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GOVERNMENT BY CONSENT AND TAXATION  
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The doctrine of estoppel is getting right popular, or, more properly, has been a number of times used, in North Carolina recently. It has been invoked to prevent us from saying out loud that McKinley appoints negroes, and now it is invoked against our anti-imperialistic views. We are told that we are estopped from defending that part of the Declaration of Independence which says that "all governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed," because we have disfranchised the illiterate negroes. We were surprised to find this argument in a North Carolina paper after it had been worn threadbare by the New York Sun. In the first place it is just simply a misstatement of the facts to say that we have violated that principle of government, because we have disfranchised illiterate negroes. That principle of government either means "by consent of a majority of the governed" or it is a bald-headed absurdity. Government by unanimous consent would be impossible. We have disfranchised the illiterate negro by a majority of 60,000 of the governed. Nor did it mean in the first place a majority of all the governed, but a majority only of those qualified to give an honest and an intelligent opinion, and who could defend it after it is given. Therefore, the ballot was not given, by those who framed the Declaration of Independence, to females, to young men under 21 years of age, to lunatics, nor to convicted rascals. We take it that Mr. Bryan and other Democratic leaders are men of sufficient elementary intelligence to see to it when elected that a Philippine government of like safeguards is established before they turn the island over to them. It is not entirely fair, either, to say that the disfranchised negro is taxed without representation. The abhorrent idea we have of the term "taxation without representation" was inherited from our ancestors who gained it when a country across the ocean levied taxes against this whole country, separate from any other, and in the levying of which this whole country had no representation. The disfranchised negro is not taxed in any such manner as that. If he is not represented by ballot in the tax levying body, his white neighbors, and his educated colored brothers are. No tax can be laid against him that is not, laid in identical manner against his neighbors who do control the tax levying power, and he is thus just as fully insured against unjust taxation as if the ballot was in his hands. And experience has conclusively proven that it is more unjust to tax him with than without the ballot, because he gets much poorer government with the ballot than without it. The disfranchised negro will be taxed without representation now in about the same measure that minors and women were taxed

by the framers of the Declaration of Independence, and are still taxed, without representation. If some genius could invent an appliance which could invoke the doctrine of estoppel against misrepresentation he'd be a public benefactor. We'd vote for him for the Senate against Mr. Simmons.

### A VITAL ISSUE.

Since the election August 2nd an issue has been sprung on us almost as a vital as the amendment itself. We are surprised as we regret that this has been done. Some friends of McKinley and some honestly mistaken Democrats are vigorously contending that the Democrats are estopped from criticising the Republican party for its continued opposition to Anglo-Saxon supremacy in the South as expressed in its national platform and as evidenced by its appointment of 27 negroes to positions of trust in this State, because the Democratic party has pledged that the amendment would finally settle the race question as soon as it was adopted. One prominent Democratic paper asserts that we are false to a solemn pledge of the party and guilty of "Perfidy and Dishonor," if we do this. That is a charge that cannot lay at our door. That is a charge against the Democrats of this Congressional district, because they adopted a platform on this line in Wilmington last Saturday, and we propose to prove that the charge is without foundation.

We know of no better place to find an authoritative declaration of a party's position than in its platform. Take the Democratic platform adopted in Raleigh last April. It approves the amendment because "it will promote the peace, prosperity and happiness of the people." That's all it says about it. Instead of its promising that it will entirely end the race issue that very platform, in its declarations on national politics, denounces the Republican party for its appointment of negroes to "high and responsible official positions which ought to have been filled by white people." This declaration immediately follows an endorsement of Bryan for President. Now gentlemen, what become of your assertion? That's our State platform under which we are now fighting for Mr. Bryan and against Mr. McKinley.

Of course every Democratic speaker promised a larger measure of freedom under the amendment, and the Democratic platform tells them where to get it—in the white primaries to be provided for the nomination of State and county officers. Heretofore our nominees have not dared to advocate anything which any considerable portion of the white voters opposed because a practically unanimous white vote was necessary to election. Now the people can nominate in the primaries a man committed to any thing which a majority of the white voters favor and there will not be enough negro voters to defeat him. This is where our enlarged independence comes from.

If the white voters split up into different parties until they again make the negro a balance of power, that would bring the race issue back to us as vital as ever. They are not going to do it.

Looking back over our files, we find a discussion of this very question of "Government after the Amendment" in our issue of Feb. 15th. It is over a column and a half in length and every line of it is applicable to our present position. Taking the other Southern States which had eliminated the negro vote as a basis, we prophesied that our amendment would leave the Democratic party in such

"an overwhelming majority that there will be no opposition to it at the polls;" that, therefore, it would eliminate "the negro from State politics, and the only place where it will remain potent will be in national politics. The white people of the South will never vote for a President who will fill the Federal offices in the State with negroes. If a majority of the white men of the State become enamored of the gold standard, or of McKinley's imperialistic policy, they will make the party to represent those things and elect Senators and Representatives and delegates to national conventions accordingly. In this condition of affairs we will not have to choose men or advocate measures for expediency."

This is the end to which every patriotic North Carolinian should work. This will give us a government in which even the negroes who have some technical education cannot enter as a disturbing influence. This is the hope held out to the people of the State by the Democratic party, and any man who had a different idea was largely indebted to his imagination for it. Those who are now trying to divide the white people of the State are pursuing a policy which if successful would perpetuate the race issue as a vital one.

Col. J. S. Carr has made formal announcement of his candidacy for the Senate to succeed Butler. He is a deservedly popular gentleman, a loyal ex-Confederate and a generous man of wealth.

In the election of 1896 when McKinley was elected, the Republicans elected 217 members of House of Representatives to 121 Democrats. In 1898 the republican numbers fell to 185 and the Democrats climbed to 162.

Probably less than 10 per cent of our readers have had access to the daily papers which contained Mr. Bryan's speech of acceptance. It is such a strong document that we are anxious for all our readers to get it, and hence we publish it entire in this issue. No one has answered this speech yet, and if any one does so successfully we take pleasure in printing that.

We have not before deemed it worth while to say that we will have no more distinctive race campaigns as long as the amendment can be enforced in letter and spirit. That is a matter of course. The red shirts have been laid aside as souvenirs by which to remember the old enemies of the State and the struggle necessary to defeat them. They were not worn in the first place because men took delight in such business, but because they were a necessity, and no citizens of the State appreciate the deliverance from that necessity more than the patriotic men who wore them.

### ZEBULON B. VANCE.

Richmond Times, August 22nd.  
The unveiling of a statue in the city of Raleigh to-day to the memory of the late Zebulon B. Vance, is an incident in which Virginia feels a deep and affectionate interest. In her dark days, when Virginia needed strong and brave men to represent her at the national Capital upon an occasion when her honor was assailed, Zebulon B. Vance was her champion, and nobler champion never State had. Senator Vance was a true Southerner to the manor born, and in full sympathy with Southern rights and Southern institutions. He was as ready in peace as in war to stand up and give battle whenever any Southern State was assailed, and he espoused Virginia's cause on the occasion referred to and battled for our rights as valiantly as though the old North State had been assailed, and so Vance's name became a household word in Virginia, and whenever he made his appearance here he was received with shouts of enthusiasm, which proceeded from the hearts of the people.

Virginians, therefore, are gratified that his noble person has been reproduced in bronze, and that its figure will be forever hereafter displayed in front of the State house in Raleigh, that Carolinians, and those from other sections who visit State Capital, may gaze upon the noble features of this great Statesman, and know that this was a man whom the Southern people loved to honor. The statue will be an inspiration to patriotism and an incentive to the rising generation and the generations to come to emulate the virtues of this Carolina nobleman.

# CAMPAIGN'S KEYNOTE

(Continued from fourth page.)

can do whatever it desires to do, but it must accept responsibility for what it does. If the constitution stands in the way, the people can amend the constitution. I repeat, the nation can do whatever it desires to do, but it cannot avoid the natural and legitimate results of its own conduct.

It is of age, and it can do what it pleases; it can spurn the traditions of the past; it can repudiate the principles upon which the nation rests; it can employ force instead of reason; it can substitute might of right; it can conquer weaker people; it can exploit their lands, appropriate their property and kill their people; but it cannot repeal the moral law or escape the punishment decreed for the violation of human rights.

"Would we tread in the paths of tyranny—  
Nor reckon the tyrant's cost?  
Who taketh another's liberty  
His freedom is also lost.  
Would we win as the strong have ever

Make ready to pay the debt,  
For the God who reigned over Babylon  
Is the God who is reigning yet."

Some argue that American rule in the Philippine Islands is in the best interests of the Philippines. Be not deceived. If we expect to maintain a colonial policy, we shall not find it to our advantage to educate the people. The educated Filipinos are now revolt against us, and the ignorant ones have made the least resistance to our domination. If we are to govern them without their consent and give them no voice in determining the taxes which they must pay, we are not to educate them, but to teach them the Declaration of Independence and the constitution of the United States and mock us for our inconsistency.

### FOUR REPUBLICAN CONTENTIONS.

Comment on the Principal Arguments of the Party in Power.

The principal arguments, however, advanced by those who enter upon a defense of imperialism are:

First: That we must improve the present opportunity to become a world power and enter into international politics.

Second: That our commercial interests in the Philippine Islands and in the Orient make it necessary for us to hold the islands permanently.

Third: That the spread of the Christian religion will be facilitated by a colonial policy.

Fourth: That there is no honorable retreat from the position which the nation has taken.

The first argument is addressed to the nation's pride and the second to the nation's pocket-book. The third is intended for the church member and the fourth for the partisan.

It is a sufficient answer to the first argument to say that for more than a century this nation has been a world power. For ten decades it has been the most potent influence in the world. Not only has it been a world power, but it has done more to affect the polity of the human race than all the other nations of the world combined. Because our Declaration of Independence was promulgated others have been promulgated; because the patriots of 1776 fought for liberty others have fought for it; because our constitution was adopted other constitutions have been adopted. The growth of the principle of self-government, planted on American soil, has been the ever-shading practical act of the nineteenth century.

The permanent chairman of the last Republican national convention presented the peculiar argument in all its nakedness when he said: "We make no hypocritical pretenses of being interested in the Philippines solely on account of others. While we regard the welfare of these people as a sacred trust we regard the welfare of the American people first. We see our duty to ourselves as well as to others. We believe in trade expansion. By every legitimate means within the province of government and constitution we mean to expand the markets of our trade and open new markets." This is the commercial argument. It is based upon the theory that war can be rightly waged for pecuniary advantage, and that it is profitable to purchase today with every part of the trunk and the vast majority of those engaged in other occupations, it would bring expenditure without return and risk without reward.

Place the philosophy of Franklin against the sordid doctrine of those who would put a price upon the life of an American soldier and justify a war of conquest upon the ground that it will pay. The Democratic party is in favor of the expansion of trade. It would extend our trade by every legitimate and peaceful means; but it is not willing to make merchandise of human blood.

But a war of conquest is as unwise as it is unrighteous. A harbor and coaling station in the Philippines would draw every man and every military necessity and such a concession could have been secured at any time without difficulty.

It is not necessary to own people in order to trade with them. We carry on trade today with every part of the world, and our commerce has expanded more rapidly than the commerce of any European empire. When trade is secured by force, the cost of securing it and retaining it must be met by the profits. The profits are never large enough to cover the expense. Such a system would never be defended, but for the fact that the expense is borne by all the people, while the profits are enjoyed by the few.

Imperialism would be profitable to the army contractors; it would be profitable to the ship-owners, who would carry live soldiers to the Philippines and bring dead soldiers back; it would be profitable to those who would seize upon the franchises, and it would be profitable to the officials whose salaries would be fixed here and paid over there; but to the farmer, to the laborer, to the merchant, to the manufacturer, to those engaged in other occupations, it would bring expenditure without return and risk without reward.

Farmers and laboring men have, as a rule, small incomes and under systems which place the tax upon consumption pay more than their fair share of the expenses of government. Thus the very people who receive least benefit from imperialism will be injured most by the military burdens which accompany it. It is not strange, therefore, that the labor organizations have been quick to note the approach of these dangers and

# Prompt to protect against both militarism and imperialism.

The peculiar argument, though more effective with certain classes, is not likely to be used so often or presented with so much emphasis as the religious argument. If what has been termed the "gunpowder gospel" were urged against the Filipinos only it would be a sufficient answer to say that a majority of the Filipinos are now members of one branch of the Christian church, but the principle involved is one of much wider application and challenges serious consideration.

We cannot approve of this doctrine in one place unless we are willing to apply it everywhere. If there is poison in the blood of the hand it will ultimately reach the heart. It is equally true that forcible Christianity, if planted under the American flag in the far-away Orient, will sooner or later be transplanted upon American soil. Let it be known that our missionaries are seeking souls instead of sovereignty; let it be known that instead of being the advance guard of conquering armies, they are going forth to help and to uplift, and the welcome given to our missionaries will be more cordial than the welcome extended to the missionaries of any other nation.

The argument, made by some, that it was unfortunate for the nation that it had anything to do with the Philippine Islands, but that the naval victory at Manila made the permanent acquisition of those islands necessary, is also unsound. We won a naval victory at Santiago, but that did not compel us to hold Cuba. The shedding of American blood in the Philippine Islands does not make it imperative that we should retain possession forever.

There is an easy, honest, honorable solution of the Philippine question. It is set forth in the Democratic platform and it is submitted with confidence to the American people. This plan I unreservedly endorse. If elected, I shall soon as soon as I am inaugurated, and recommend an immediate declaration of the nation's purpose—first, to establish a stable form of government in the Philippine Islands, just as we are now establishing a stable form of government in the island of Cuba; second, to give independence to the Filipinos, just as we have promised to give independence to the Cubans; third, to protect the Filipinos from outside interference while they are out of their infancy, just as we have protected the Republics of Central and South America, and are, by the Monroe doctrine, pledged to protect Cuba.

### DESTINY THE FINAL JUSTIFICATION

Offered by the Republicans for the Situation in the Philippines.

When our opponents are unable to defend their position by argument they fall back upon the assertion that it is destiny, and insist that we must submit to it, no matter how much it violates moral precepts and our principles of government. This is a complacent philosophy. It obliterated the distinction between right and wrong and makes individuals and nations the helpless victims of circumstances. Destiny is the subterfuge of the invertebrate, who, lacking the courage to oppose error, seeks some plausible excuse for supporting it. Washington said that the destiny of the Republic form of government was deeply, if not finally, staked on the experiment entrusted to the American people. Now different Washington's definition of destiny from the Republican definition! The Republicans say that this nation is in the hands of destiny; Washington believed that not only the destiny of our own nation but the destiny of the Republic form of government throughout the world was entrusted to American hands. Washington was right. The destiny of this republic is in the hands of its own people, upon the success of the experiment here rests the hope of humanity. No exterior force can disturb this republic, and no foreign influence should be permitted to change its course.

What the future has in store for this nation, no one has authority to declare, but each individual has his own idea of the nation's mission and he owes it to his country as well as to himself to contribute as best he may to the fulfillment of that mission. Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen of the Committee: I can never fully discharge the debt of gratitude which I owe to my countrymen for the honors which they have so generously bestowed upon me out of civility, and give me lot to occupy the high office for which the convention has named me or to spend the remainder of my days in private life, it shall be my constant ambition and my controlling purpose to aid in realizing the high ideals of those whose wisdom and courage and sacrifices brought this republic into existence.

I can conceive of a national destiny surpassing the glories of the present and the past—a destiny which meets the responsibilities of today and measures up to the possibilities of the future. Behold a republic, resting securely upon the foundation stones quarried by revolutionary patriots from the mountain of eternal truth—a republic applying in practice and proclaiming to the world the self-evident proposition—that all men are created equal; that they are endowed with inalienable rights; that government is instituted among men to secure these rights; that governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed. Behold a republic in which civil and religious liberty stimulate all to earnest endeavor, the whole which the law restrains every hand uplifted for a neighbor's injury—a republic in which every citizen is a sovereign but in which no one cares to wear a crown. Behold a republic strong and great, in wealth, in strength and in influence, solving the problems of civilization and hastening the coming of an universal brotherhood—a republic which shakes thrones and dissolves aristocracies by its silent example and gives light and inspiration to those who sit in darkness. Behold a republic gradually but surely becoming the supreme moral factor in the world's progress and the accepted arbiter of the world's disputes—a republic whose history, like the path of the just, "is as the shining light that shineth more and more into the perfect day."

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