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SENATOR TILLMAN.

He Will Stay with the Democratic Party.

THE REVOLT IN THE SOUTH.

It can Only be Successful When Organized Democracy is Killed.

The Populist Party the Only Organization That can do it.

WASHINGTON, D. C., April 4.

If there is any bolting at Chicago, South Carolina will lead the secession element. That is conceded by democrats and they regard Tillman as the leader of the movement. One break may stampede the convention, and, just at this time, what Tillman will do at Chicago is a matter of much concern to the democratic leaders. The story sent out from Washington that democratic senators ignore him, is the varietal rot. On the contrary they court him, not because they enjoy the sharp thrusts of his pitchfork, but because they fear his leadership.

Tillman talked candidly and unreservedly to the INDEPENDENT representative today. In answer to the direct question, "Will you bolt the Chicago convention?" he said: "If a straight-out silver man is nominated on a 16 to 1 platform, it would be idiotic in a democrat to bolt the nomination. There would be no excuse for it."

That is what all silver democrats are contending for, and if such a nomination is made, and it now seems probable, it will be supported not only by democrats, but by silver men of all parties, and in my judgment, the nominee will be elected.

But suppose a candidate like Campbell or Harrison or Matthews, with "sound money" antecedents is nominated on a 16 to 1 platform, what will you do?

"Speaking for myself," he replied, "I would not vote the ticket, but I am disposed to think that it would receive the support of the great bulk of the democratic party. At least that seems to be the feeling now in South Carolina where democrats are mighty independent and generally do as they please, without regard to party dictation. The reason is that they are reluctant to abandon a political organization that stands pre-eminently for the democrat of all principles to the white people in the south—local self-government. Strong as their convictions are on the silver question, they will not repudiate the democratic party if the Chicago convention does the right thing by silver, or makes any reasonable concession in that direction. If the candidate is a straddler and the platform is straight 16 to 1, our people will support the ticket upon the very plausible assumption that the candidate will stand on the platform, and if elected that his administration will accord with its declaration. That is not my individual view of the matter, but the rank and file of the democratic party are disposed that way very decidedly."

But suppose a gold man like Carlisle, Whitney or Russell is nominated, then what?

"If that is done the jig is up. There will be a general revolt all along the line resulting in the organization of a third party at St. Louis on the 23d of July. I can't say what form it will take, but a common agreement can be effected on the money issue. The independent silver movement has made no headway as a distinct organization, but its sentimental influence is useful as a conservative factor in restraining the more radical element in the populist party. If the Chicago candidate means a repudiation of Clevelandism, the democratic ticket in my opinion, will not receive the electoral vote of a single southern state. The election will go by default, and the danger is that it may lose us our local and state tickets."

"So from the democratic standpoint all depends on what is done at Chicago and the way it is done. The situation is so problematic that it is hardly worth the time to speculate about it. Leadership amounts to very little, and it now looks ominously certain that nothing short of a complete change of our financial system will stop the revolution that threatens the very stability of our institutions. The people are in a dead earnest. It is the argument of gaunt poverty against wealth. When a free people have reached that condition the dictation of party bosses and the nomination of party conventions have no terrors for them."

"God alone knows what will happen in the country within the coming six months. My course is mapped out. I realize that a great peril confronts the country, and, God helping me, I will ignore all party obligations, if necessary, and in my humble way exhaust every power I possess to avert it." Recurring to the gravity of the situation Senator Tillman expressed the opinion that McKinley would be the republican candidate, "and maybe," he said, "it is best that it should be that way."

"The tariff cannot be made the supreme issue in the campaign, but its discussion may mollify popular resentment on the financial question to some extent and avert the preception of a condition that means an alarming repetition of nullification history in this country."

Senator Tillman starts for Colorado on the 8th. "I don't know," he said, "what I shall say in my Denver speech. I generally speak from impulse and trust to the inspiration of the moment. My text, however, in this instance will be the protest of one of Cleveland's office-holders against my speaking as a democrat. If Mr. New should do me the honor to be present I will teach him that democracy means more than a free ticket to Cleveland's pie counter. To do that successfully it may be necessary to draw a com-

parison between Jefferson, Jackson, Lincoln and the despot in the white house."

Tillman is four or ten years in advance of southern sentiment. With all his conceded power in South Carolina politics he cannot lead the masses into a new party movement which does not bear the democratic label. All this talk about democratic disintegration is fiction. So long as the election machinery is under democratic control the "solid south" will remain "solid." What does it matter that the people are in revolt when their votes are nullified by returning boards?

What do democratic leaders care about broken pledges, party duplicity and double faced platforms? Their appeal is not to the public conscience. The election manager is king and "the king can do no wrong." At least he makes no mistake in counting democratic ballots. It is well enough to look at this matter dispassionately.

The south must be left out in counting the vote necessary to elect the next president. Only where there is absolute unification of all anti-democratic opposition is there the ghost of a chance to defeat the "organized democracy."

This can be effected by agreement to subordinate all national and state questions to the supreme issue of self preservation. This was done in North Carolina in 1894 and succeeded. It is the one certain road to success, in all the southern states in 1896. Anything else means continued democratic supremacy. Spasmodic attempts to organize independent movements in the south have invariably collapsed. The signal failure to make the least headway with the independent silver movement is only the repetition of a familiar experience. The most vigorous efforts in that direction have resulted in a waste of individual enthusiasm and energy. Yet, paradoxical as the statement may seem, the people are ripe for revolt. In the two or three intervening months before the party conventions possibly something may happen to develop this latent force in the southern situation. At this time speculation as to what the "organized democracy" in the south will do regardless of national issues is idle. Democratic disintegration depends entirely upon the strength of the anti-democratic opposition, and not upon any difference upon party issues. Any opinion to the contrary is a well demonstrated delusion.

PEPPER AFTER BOND DEALS.

He has the Perseverance of a Saint and the Patience of Job.

To show the patience and perseverance of Senator Pepper, in his repeated attempts to bring up his bond resolution during the last few weeks; the said attempts being foiled again and again by the defender and guardian of the administration David B. Hill and others, we give the following clipping from Janet Jennings's correspondence in the N. Y. Independent:

"There was just one senator in his seat, Mr. Pepper, whom Senator Hill was watching, as a cat watches a mouse at long range, but none the less certain of its capture. Senator Pepper's resolution to investigate the recent bond sales had been reached on the calendar the previous day, and at once Mr. Hill interposed himself as a bulwark between the administration and the passage of the resolution. The title of the bill was read by the clerk, as follows: 'Providing for a committee of five senators to investigate and report generally all the material facts and circumstances connected with the sale of United States bonds by the secretary of the treasury in the years 1894, 1895 and 1896.' Then Mr. Hill was on his feet, and did not sit down until he had for that day 'side tracked' the resolution. It was in vain that Senator Pepper protested, or that half a dozen senators, democrats and republicans, came to his assistance. Mr. Hill resorted to every parliamentary tactic, fenced and parried, evaded and argued, and proved himself more than a match for the six or seven opponents. And now he was watching Senator Pepper to head off the resolution again when the Kansas senator, on the conclusion of Mr. George's speech, called it up. To sit through a three-hour speech by Senator George on the constitution of Delaware, made a hard day for Senator Hill."

It is a curious bit of study, the perseverance of the one man for a wrongful purpose and of the other for a good purpose.

We are glad to see that Pepper's perseverance has been rewarded to this extent; that a day has been set during the coming week for its discussion. Whether it will pass "is another story" as Rudyard Kipling would say.

Gold Only and Always.

Andrew Carnegie says of the Pennsylvania movement for combining silver and protection:

"It is like the celebrated image which was made of pure gold to the waist and of clay beneath. The one, protection, is sound, and it will bring prosperity; the other is unsound, and will maintain the present depression which exists in this country. If I have to vote for a free trader and sound money or a protectionist and free silver, I will vote for the free trader, believing that sound money is of even more vital importance than protection to the interests of this country."

Deal Gently with Them.

The populists must make every effort in their power to obtain recruits for their party. We can add to our party strength by circulating populist newspapers and documents. We can aid voters searching for the truth by kindness and gentleness. Remember that we can not hope to obtain converts to our party by hard words and calling our opponents names.—Helena News.

LIMITED OWNERSHIP.

Has a man the Right to own a Whole State or County?

WHERE SHOULD THE LINE BE?

Getting at the Fundamental Principles of Limited Ownership.

What the Great Scholar and Historian Thinks About It.

Among the profound and scholarly articles in the April Arena is one from Dr. Ridpath on the limitation of ownership of property. THE INDEPENDENT presents the following extracts from it:

The hints of limitation are to be found alike in man and nature. Man is naturally a limited animal. There is no part of him, no element in him, that is not by nature under limitations. He is not composed of infinities but finities. His life is meted and bounded at every extreme. He begins in protoplasm and ends in dissolution. His entrance is an ascent and his exit a tumble down. All of his powers are naturally and wholesomely circumscribed; and the limitation is not such as he himself regards as slavery.

Take the case of the senses. The sight of a good eye reaches from one mile to six miles, according to the bigness of the thing seen. The finer sounds we do not hear at all and the heaviest connoise or thunder, beyond the horizon of a few miles, is mere silence. No animal can feel what it does not touch, or taste what it does not feel. Round about the nature of man there is drawn such a limit that his whole world of sense is not twenty miles in diameter. He does not fly; and his swimming is a fit subject for humor; he is a walker or at most a rider.

It takes time for him to go abroad, and other time most tedious for him to get home again. The young man full of hope, coming back from across the sea to the wicket gate of his adored, finds the last five miles a thousand.

She for her part, leaning out of the window, reckons the last hour to be eternity. Both are limited; not even the exulting hope and bounding heart of youth can cancel time and space.

A large fraction of life—a third, they say—is spent in sleep; another fraction in eating and idling; another in the weakness of childhood and the weariness of old age; still another in sickness and accidents and the mistakes of avocation. A fifth fraction is expended in going about and in useless intercourse with others in like employment. The sixth and last fraction is consumed in marrying and in giving in marriage and in attending to the principal business of life—which in America is voting a party ticket.

Certainly these limitations, partly natural and partly artificial, are sufficient to curb life within a narrow circle of activities.

It is enough to make happy even a miserable member of human society to look around him in the world, to walk abroad, to hear the songs of birds, the clamorous music of the cicada, the bark of the distant squirrel; to see the flight of many creatures, the swimming of some and the scampering away of others. Though there is limitation upon them all—a limitation drawn around all activity and power as if with a geometer's hand—yet there is no complaint or anguish or hunting for change or symptom of revolt. Nature and the living creatures that inhabit her domain are all visibly and manifestly meted and bounded with principles and confines which may not be passed; and yet, taken as a whole, nature is an orderly place, well fitted for happiness, given to hospitality, and pervaded with much good cheer. The only creature that seems to be disorderly, troubled, vexed with cross purposes and unsound sleep, is the principal inhabitant. What is the matter with him?

There is much the matter with him; and his ailments are hard to define. On the whole, the trouble with mankind seems to be that the limitations demanded in order that society may exist and the individual be free have not been laid with the right intent, by the right authority, in the right place. They have been laid with wrong intent, by illegitimate authority, in the very place where they ought not to have been laid at all. They have been laid by power, by selfishness, and by organized tyranny, on the weak and unorganized elements of society, where there was no need of limitation or any suggestion of it except the suggestion to enslave. So much distress, so much confusion, have arisen from the misplacement of limitation that human beings have become distrustful of the principle of limitation; and as a result they find no stable equilibrium between the extremes of anarchism and slavery.

There is, we must admit, no well-ordered, well-defined, and well-established human society in the world. Everything is slipping in the one direction or in the other. Every human being seems to be pushing his neighbor either into slavery or into anarchy. Each elbow the other into one of the extremes of unhappiness and conflict. Nobody seems to stop to consider whether it is not possible that a social state can exist in which the limitations are so laid that life in it may be as easy and natural, as contented and perfect, as is the life of the irrational and unconscious orders of being that flourish around us. They live in easy perfection, and die without distemper or anguish. Why should not a man get through the world as well and as happily, as a rain crow, a bass, or a beaver.

That men are happier and better for possessing property, for having something of their own for getting as a reward of their toil a possession that they may enjoy, can no more be doubted than that rain refreshes the fields and sunshine makes glad the world. That property is also the beginning of that cruel strife which has converted the world into a slaughter house and ultimately made every human being so selfish that he can hardly any longer, by the utmost strain of his powers, prefer another to himself, can as little be doubted as denied. Is it not possible that the doctrine of limitations applied to property might rob it of its power to curse and promote its power to bless?

It is not property moderated and limited, but only the want of it, or the lawless excess of it, that curses the world. It is the too-much or the too-little that blasts the hopes of men. There is a vast area of intermediate possessions, between the extremes of poverty and wealth, that is almost an unimpaired blessing.

We may note also that it is in this intermediate and wholesome region, between the extremes of want and surfeit, that the genius of the world and all of its saving forces are born and economized. We are accustomed to say that genius has its birthplace in poverty. This opinion prevails because in some conspicuous instances the children of the humble poor rise to the godlike stature. That anyone so born should rise at all is a thing so remarkable as to attract the attention of the world and to favor the opinion that only the children of poverty can be great. In a few instances the children of the rich are born great also. But the rule is that the greatness and power of human life proceed from the intermediate condition in which there is neither abject poverty nor abounding riches. In this there is emphatic suggestion of the principle of limitation applied to property; and here the debate properly begins. If society could agree that property shall freely exist, that every man shall have for his part all that he earns by his labor and skill, and *no more*, men indeed would not be equal in their possessions, but poverty on the one hand would cease, and the glut of riches on the other hand would disappear. Those who have nothing—and starve—would rise into the vast and healthy body of society composed of those who have something and live. Those who have too much—and surfeit—would be drawn back from excess, and would be absorbed in the great body from which in an evil day they were permitted to escape.

What follows? It follows as the night the day that somewhere between the right to own the valley of the Mississippi or the whole United States a line of limitation must be laid, over which no power known among men may be allowed to pass. To pass this line is to prepare the antecedents of the inevitable enslavement of mankind. It is thus perfectly clear that a restriction on land ownership is a necessity of the situation which has supervened in human society. The principle of unlimited ownership cannot be longer admitted if civil and industrial liberty is to be maintained as a part of the rights of man. It is already absurd to speak of unlimited land ownership, or to attempt to defend it. I doubt whether any man in his senses here in the high light of the last decade of a great century will dare to champion the supposed right of an individual or of a corporate body to own the five states of our great Northwestern group, or to own one of them, or a quarter of one of them. If there be such, be and I differ *toto caelo* and forever.

ONE CENT A DAY

The Swindlers Have Kept the People Fighting Over it for 25 Years.

Suppose we take the entire custom revenue of 1890,—\$229,668,585,—and divide it up among 70,000,000 people; it is but a little over three dollars per capita, or less than one cent a day!!!

Give us free silver and an abundant currency and good times and homes free from mortgages, and all the people industrious, prosperous and happy, and we could pay ten times the McKinley tariff and no man would feel it. Leave us in our present condition and a feather becomes a burden too great to bear.

See, friends, how you have been humbugged for twenty-five years by these two mutual societies of co-operating swindlers. They have played on you as a musician plays on a flute. They have fooled you to the top of your bent. You have roared and shouted and all for what?—One-seventh of a cent a day!—About the ration of a well conditioned rooster!

The Goldite Candidates.

LOUISVILLE, Ky., April 4, 1896.—Gov. Bradley has papered the town with posters announcing his candidacy for the presidency. Bill stickers have been sent throughout the state with orders to cover the dead walls and fences with the posters. The governor says he is not fighting McKinley, but is trying to secure the presidency.

St. Louis, April 4, '96.—The McKinley managers here are planning to overrun the town with politicians from the Major's state. They have not only rented all the spare rooms in the city, but have just leased the big exposition building, and will divide it into hundreds of small rooms by building temporary partitions.

Breckenridge Redivivus.

LEXINGTON, Ky., April 5, '96.—Col. W. C. P. Breckenridge has been practicing law here ever since the suit for damages of Madeline Pollard two years ago caused him to be succeeded in congress by Col. W. C. Owens. Now that he is canvassing the district again to run for congress this year, the old movement of the ladies in the district is being reorganized, and he will have the women against him, as he had two years ago.

PHILADELPHIA SILVERITES.

HOW NEW YORK GOLDITES MADE THEM RECENT.

They owe Thirty Millions of Gold to England Due on Call.

There has been a great deal said about the deal made by certain Philadelphians of the manufacturer's club and the silver senators and the repudiation of it by the club at a called meeting. Wharton Barker who was at the bottom of the whole deal now tells the reasons why the club was forced to take to the water. He says:

The manufacturers' Club of Philadelphia held a remarkable session on Monday last, in which it repudiated any understanding with the silver senators as to the relations of the bimetallic to the protective policy. In justice to the gentlemen of the majority, we must say they were under an urgent pressure from another city to do something to counteract the impression made abroad by the recent conference between a number of our large manufacturers and the senators who, taking the stand that bimetallic and protection are inseparable, have declared their purpose to block all tariff legislation until their demands for the restoration of silver are recognized. The money-dealers of that city have been reduced to sore straits by the terms of their recent advance of gold to the treasury. While only about \$10,000,000 of that loan was actually imported from London, some \$30,000,000 more was advanced by Englishmen on what amounts to a call loan and used to offset American obligations in England so as to check the export of gold from our ports. This arrangement was carried out on a plea of misanthropy, as needed to strengthen the hands of the gold party in the United States, and with the assurance that this would enable them to hold our country in the ranks of the gold standard nations. Naturally, the Englishmen do not wish to make any such accommodations to us unless they get an equivalent. To keep us in the position of a debtor nation on a gold basis is the most profitable arrangement possible for them; but capital is proverbially timid, and anything that seems to show that we are going to abandon that position, alarms them. For this reason the money dealers of our sister city were very much alarmed at the prospect of an alliance of the manufacturing with the silver-producing communities of this country, and spared no pains to impress upon Philadelphia the necessity for a counter-demonstration.

That the majority had not much confidence in the strength of their cause is shown by their limiting discussion to five minute speeches at the outset, even the proposal to extend this to ten being voted down. The resolutions, adopted by a vote of two to one, contain nothing remarkable, the adoption of bimetallic being put off until that indefinite future in which the "creditor nation"—Mr. Gladstone's phrase—will voluntarily give up her hold on her suffering debtors. As the abolitionists used to say, "Nothing is settled until it is settled right." Resolutions that everything is lovely will not stop the grinding process which is absorbing the capital of the manufacturer and undermining our industrial system. They will not enable New York to meet the balance of some \$150,000,000 payable to London before next September, independently of payments for imports made in the meantime. They will not ward off the suspension of gold payments at the treasury and everywhere else, which must come when the process of borrowing gold to redeem greenbacks has reached its necessary termination, a termination pointed out by both Mr. Cleveland and Mr. Carlisle. They will not secure the Philadelphia manufacturer any release from the miseries of our wretched tariff, for the republicans will have no more control of the senate in the next congress than they have in this, without the help of votes from the silver states. "It is a situation which confronts us," not resolutions.

AD SUMMUM BONUM

Possible, Probable, if not Positive Bimetallicism.

[As a fair, fine and finished specimen of alliterative literature this letter is let in. Two wide, winding words were omitted as they could not be deciphered.]

An Ethico-Economic Exploitation of the Virtue, Value, and Verisimilitude of Cometallicism or the Impartial yet Interdependent Coccinago and concurrent Circulation of Standard Gold and Silver Dollars, and Connate Issue of a comfortable Paper Currency Consecutive Therewith.

To whom it may concern:—The pro-silver action of the Senate, the duemetallic animus of the House of Representatives, and the godful attitude of the administration, presage and precaution, that through conciliation and concession (though not necessarily the compromise of a cabal) can a speedy, salient, and safeguarded settlement of the current, congressional cameralistic contention be found and furnished.

To this end the following federal financial legislation is sincerely subserved and submitted, to-wit:—

Be it enacted etc, that until international agreement or action shall make such restrictive and regulative rule and requirement uncalled for or unnecessary, all bullion of the prescribed fineness and amount offered by any person or persons at the mints of the United States for coinage shall consist of one-half each—in value at the (present) lawful ratio—of gold and silver.

Sec. 2. For such conjoint deposit certificates, bills or notes,—of convenient

denominations for circulation—shall be issued, and same shall be a full legal tender, except in cases specifically stated otherwise.

Points in favor of cometallicism:— 1. It would show common sense and compatriotic sagacity in recognizing and regarding that silver as well as gold possesses the common attributes and desiderata of a money metal; namely ductility, durability, divisibility, distributability, determinability etc., and that when used together without any individual or inimical discrimination against either; silver by reason of comparative abundance would to the cometallic system of currency supply sufficiency, and gold on account of relative rarity contribute stability and steadiness not unlike the correlation of the centripetal and centrifugal forces in physics.

2. If plentifulness of money—the term being used in opposition to wealth in real estate and other property—tends toward inviting and influencing intelligent industry, (rather than attracting and alluring—as so-called dear money does—intriguing investment in bonds, mortgage debentures etc.,) then cometallicism would be in the line of public policy as evolving earnest and enlightened efforts in place of enervating and effeminate ease as the portion of a few, and injurious idleness if not insobriety on the part of many.

A more extended explanation and exploitation of advantageous and admirable features of foregoing, together with comments—appropriate, agnostic and adverse—of leading government officials, prominent politicians, influential journals, well known bankers, manufacturers et al., may be had by addressing—with twenty-five cents—stamps to cover cost of copying; postage etc.—the undersigned.

(DEMOS) WM. H. FITCH, Bear's Marsh, Wood County, Wis., "Cranmoor," March 27, 1896.

THEY ARE COMING.

Another Convention Will Meet With the Populists at St. Louis.

A call is printed for a meeting of reform forces in national convention, in Pittsburg, Pa., on May 25, 1896. If we are correctly informed this movement represents the temperance element which is not willing to be swallowed up by 'plutocracy. They will on May 25, appoint a committee to confer with the prohibitionists, who meet May 27, in the same city; and if they can overthrow the influence of the money power, in the latter convention, they will all adjourn to St. Louis, and meet there July 21, one day before the meetings of the people's party and the free silver party; and if possible, agree, through committees, in nominating the same candidates for president and vice-president; and then with a plank in all three platforms, for the initiative and referendum, they will help us to take possession of the government, and proceed in their own way, to fight the saloon power while we are fighting the money-power.

THE OLD GUARD.

They are Appreciated in Their Own Camp

VALENTINE, NEB., April 4, '96.

EDITOR INDEPENDENT: As the time draws near which decides the lines upon which the next national populist campaign is to be fought, naturally a tremor runs through the rank and file to know what advantage, or disadvantage they may be given in the fight. This inquiry is honest, and is not necessarily aimed at the leaders. Still, the unwarranted attack made on our leaders by the Associated Press, causes them to be over sensitive, and attribute some well meant discussion, as being meant for them. As to those lies, Mr. Editor, we don't any of us believe them. I don't think Brother Snyder believes them. If he does, all he needs to do is to think back a few years, when the State Journal attacked the men of his own county, and he among them for disgracing the flag, when they were trying to honor it; and for employing an ex-confederate general for speaker when in fact they employed an ex-union officer, then failing to correct the statement, after receiving unanimous petitions from the G. A. R. Post shows how infamously contemptible and dishonest, the press association can be. We all of us honor the old guard. Though a humble worker, I was one of them too. But we must remember we have lots of recruits. Some of them don't realize what the old guard has been through, nor the traps, and pitfalls, that are always laid, for any set of men, who undertake to advance the world. It is to encourage this class to rely on the counsel of the old guard, and send them to their convention when it meets, that much of this discussion appears. We will send men from Cherry who will stand by their guns. I doubt not the rest will. He will have more faith in Senator Allen for president, than in any other man on earth too. We believe he has a broader perception of our national needs, and more courage to defend, and carry them out, than any other man we could name. If that convention gives us something to fight for, we will help shell the woods.

We should like to see the initiative and referendum head the platform. We shall hope to favor the government ownership of the public utilities, and to oppose private monopolies, well knowing that we will be opposed by them, any way. The amount of courage we shall have to fight, depends on the amount of good we should be able to do, if we should win. If we send good, strong, active men to St. Louis, and the reform forces exercise good judgment, we have the best fighting chance of any party in the field.

CHARLES E. DOTY.