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The chief end of man is to glorify gold.—New Catechism.

Punch gives a good description of one of the modern cults in the following: "What is mind?" "No matter." "What is matter?" "Never mind."

The list of republican political cowards is just as long as the list of republican nominees for office. Not one of them dare meet a fusionist in joint debate.

Everywhere on Labor Day the wage-earners marched in solid columns, shoulder to shoulder. When they have learned to march to the polls in the same way then labor may get its just reward.

The republicans are as determined to "freeze out" the negro as ever were the southern democrats. And still they continue to call themselves "Lincoln republicans."

A head-line frequently seen in the dailies reads as follows: "The Dutch rule at Cape Town." Another is: "The British likely to lose the fruits of the war." Those announcements tell the whole story.

There are statements constantly made in London that in less than five years the Boer war will be renewed. During the last three hundred years the Dutch have often been whipped, but the trouble has always been that they would not stay whipped.

The town council of Dover, England, has refused by a decisive majority to receive a library from Mr. Carnegie. The ground of refusal seems to be about the same as in several cases in this country, namely, they did not care to receive a part of the fruits of robbery.

The mass of the voters that have kept the republican party in power serve and never think. They echo the sentiments of their leaders as a parrot does the words that it has been taught and get their ideas always from those whom they deem their superiors. It is not so with populists.

When Bryan spoke on trusts six years ago every mullet head in the land was down on him, but now when Roosevelt says exactly the same things in almost exactly the same words, every mullet head in the land pricks his ears and answers back: "Yep. That's so."

Form trusts to kill competition at home, erect a high tariff wall to prevent it coming in from abroad. That is the republican policy. It is a plan for robbing that beats all the schemes of the old feudal lords, and kings by divine right, ten to one.

The republican party adopted the financial theories of Bryan and coined more silver than was ever coined before. Now a large section of them want to adopt his tariff policy. See the plank from the Idaho republican state platform printed in another column.

David Been It Hill has offered the nomination for governor of New York on the democratic ticket to Judge Parker, Judge Peckham and several other distinguished men, all of whom instantly and emphatically refused. The "logic of events" seem to indicate that Hill himself should be the candidate.

Besides the broom trust that was organized last week, there are also to be added to the list a chrysanthemum trust and a peanut trust. This latter trust is said to have an option on every peanut plant in the whole country. It is time for Teddy and Knox to make another assault on the trusts. If they don't the supply might run out.

The citizens of the anthracite coal district wrote to Roosevelt and said that they "appealed from the king of trusts to the president of the United States." But the president of the United States took no action to overrule the king of trusts from which it appears that the "king of trusts," otherwise known as J. Pierpont Morgan, is the biggest man.

DEMOCRATIC CONVENTIONS

Democratic state conventions have been held during the last week in Ohio, Wisconsin, Iowa, California and Idaho. In Idaho and Ohio the conventions endorsed the Kansas City platform and Bryan. In the other states named, the conventions, after most bitter wrangling, repudiated the platform and leader of the democracy for the last two national campaigns. This shows that the democratic party is split from top to bottom. The money power has been at work and it has done effective work. Its object is to destroy any effective opposition to the policies of the republican party. The republican dailies have taken the matter up and are impressing upon their readers that there is nothing to the Kansas City platform but the demand for the free coinage of silver at the ratio of 16 to 1. That the democratic press and leadership has made a great mistake in not informing the rank and file of the party of the fact that the republicans have coined more silver than was ever coined before in the same length of time, and at once taking the position that this addition to the currency together with the enormous output of gold had been a fulfillment of the Bryan policy of "more money" and then passed on to the discussion of the present important question of the inflation of credit, the formation of trusts with stocks watered from 100 to 1,400 per cent, which is an effort to enslave the producer and wage-worker, and in the end will be more disastrous than the old attempt, as Mr. McKinley once said, to make money dear and everything else cheap.

Plutocracy has only changed its ground. Its objects are the same and it should be met in its new line of battle. If all the industries of the country are to be reorganized and the people are to be made to pay interest on four times the capital invested, the oppression will be greater than ever threatened us from the old bond issues and contraction of the currency. Today, under this system, Americans are paying at least 40 per cent more for their necessary supplies than any other people on earth. Three good crops from a continent of the most productive soil on earth have enabled them to pay interest by the hundred millions to the very men who first robbed them by contracting the currency and are now robbing them by collecting interest on billions of capital that never existed.

The threat against the welfare of the common people is much greater from this new battle line that plutocracy has assumed than it ever was from the attempt to double the debts of the world by doubling the purchasing power of money. That attempt we fought to the bitter end and plutocracy seeing that in the near future it would be utterly overwhelmed, simply changed its battle ground. Unless something unforeseen happens, if the mines continue to put forth an ever increasing amount of the money metals (all silver that is mined and not used in the arts is constantly coined) there will be enough money for the safe transaction of business and debts will not double after they are contracted, as they did under the old scheme of plutocracy. It seems that common sense would teach us to align our forces to meet the new and more dangerous assault. That is what The Independent has advocated.

The fight in the democratic conventions that refused to endorse the Kansas City platform plainly show that in those states the democracy will be rendered a harmless foe to plutocracy. The trusts and corporations will be encouraged and in the future ride rough shod over the tolling people.

While all silver that is mined is being coined by the republican party there can be no serious fight made with them on that subject, and it is foolish to waste good powder on such a man of straw. Let democracy be so reorganized so that all the guns of the joint opposition forces can be made to play upon this new army that has set out to make the whole world hirelings and pay interest on billions that never had any existence and form a moneyed aristocracy that is to rule and oppress mankind for ages to come.

THE WRIT OF MANDAMUS

It is well known to the legal profession that as to acts of a judicial or quasi-judicial character the writ of mandamus will not lie, but that the court by such writ may properly direct a ministerial act to be done and punish by proceedings for contempt any disobedience of the order. This is best illustrated by taking the mandamus suit brought by the Bee Building company against the state board of equalization. Because the court has not yet handed down an opinion in the case, The Independent will forbear discussing it further than the legal principles involved.

The mere routine work of assembling the board is a ministerial act. It involves no exercise of judgment. It is required by law to be done. And if the members of the board should fail or refuse to assemble, the court, by writ of mandamus, could properly order them to do so. The act of assessing is also ministerial, but the valuations decided upon are judicial or quasi-judicial, involving some exer-

cise of judgment. Now, in the absence of corruption or fraud, it is not in the province of the court to direct the judicial or quasi-judicial part of the board's duty in making the assessment. In other words, although the court has an undoubted right to direct that the board shall make SOME assessment, yet it has no right to say how many dollars per mile the board shall assess any given road. If it had such a right, there would be no necessity for a board of equalization—the court could make the assessment by issuing a writ of mandamus to John Doe or some other fictitious person.

Of course, if the evidence should show some overt act of corruption or fraud, or that the assessment is so notoriously low as to raise the presumption of fraud, or that the board failed to consider certain facts which were absolutely necessary to a fair exercise of judgment—and, hence, raise the presumption of legal fraud—then the court would be justified in directing the board to reassemble and reassess. But even then it could not direct how much greater the reassessment should be than the original assessment.

The people of Nebraska are awaiting our supreme court's decision in this case with a great deal of interest. If the writ should be granted, it will be a great victory for Edward Rosewater, Michael F. Harrington, Edward Simeral, and John D. Howe; yet in the very nature of things it cannot settle the question of equitable railroad taxation in Nebraska, because the same men who made the low assessment complained of, and who treated the appeals of Messrs. Rosewater, Harrington and Simeral with contempt, are the men who will finally say how many dollars per mile shall be assessed for taxation against the railroads of Nebraska. The court cannot do this.

Only one member of that board, Auditor Weston, is a candidate for reelection, but the Bee is giving him hearty support along with the rest of the republican ticket, all standing upon a platform which says not a syllable on the question of taxation which could not be construed as ample justification for the present board's acts. Every republican of any prominence in the party councils, except Mr. Rosewater and his immediate friends, is standing up for the present board's assessment. And if Messrs. Mickey, Mortensen and Weston should be victorious this fall, they can keep the railroad assessment at 26 millions next year and thereafter without violating a plank of their platform or calling upon them the adverse criticism of any prominent republican in the state, save Mr. Rosewater.

Mandamus suits must delight Mr. Rosewater, judging from the vigorous efforts he makes to create conditions which will necessitate them.

THE FARMERS

Whenever a republican president goes out to solicit the favor of the people then he begins to talk populism. President Roosevelt not only has been repeating the words of Bryan, delivered six years ago, but in his Bangor speech to farmers he said what has been said in The Independent a hundred times and almost exactly in the same words. Read the following extract and see if it does not sound very much like what you have often read in the editorial columns of The Independent:

"Almost all of our great presidents have been brought up in the country, and most of them worked hard on the farms in their youth and got their early mental training in the healthy democracy of farm life. The forces which made these farm-bred boys leaders of men when they had come to their full manhood are still at work in our country districts."

The "great" presidents have been few in number, for most of them were mere sticks, but those who were really great were all farmer boys. The only real and vigorous fighters today against the policies of the president's party are the men on the farms. It is they who have denounced the trusts from the beginning, it is they who demand that the tariff under which the trusts destroy competition and charge Americans more for goods than they do foreigners, shall be revised. It is they who denounce wars of conquest and special privileges to the few. Yet there are thousands even among the farmers who have been blinded by the sophistries of the press which is almost wholly given over to the advocacy of the demoralizing doctrines of the philosophy of greed. It is a wonder that there are any left with manhood enough to reject all offers of bribes and special privileges and are still willing to make their way in a fair and open contest, where all are equal before the law.

Before the Platt amendment to the Cuban constitution can become effective they must be embodied in a treaty. It is now said that President Palma has firmly set himself against the signing of any such a treaty until the concessions promised as a quid pro quo have been granted. Therein lies a good deal of trouble for the republican "insurgents."

WILL THEY BELIEVE?

The Independent has been saying for the last four or five years: "That many of the industries of this country have outgrown the need of a protective tariff is made evident by the fact that the American manufacturer has entered the markets of the world and is successfully competing with the manufacturers of all other countries." Many of the tariff schedules adopted to foster infant industries have fully served that purpose and have now become a means of aiding and building up powerful trusts and combinations, and enabled these to exact from the American purchasers the payment of higher prices than they exact for the same class of goods sold in foreign countries. We therefore favor a revision of the tariff, without unreasonable delay, which will place upon the free list every article and product controlled by any monopoly and such other articles and products as are beyond the need of protection."

The truth about the matter is that the editor of The Independent has been stating the facts included in the above paragraph ever since 1889, when he returned from England with many accepted bills of sale of American goods in England and Scotland at about half what American farmers had to pay for them, but the republicans would never believe a word of it. Perhaps a few of them may be induced to believe it now, for the above words in quotation marks is one plank in the republican platform of the state of Idaho. It was by the merest accident that The Independent got a copy of the republican platform of Idaho. The Associated press never said a word about this plank. It would therefore be good policy when you have read this paper to mark the above and hand it to some of your republican neighbors. Not one in ten of them have any idea that they are paying twice as much for their trust-made goods than the English, Scotch, Germans and French pay for them. That is a thing that is never mentioned in republican papers.

WATTERSON AND CLEVELAND

In his last article on Cleveland, Henry Watterson says: "We detest him, not for anything he ever did or said to us, but for what we have seen him do and heard him say to others." Mr. Watterson might as well tell the public what he heard Cleveland say and saw him do to others. Mr. Watterson has a witness or two to prove the dastardly acts referred to. The editor of The Independent was in Washington at the time the transaction referred to occurred and knows what it was, but a statement by him, as he was not present, would carry no weight. If Mr. Watterson should speak, a few others, who know of other and more dastardly acts of the same kind, might also make public what they know. The plutocratic press, both democratic and republican, have presented Cleveland to the public as a sage, patriot and man of high moral character. Most of these writers know that during the first part of his second administration there was not a viler human being on the face of the earth. Some score of men in high official position knowing facts that would have damned Cleveland to all eternity if made public, have kept silence. These men are high in the councils of the nation and in both political parties. Editors of great republican dailies in the east fully understand the allusions in Henry Watterson's article, but they slurr Watterson and praise Cleveland. Many men honestly believe that the horrible truths concerning Cleveland's private life and his financial connection with J. Pierpont Morgan in the bond deals whereby he, Cleveland, became immensely rich should not be made public, for Cleveland was president and such a publication would disgrace the whole nation. In the opinion of The Independent, Mr. Watterson deserves the thanks of the public for what he has said, but he should say more—he should tell the whole story and name the witnesses present.

IT WILL JAR THEM

A Washington dispatch informs us that the "officials of the interior department have just adopted rules and regulations relating to the transfer of Indian lands which they believe will spoil the plan of a syndicate of land locators. Evidence has been received at the department to show that this syndicate has been arranging to secure possession of very valuable tracts of land in different states, particularly in the west and northwest, by a scheme for swindling Indian owners of the lands."

That news will be a terrible jar to a clique of republican politicians in the northern part of this state. But whatever swindling has been done is directly attributable to the Washington officials themselves, for making such rules and regulations for the sale of these large bodies of valuable land, as were promulgated when they came upon the market.

A FAIR SAMPLE

The ratio of 1 to 13, as a basis for assessing the property of railway corporations in Nebraska, is a live issue and will continue to engage the attention of the people.—Omaha Bee.

But how shall it be settled? By electing the populist-democratic ticket pledged to raise the railroad assessment to at least forty millions, or by electing the republican ticket and thereby necessitating a mandamus suit every year? Mr. Rosewater deserves credit for his attempt to secure in court what the republican board should have done on its own motion, but the officer who must be compelled to do his duty at the end of a mandamus suit is certainly not the one to settle a live issue. Perhaps Mr. Rosewater tries to deceive himself into thinking that the question is not a political one—but it must be settled by officers elected by some political party nevertheless. Shall it be by men who make a definite pledge as to what they will do, or by men who strenuously oppose what Mr. Rosewater seeks by mandamus to compel them to do?

ment. The Australian ballot is one of these measures. Never have the producers advocated anything that would endanger good government at any time. The measures that they are today advocating are of the same nature as those of the past, such as the election of senators by a popular vote and the referendum. What then is the foundation of the belief that if the common people should take charge of the government and put the trusts and plutocrats out, that they would proceed to pass injurious and unjust laws? There is no foundation for such a belief. It is only the devilish scheming of the plutocrats to retain power.

That the government would be safer in the hands of those who work and produce the wealth than in those who grab it after it is produced by means of tariffs and trusts, is the foundation fact upon which The Independent puts most implicit faith.

OHIO AND INDIANA

There seems to be a fair prospect of a contest that will settle the question whether the Dave Hill or Bryan democracy is the most popular. The Dave Hill kind has control of the party in the state of Indiana and in Ohio, lying right alongside of it, Tom Johnson is said to have routed the McLean forces, even cleaning out McLean in his own county. The Ohio democratic state convention has not yet been held, but news from that section is to the effect that it will be a Tom Johnson convention from start to finish, and they will endorse the Kansas City platform and Bryan. The platform will contain vigorous planks on tax reform and public ownership and forge ahead on distinctively radical lines.

Tom Taggart and his gang of gold bugs will see what they can do in Indiana and when the election is over we can compare results. At present it looks as if the Indiana democrats will appear, after the votes are counted, as about equal to the tag end of nothing. They are so insignificant at the present time that the republican pay not the least attention to them. Over in Ohio it will be different. There is a prospect there of about the liveliest campaign ever known in the state. Even before the convention is held the campaign is on and the old reformers, with the right kind of a platform and the right kind of candidates in view, are out making arrangements for meetings, circulating literature and talking on the street corners.

Private letters to the editor of The Independent from Indiana say that thousands of democrats in that state will vote for their county nominees and give the state officials the go-bye, while thousands of others will, just to give Taggart and his crew a lesson, vote the republican ticket.

It is announced also that Hill has obtained complete control of the democratic machine in New York and that he will name the ticket. Other letters from New York say that the Bryan democrats there will either stay at home or vote the liberal democratic ticket. It will be a good thing for the democrats to settle this matter this year. The populist watches it with interest.

THEY CAN BE TRUSTED

The idea persistently promulgated by the plutocratic press that the producers and wage-workers of the country, if put in control of the government, would bring ruin and distress upon all, has no doubt produced a feeling in the mind of many that it would never do to trust them with supreme power. Upon what grounds such an idea is founded is hard to imagine. All the measures that have been pressed for adoption and which have been finally enacted into law by organized labor and the classes in sympathy with it, are acknowledged to be wise and salutary. They have received the indorsement of all fair-minded men everywhere. Among them may be mentioned the following: Fire escapes on factories, factory inspectors, enclosing dangerous machinery, abolition of child labor in factories, the eight-hour day, ventilation of crowded work shops, seats for women in department stores, and many other things that pertain to the welfare of wage-workers. But they have also advocated and forced into the statutes other things that have affected the whole population and which have become the pillars of free govern-

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ENGLAND'S DECLINE

Many hundred columns have been written within the last three or four years concerning the lost leadership of England in the world's affairs. None of these writers seem to have touched the real underlying cause. It is not on account of the loss of trade nor the bad management of financial affairs, it is not tariffs nor is it free trade, it is the same kind of dry rot that has begun in these United States. The basis of it all is that honor, position and influence is given to the possessor of money instead of to manhood.

No man in all England can obtain any prominent position unless he has money and a good pile of it. If in a borough town a man aspires to be mayor, how does he get the place? First, he must have money. Second, he must have made large donations to charitable institutions to help feed and clothe the thousands of starving who have been made paupers by England's economic system. The principal use made of the lower titles in the kingdom is to bestow them on persons who have made large donations to charity. An Englishman devotes himself year after year to a groveling, sordid search for money. He grinds down his employees to the starvation point. He works with his rake in the alleys and dens of the poor, gathering up every penny that he can extract from them until he begins to grow gray. All these years he discards every noble aspiration, drives every generous thought from his mind and delves and digs for money. When at last his whole nature has been imbruted by years of oppression and grabbing for pennies, when it is impossible for him to have any statesmanlike views or knowledge of what is for the public welfare, he tries to round out his career by becoming mayor of his town. If he can get that, he is the big man of the place. The acme of his ambition is to be the man to present an address and the freedom of the town to some lord or duke, or if he is extremely fortunate, to some scion of royalty who may visit the place. Besides that, he presides at political meetings of his party and has influence in selecting the parliamentary candidate, although that candidate is chosen and sent out there by a club in London.

After he has been mayor for a while, he makes some more contributions to supply weak soup and brown bread to the castaways in the almshouses whom he has helped to make paupers. This is published in all the papers, the peasants lift their hats to him and his final glory comes when he is recognized by royalty and is allowed to sign himself "Sir John Brown."

To lose such ambitions are the majority of the upper middle class in England devoted. They are ignorant, they are sordid, they are utterly unfit to influence the policies or guide the destinies of a town, let alone a nation. One of these mayors presided at a meeting in one of the cities of middle England addressed by the editor of The Independent, and in his introductory address showed that he did not know in which direction was the United States of America. He spoke of "our friend from the far northeast."

This man, who by nature was strong and a vigorous intellectual power, had devoted all the years of his manhood to getting money. He had made ideas and sold them to the heathen while he paid most of his employees four or five shillings a week—many of the said employees were then in the almshouse and he had grown famous by making donations to them. He

was an absolute tyrant in his home where he ruled with a rod of iron. Whatever was lovely had been banished therefrom. For thirty years of his life he had hunted for pounds, shillings and pence. He had found them, but all that would go towards making a virile man had been banished from his soul.

It is the policy of the whole British nation to make the possession of money the standard—not manhood. If acquired in very large amounts the man becomes a "lord," like Thomas Brassey. So it is money, money, money, and nothing but money, that forms the policies and shapes the course of the British empire.

It is true that a condescending sort of honor is paid to great writers and scholars, the inventors there having come in for even a smaller recognition. This policy has begotten a dry rot and stopped the progress of the race. That is what is the matter with England. Money is the first requisite for holding an office in the British army. At present a man must have an income of \$3,000 besides his pay before he is permitted to hold a commission in that arm of the service. The efficiency of an army organized on the plan that every officer must be the possessor of a large amount of money was shown in the Boer war. Such an army as that, when brought face to face with one organized on the principle of the manhood and ability of the officers, can easily be imagined. It is no more unsafe to make the possession of money the base for a commission in the army than to make it the requisite for holding political offices.

This English policy of making money the basis of honor and fame is fast getting a foothold in the United States. Carnegie and Rockefeller have gathered fortunes from the labors of other men and are trying to make themselves immortal by donations to charitable purposes, just as Englishmen gain fame and position on the little island across the sea. If Carnegie and Rockefeller had been English subjects they would have been made "lords" and members of the upper house of parliament. There are many such men in the English house of lords and they were gathered from the four corners of the earth to overthrow Gladstone who refused to become a lord. That act was one of the great factors in England's decline and has resulted in a standing threat against the British empire. The danger to England and the United States—the great and imminent danger—is the making of the possession of money the standard of excellence instead of righteous manhood. On that rock the kingdom of Mammon is founded, and the wrecks of many empires and republics float in the waters around it.

"A \$5,000,000,000 dividend on a \$15,674,690,247 investment," is the way Public Opinion heads a review of newspaper comment on the great crops of 1902. The "investment" is doubtless census figures for 1900, but the "dividend" is simply gross returns and not a dividend at all in the correct sense of that word. Out of the five billions must be paid a world of expenses before there is any real dividend. After several million farmers have been accorded fair pay for their work, and taxes, and insurance, and a great many other expenses have been paid out of this five billions—and interest on the farm mortgages has been paid—it will be time enough to talk about dividends. Of course there will be one—and a good one, too; but a good deal of it must be used to make up for "assessments" incurred in some of the years when Mark Hanna forgot to have it rain.