

tenets of the republican party are founded on righteousness and truth, that you would hasten with enthusiasm to become with me a combatant in the coming national conflict."

"But, Henry, I don't see what bearing your sacrifice could have to the changing of my belief. It seems to me that a proof of the claims you make for your party would be more to the point."

"Proof! Proof! Isn't my word sufficient?"

"Henry, my husband dear, was your word sufficient 20 years ago when you asked me the important question of our lives, and you talked so hopefully of your prospects? Don't you remember that I asked for documentary evidence, and that you showed me your bank book and your life insurance policy? You didn't seem to think that I was unreasonable, then, to ask for proof."

"Oh, Emily, how childish you do act! If proof is really necessary, just look out over our land and observe the prevailing prosperity. You will see that there is not a man who has no employment."

"Why, isn't there, Henry? I thought the crowds of people this morning that answered Mr. Naber's advertisement for a laborer were men?"

"Emily, Emily! Will you force me to lose patience? The isolated exception to which you allude, only proves the rule."

"Proves that it is false, do you mean, dear?"

"No, I don't! And if you gave a little more of your time and attention to literature you would know what the expression signifies, and you would not exhibit your ignorance by asking absurd questions. It is not at all unlikely that Mr. Naber's experience is only an apparent exception. He may have offered to pay more than the current rate, and the men you saw had probably left their jobs to obtain the increase."

"I hope that is the reason. It would be so nice if Mr. Naber has suddenly become generous. Only last week he refused to raise the hired girl's wages to one-fifty a week."

"What incongruity! What has the miserable servant girl question got to do with the important matter we are trying to consider? Do be reasonable, Emily, and stick to the subject. Another eloquent and undeniable proof of our prosperity may be seen in the numerous immense buildings that are springing up everywhere. Look on—"

"Pardon me, Henry, for interrupting you, but your reference to large buildings reminds me that our Eddie wants me to ask you if the largest building in the county will be our new poorhouse?"

"How do I know? Do you suppose that I am a volume of 'Curious Questions Answered?' Do you think that I am an encyclopedia of trivialities? I'm going to bed. I'm not going to stay here and allow my valuable time to be frittered away by you!"

"But, Henry, please stop, wait a minute. What time will you want breakfast in the morning?"

"Whenever I get to the restaurant. I'm going to eat my breakfast in peace."

"But don't be in a hurry, dear. I may not see you in the morning, and I want to ask you if you will please order ten yards of bunting for me at the dry goods store?"

"What do you want the bunting for?"

"Why, I thought it would be so nice to make a small Bryan banner to hang from the house, and—"

Mr. Trustley did not express his feelings until he had ascended the stairs. Then there was a series of reports that would have alarmed a less experienced woman than Mrs. Trustley. But Mrs. T. quietly smiled, for she recognized the familiar medley of door slams in which so often her husband would indulge.

When the noises had ceased and were succeeded by a silence broken only by Mr. Trustley's snores, his wife went to the kitchen and directed the cook to have beefsteak and onions for breakfast. She knew that when the odor of this combination reached Mr. Trustley not even a Delmonico restaurant would entice him from home.

GEO. T. EVANS.

THE WHITE SLAVERY OF AMERICA.

For The Public.

Disguise thyself as thou wilt, still
Slavery! said I—still thou art a bitter
draught.

—Sterne.

All history shows that there may be despotism without monarchy, and that absolutism may exist under the guise of freedom. The subjects of a monarchy may not seldom enjoy a liberal measure of freedom, while the most degrading tyranny may at times be enacted under the authority of a nominally free government, in the name of Freedom and by sanction of Law. Where men do not enjoy equal opportunities to labor and live upon

the earth, there cannot be freedom. You may call it "industrial depression," or what you will—it is not freedom. I have heard a man, vain in his rags, boasting of his liberty, when as a matter of fact he had no more real liberty than a Spartan helot, bound to the soil and doomed to a life of servile drudgery for the bare means of existence.

In most minds the idea of slavery is associated with that of manacles, of chains and other implements of physical restraint, and men are apt to think that where this outward insignia is lacking slavery cannot exist; which is as much as to say that the various drugs of an apothecary would all be the same in substance but for the difference in the labels on the bottles. But strychnine is strychnine, whether it be labeled capsicum or attar of roses.

The lexicographers say that slavery "is the state of entire subjection of one person to the will of another; a condition of subjection characterized by lack of freedom of action or of will; bondage; servitude, vassalage." If these are proper definitions—and their correctness, it seems to me, will hardly be questioned—then there is more slavery in the north to-day than there was in the south before the civil war, and there is probably as much slavery in the south now as there ever was.

We are told that this nation is prosperous and free; but you cannot tell the prosperity of a nation merely by counting its millionaires, nor can you judge of the measure of popular freedom by the high-sounding phrases of constitutions and political platforms. To quote Mrs. Browning:

You have . . .
Princes' parks and merchants' homes,
Tents for soldiers, ships for seamen—
Aye, but ruins worse than Rome's
In your pauper men and women!

There are more tramps and paupers in the United States to-day than there were men, women and children in the original 13 colonies at the time of the revolutionary war. They are, as James H. Hammond said in a speech delivered in the United States senate in 1858:

The very mudsills of society. * * * We call them slaves. * * * But I will not characterize that class at the north with that term; but you have it.

Nearly 70 per cent. of the American people are homeless; renters, mere tenants by the courtesy of another, owning no land or having no right to a foot of the soil. The majority of these men are not freemen in any

proper sense of the term, and to them the constitution can be but

A gilded halo hovering 'round decay.

The percentage of homeless bread-winners in some of the larger cities of this nation to-day, is as great as 95 per cent! In view of these conditions, how strikingly apropos are the words of Galusha A. Grow, spoken in congress September 30, 1852:

It is in vain you talk of the goodness of an Omniscient Ruler to him whose life from the cradle to the grave is one continued scene of pain, misery and want. Talk not of free agency to him whose only freedom is to choose his own method to die. In such cases, there might, perhaps, be some feeble conceptions of religion and its duties—of the infinite, everlasting and pure; but unless there be a more than common intellect, they would be like the dim shadows that float in the twilight. If you would lead the erring back from the paths of vice and crime to virtue and honor, give him a home—give him a hearthstone, and he will surround it with household gods.

In a speech by Robert Toombs, of Georgia, delivered at Boston, in 1856, the following quotation from President John Adams was used in argument to show that the black slavery of the south at that time was no worse than the white slavery of the north:

What matters it whether a landlord employing ten laborers on his farm gives them annually as much money as will buy them the necessaries of life, or gives them those necessaries at short hand?

There can be indeed, but little difference. This is plain upon the slightest reflection. The same thought was expressed by Schopenhauer when he wrote:

The difference . . . between the serf, and the tenant, occupier, mortgagor, etc., is more in form than in fact. Whether I own the peasant, or the land from which he must obtain his nourishment, the bird or its food, the fruit or the tree, is practically a matter of small importance.—Parega and Paralpemena, vol. 2, section 126.

The man who dares not vote contrary to the will of his employer, is certainly "characterized by lack of freedom of action or of will," and has as little voice in the government as he would if completely deprived of the elective franchise. The man who is obliged to pay tribute to monopoly is certainly in "bondage." The man who is obliged to do the will of a master in order to obtain a living for himself and family, is most assuredly in a state of entire subjection to the will of another. What is this, if not slavery? Whoever must beg employment as a boon, who is not at liberty to choose either his labor, his wages or his employer, and whose political acts are dictated by the man who gives him work to do, is as much a slave as though his person were the

property of another. You do own my body when you control the means whereby I live.

But the black slave was at least sure of his board and clothing, and of medical attendance when sick. The white slave is not valuable enough to receive such attention, for when he dies, or becomes disabled, there are too many others to be had for the asking. The slave market is glutted. And to render his condition still more distressing, the white slave is tantalized by the sight of that freedom which he is told belongs to him, but which is just beyond his reach; like the poor wretch whom Verres crucified in plain view of the Italian shore, that he might, in the last agonies of death, behold his native land of liberty and draw fresh torment from the thought that he, a Roman citizen, was helpless 'neath the very shadow of his country's laws.

No man is wholly free while his neighbor is partly slave. The taint of involuntary servitude affects us all. He who to-day possesses privileges which entitle him to be called master, may to-morrow be cast among the serfs, and find himself under the wheels of that juggernaut of special privilege in which he lately rode so proudly. The lords and masters of this nation are not themselves secure. The transition from oppressor to oppressed is often but the work of an hour. In forging chains for other men you never know when you will chance to forge your own. The villainy you teach the people, they may execute. This consideration, if no other, should weigh with that bold band of conspirators who are exhausting the power of human ingenuity in devising further means whereby to rob labor of its just rewards.

What is the remedy? It is simple. The annihilation of privilege must precede the restoration of freedom. You cannot give to labor its earnings without divesting monopoly of its privileges. It is not difficult to restore to men their natural rights, if the will to do so is not wanting. Liberty cannot be withheld from any people who unitedly and earnestly desire it. No power can give liberty to men who fear to take it, or secure its possession to those who will not keep it.

Men can receive but one thing in exchange for liberty, and that is slavery. Those who yield up their convictions at the beck of a master will not long scruple to accept his chains. Where bad government ex-

ists we cannot expect its beneficiaries to be first in proposing reforms, or to be the most active in establishing the reforms proposed. That work is for the people to do. The people, as a whole, are the only competent judges of their own rights. Those who know not their own rights, if they persist long enough in their ignorance, are apt to discover that they have no rights worth knowing. Know thy government, and thy government will know thee. Ignorance of government is an offense for which no people ever yet went unpunished. Therefore it behooves the American people to look to their rights and defend them. Love justice and you shall know it; seek it and you shall find it; do it and it shall be done unto you. Political convictions derive their real value from the acts which they inspire. Honesty of purpose and fairness of judgment, backed by sincere and courageous action, are the really virile forces of a nation's life. Who gives alms helps but a few persons, and helps them for a short time only; but he who works for justice helps all mankind, and not for one generation merely, but for all time.

Freedom is of God. The right to it is the gift of no human power, nor can such a power acquire the right to destroy or withhold it. It exists for any people who will reach forth and grasp it. It is not for the knave or coward, but for the man who dares to call his soul his own.

They are slaves who fear to speak
For the fallen and the weak;

They are slaves who dare not be
In the right with two or three.

So long as men have no settled convictions of right, or having such lack the courage to avow them, just so long will slavery endure, although an emancipation proclamation be issued at every change of the moon, and just so long will the hand of privilege "press down upon the brow of labor this crown of thorns."

SPEED MOSBY.

Jefferson City, Mo.

A VOICE FROM THE VELDT.

For The Public.

Courage, O little peoples! Courage! Lift up your head;
Put the palsy of fear from off your souls;
Come forth from the caves of dread!
For God hath strengthened the unhelped arm, with the power of His own right hand;
He stands our shield on every field, the fence of the little land!

O'erarched by the skies of Heaven—ringed 'round by the fires of hell,
The radiant death of our rifles' breath guards the little country well.
Brain and hand and time have made strange arms for our foes to wield;