlliam L. Stark and William Neville; there are Governor William A. Poynter. Secretary of State William F. Porter, and State Superintendent William R. Jackson. There is Judge William H. Westover, prominent candidate for governor. There are William A. Jones, William F. Wright, William H. Ashby and William H. Dech, all mighty men in their day—not to mention Attorney General Willis D. Oldham and State Librarian Wilbur F. Bryant, both first cousins to all the other Williams. What chance has a John or a Jim or a Charlie up against a combination like that? J. A. E.

THE WAGE SLAVE

The Man Who is in Danger of Want or is Constantly in Dread of Want is Not Free.

The Independent has often in years passed used the terms wage slaves and serfs. It did it advisedly, for those are the correct terms to describe hundreds of thousands of men in the United States. We are glad to see that so eminent a writer as William Dean Howels takes the same view of the matter and publishes a letter in the New York Journal in which he takes the ground that the poor man is a slave. Mr. Howels says:

What chance has the poor man today? Has his conditions improved? These are questions not hard to answer.

No man has a chance who hasn't got a job.

The circumstances surrounding the poor man have improved, but the conditions are the same.

The conditions are no different today than what they were in the ancient days of white slavery in Greece and Rome. This is indeed a beautiful—a grand country in many ways. It is rich with the spirit of progress and invention, rich by nature; but the poor man's condition is no better than if he were a slave.

All this country has done for him has been to give him a little more elbow room. He has a great, beautiful country to roam over, but he is no better off, in fact not so well off, as the slaves of old.

We used fondly to figure the American who earned his bread in the sweat of his brow and voted with his party, as a sovereign, and we invited him to regard himself in that light.

Really, however, without the means of livelihood in his own hands, but in the the hands of another, he is scarcely the regal shape we figured him. The workingman out of a job can have little joy of his vote, and if he is very poor, if he is not making both ends meet, he can hardly will good to others, the sovereign act of the freeman, because he has none to will.

It is true that he may rebel, that he may renounce his employment when he has one and does not think himself justly paid, but without the means of livelihood he has no choice except to seek some other employment, and this choice is scarcely freedom. He may, of course, become a tramp, and in the loose play of our circumstances he may not suffer more than many others who remain patiently at work.

But, then, it is our circumstances that befriend him, not our conditions; these are the same for him as the workingman's conditions everywhere.

The only moment of sensible or positive political sovereignty for him is that of voting; but in that moment he parts with his sovereignty for a term of months or years, without respect to the men who shall make his laws, judge them, and execute them.

He chooses, he elects, he gives, and "the gods themselves cannot resume their gifts," much less a poor devil who has voted with his party and has nothing to eat.

For such a citizen of the freer state liberty can scarcely be said to exist in the sense that it exists for the more fortunate. He cannot choose, he cannot sacrifice himself for others, for he is already sacrificed; he can impart no advantages, for he has none, and he can have none till he has bettered his fortunes. He remains in the savage necessity of self-assertion, in the warfare which manifests itself in strikes, riots, mutinies, murders. The poor man knows, if the rich man does not know, that the poorer man has always less liberty than the richer man, just as certainly as that he has less money. If he has not the means of livelihood in his own hands he cannot come and go when he will; he cannot command his time; he cannot choose the kind of work he will do, as the richer man measurably can; he is often enslaved to hateful and loathsome services for others, such as each should do for himself. Till a man is independent he is not free; as long as he must look to the pleasure or the profit of another man for his living he is not independent. His employer may not mean to oppress him; he may be his oppressor very unwillingly, as when his own adversity obliges him to cut down his hireling's wages, but he oppresses him then, however unwillingly, and he oppresses him when he casts him off to seek some other support, not knowing whether he can find it or not. This fact often comes home to the humane employer, especially in the case of hirelings who have served him long and well, and more than any other it tells with the conscience against the whole relation of "hireling and him that hires." The hireling may have all those rights which are inseparable from the old ideal of liberty, and which we vainly suppose are the proofs of liberty. He may have the right to speak freely, print freely, pray freely, vote freely; but he cannot manifestly use his right, though warranted in it by the constitutions and the statutes in all the states, if he is afraid another man may make away with his means of livelihood for doing so.

It is needless to say that the personal equasion will have much to do with the character of the event. Many—perhaps most—employers are of a character so noble and of a self respect so fine that they would abhor to interfere with the constitutional rights of their hirelings, and there are hirelings so brave that they would starve and see their wives and little ones starve before they yielded their rights. But slavery was none the less an evil because there was now and then a heroic slave. The man who is in danger of want—or even in dread of want—is not a free man, and the country which does not guard him against this danger and this dread, or does not assure him the means of livelihood, is not a free country, though it may be the freest of all the freer countries.

The violent unrest which we call labor troubles is nothing more nor less than an endeavor for the liberty which the working classes think they see the employing classes possessed of. It seems to be a question of more wages with them, and primarily it is a question of more wages, but ultimately it is a question of more power, more ease, more freedom. It is a question of business, of the means of livelihood, and how to secure every man in the means of livelihood, and so guarantee equal freedom to all, is the great problem for statesmanship to solve.

Standard Oil Degeneracy

Williams College, of Williamston' Mass., has certainly not received any of the beneficent dispensations of Providence from John D. Rockefeller, known as "honest dollars." This is to be inferred from the remarks of Dr. Bascus, who thus alludes to the Standard Oil gang:

"I suppose that in the last thirty years the Standard Oil company has done more mischief in the country than all thieves, pickpockets and burglars. They have wrongfully transferred more money than all these. The opinion of the American people has been altogether altered by the doings of this company, which has thoroughly debauched us. I think Rockefeller is worse than a thief. That word does not fit him. That he is a good Baptist brother is the damnation of it all. And we allow such a man to endow a theological university! This man has stripped family after family and man after man of his livelihood."

Edgar Howard for Congress

Hon. Edgar Howard was nominated for congress by the three fusion parties in the First district and accepted the nomination. There will be a raging hot fight in the First and Dave Mercer will find that kissing babies will not prove such a successful card hereafter as he has made of it in former campaigns. The large foreign element in that district, every man of whom is an ardent sypathizer with the Boers, opposed to the republican policy of imperialism and large standing armies, will not be won over by Dave's famous tactics this time. The prospects are that Howard will be elected. There is a hard fight ahead, but he knows how to make it.