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THE TEXAS POPULISTS

A Lucid Digest of the Campaign in that State.

WHY POPS FOUGHT DEMOCRATS

Professor Vincent Gives the Inside History of the Fight.

Something We all Wanted to Know.

The condition of affairs in the populist party in Texas has been a puzzle which the members of the party in this state could not untangle at all. The following article from the pen of Professor Vincent throws the much needed light on the subject:

Perhaps there is no state so difficult to understand as Texas in the workings of the late campaign. The writer was on the ground for over a month in August and September, and hence is in a position better to appreciate the situation than others.

The Texas democrats, with Gov. Culberson, ex-Gov. Hogg, Attorney-General Crane at their head, had for years squandered the state funds and looted the treasury by all forms of robbery that can be perpetrated under forms of law by the initiated and skillful plunderers. The school fund had been wasted on pet railroad companies until the people of the state were well nigh in a state of rebellion against the thieving gang. This was the situation when Texas sent delegates to the populist convention in St. Louis. The name "democrat," as applied to the party in Texas, is a synonym for robbery, plunder, extravagance in official business, with administration pets as beneficiaries, the loss of school funds, a vacuum where fund should be in the state treasury, and for political perjury and dishonesty, for broken promises and shattered pledges for reform. Is it any wonder that populists of Texas stood against the proposition of accepting the Chicago ticket, when the inevitable result would have been practically a consorting with the party in state affairs that all good citizens were in arms against? The populists had already polled over one hundred and fifty thousand votes in the state, and with a square fight, asking and giving no quarter, they would win "hands down," at the next election. Those men had come out from among the plundering state house party and allied themselves together for reform, and to ask them to go back or to ally themselves with that "gang" again was like asking a man to crucify his father or burn his mother at the stake, and they simply would not do it. And can we wonder?

But the convention at St. Louis was largely composed of men who knew "democrats" in Iowa, Kansas, Colorado, Nebraska, the Dakotas and other places where they were largely in the minority and were there always the kickers against abuses and had reformers in their respective localities. Under such circumstances the convention did not appreciate the situation in Texas, and some were thoughtless enough to chide them for their persistence in adhering to their middle-of-the-road policy. The writer, having formerly campaigned in that state knew the conditions and stood with Texas while the marching legions shouted about her. After the convention, in the campaign work of that state, I took the ground that we, as populists, should, in the support of Bryan and Watson, out-do the democrats in their support of Bryan and Sewall. The populist state and electoral ticket was first in the field. When the Culberson democratic convention was held, the populists offered to divide the electoral ticket, but the offer was spurned with contempt. I doubted then, and do still, the wisdom of offering a division of electors in that state under the then existing conditions. Smarting under the insults offered by the Culberson democrats, added to the already outraged conditions of the populist mind, a few loud and passionate leaders raised the slogan of "No Watson, no Bryan," and attempted to "bulldoze" the withdrawal of Mr. Sewall. The result was just as was to be expected. Where diplomacy fails in such matters, an overbearing "rule or ruin" disposition provokes hostility instead of winning concessions. The loud threats of one member of a special committee of three and his persistent appearance in the public prints in "interviews" avowing his hostility to Bryan unless Sewall was withdrawn and the catering of this committee and of one or two candidates for congress for republican votes, had the effect to demoralize the populist vote of the state and the only report that has reached this office says the Bryan and Watson ticket polled 78,000 votes, while the state ticket, headed by Maj. Kearby, polled 260,000 votes. This wide and significant vote points a moral in politics with unerring certainty. It never pays to let apite and a spirit of revenge control in business or in politics. The populists, as a whole, in Texas were in favor of acquiescing in the action at St. Louis, and if the populists had vied with each other in exhibitions of cordial loyalty to the Bryan and Watson ticket, and had not allowed personal affronts to sour them and lead them to trading with republicans, the populists of Texas would have elected the Bryan and Watson electors and triumphantly sent Maj. Kearby and his associates to the state house. But, when the trading with republicans began, the conservative and loyal populists saw in it disloyalty to Bryan as the candidates of the populist national convention, and they resented it by voting for the Bryan and Sewall electors, in the fear that trading might otherwise give the state to McKinley.

GROVER'S VALEDICTORY

Much Sympathy for Turkey and Little for Cuba.

DOWN WITH THE GREENBACKS

More Bonds and More Banks of Issue.

One Last Dig at Pensioners.

President Cleveland's last message to congress, read in the two houses today, has been looked forward to with considerable interest, because of the important subjects he was expected to discuss and on which he has not heretofore expressed himself.

THE PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE.

The president's message can be summarized as follows:

1. Intense sympathy for the suffering Christians of Turkey. This to keep in good standing with the plutocratic churches and bishops like Newman.

2. No sympathy at all for the suffering Christians of Cuba, and the greatest courtesy to that relic of barbarism, the bloody and cruel government of Spain, as shown in this sentence: "We have no right to assume and no reason for assuming that anything Spain undertakes to do for the relief of Cuba will not be done according to both the spirit and the letter of the undertaking."

3. The retirement of the greenback and the issue of more bonds.

4. The superiority of the trusts to all law which he expounds as follows: "The decision of our highest court on this precise question renders it quite doubtful whether the evils of trusts and monopolies can be adequately treated through federal action, unless they seek directly and purposely to include in their objects transportation or intercourse between states or between the United States and foreign countries."

4. A remodeling of the postal laws so as to stop the circulation of populist country weeklies and cheap reform literature.

5. A recommendation to use the surplus now in the treasury to cover the deficit, instead of increasing taxation. With this we heartily agree. The president says:

"To meet any such deficit we have in the treasury, in addition to a gold reserve of \$100,000,000, a surplus of more than \$128,000,000 applicable to the payment of the expenses of the government, and which must, unless expended for that purpose, remain a useless hoard, or, if not extravagantly wasted, must in any event be prevented from the purpose of its exaction from our people. The payment therefore, of any deficiency in the revenue from this fund is nothing more than its proper and legitimate use."

The Rothschilds bond syndicate will have no fault to find with the president's position regarding Cuba, the whole intent of which is to keep good the investments of the house of Rothschilds in Spanish hands.

Hon. J. M. Snyder, of Verdurets, Sherman county, member elect of the legislature will be in Lincoln on and after December 21st.

BETTER THAN POLITICS.

The Burlington Establishing Experimental Farming Stations.

General Passenger Agent Francis of the Burlington has gone out on the road to establish several experimental farm stations, says the World-Herald. These stations are for trying improved methods of farming, including subsoiling and surface cultivating, the idea being that after a rain the soil should be cultivated, thus breaking the capillary tubes and allowing the moisture to soak into the ground, it thereby being retained instead of evaporating.

One or two small plots of grounds are now being thus cultivated in the state, and the results have been highly satisfactory. The Burlington is desirous of giving the scheme a thorough trial, and hence their experimental farms. They will probably be located by Mr. Francis at McCook, Holdrege, Alma, Broken Bow and Alliance, and one in the North Loup country, all along the Burlington lines, and in different sections of Nebraska where the soil and the climate differ somewhat, thus giving the scheme a thorough trial.

Northwestern Line Holiday Rates.

Account "Holidays" excursion tickets will be sold December 24, 25, 31, and January 1, 1897, at one and one-third fare for the round trip to points within a distance of 200 miles. Final limit January 4. By this line all northern and northeastern Nebraska points are best reached, also Iowa points through Missouri Valley and Sioux City. Depot corner 8th and S, city office 117 south 10th street. A. S. Fielding city ticket agent.

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After a brief reference to the duty of congress to the people and a complimentary comment on the way all have emerged from the recent bitter political conflict, the president discusses this country's relations with Turkey, recommending patience and suggesting that interference by the United States might, instead of accomplishing good rather than disaster. He holds that it is the province of European powers to decide upon a course of action, and says nothing can be done until they speak.

Regarding Cuba, Mr. Cleveland declares that although the conditions are but slightly changed since his last message, and that apparently in favor of the insurgents, that as the Cubans have no established government anything in the way of recognition is possible under the law of nations. He recalls that the people of the United States have shown wonderful patience, despite the fact that they have much at stake and are nearly as greatly interested financially as Spain herself. He announces that a proposition has been made the Madrid government seeking to effect a settlement and that no reply has been received. He says that conditions may yet arise which will compel the government of this country to interfere in the interests of humanity. He says the suggestion that the United States buy Cuba is worth considering, and also suggests home rule for Cuba.

The Venezuelan affair is declared settled satisfactorily, as far as this nation is concerned. The president treats briefly of the consular service, favoring examinations of applicants as to their fitness. He reports progress on the Bering sea investigation and hopes for some action toward protecting the herds.

Some space is given to a review of the condition of the treasury. A statistical account of the immigration during the year is given attention. The excellent work of the life saving corps is dwelt upon, showing a great degree of perfection reached. The army work of coast defense and the need of federal prisons, on the plan of that at Fort Leavenworth, are treated at some length.

Considerable attention is given to the postal department, and the president recommends that the law covering second class matter be revised so that it exclude much that at present is carried in the mails under the provisions, at a loss. He adds that this item alone would save enough to put the service on a paying basis and relieve the taxpayers of a portion of their burden.

The president refers with evident pride to the development of the navy, and points out that the ability to quickly strengthen it will serve to make our position more secure. The giving of premiums for speed will be discontinued as soon as vessels now under construction or contract are finished.

The condition of the Indian is discussed briefly, and the president recommends a change in the present system. He advocates the appointment of an Indian commission of three members, one of whom shall be an army officer, to take the place of the present Indian commissioner. He is especially severe in his denunciation of the practice of allowing Indians to obtain whiskey, and would have the law against such enlarged in its scope so as to include all Indians.

The gravity of the Pacific road trouble is clearly pointed out, and the president says that unless congress takes prompt action looking toward the protection of the government's claims, the executive will.

The president is especially complimentary to Secretary of Agriculture Morton, whose management of the agricultural department is highly commended.

It is pointed out that the exports of farm products have been increased, and also that under Secretary Morton's management nearly one-fifth of the appropriation for the bureau has been saved. The secretary's position regarding free seed distribution is commended.

The civil service system is shown to have been enlarged, and the president grows somewhat severe when speaking of the "noisy" partisans. He would still further enlarge the scope of the civil service by including the fourth class postmasters.

The present tariff law is defended and figures adduced to show that under ordinary conditions it is ample to provide sufficient revenue to pay the ordinary expenses of the government economically administered.

His position regarding the retirement of the greenbacks is in line with his previous expression on this point. He wants the government to go out of the banking business.

The executive views on trusts is full

of interest. While condemning them on general principles he is of the opinion that congress has but limited power in the premises, and that the states must take whatever action is needed.

The portion of the message devoted to pensions will be of interest to old soldiers. The frauds that invest the pension roll are alluded to, and the growth of the roll is mentioned.

MESSAGE OF THE PRESIDENT.

Chief Officer of the Nation Speaks to the Congress.

To the Congress of the United States: As representatives of the people in the legislative branch of their government you have assembled at a time when the strength and excellence of our free institutions and the fitness of our citizens to enjoy popular rule have been again made manifest. A political contest involving momentous consequences, fraught with feverish apprehension and creating aggressiveness so intense as to approach bitterness and passion, has been waged throughout our land, and determined by the decree of free and independent suffrage, without disturbance of our tranquillity or the least sign of weakness in our national structure.

When we consider these incidents and contemplate the peaceful obedience and manly submission which have succeeded a heated clash of political opinions, we discover abundant evidence of a determination on the part of our countrymen to abide by every verdict of the popular will, and to be controlled at all times by an abiding faith in the agencies provided for the direction of the affairs of their government.

DEMAND UNSELFISH SERVICE.

Thus our people exhibit a patriotic disposition, which entitles them to demand of those who undertake to make and execute their laws such faithful and unselfish service in their behalf as can only be prompted by a serious apprehension of the trust and confidence which the acceptance of public duty invites.

In obedience to a constitutional requirement, I hereby submit to the congress certain information concerning national affairs, with the suggestion of such legislation as in my judgment is necessary and expedient.

To secure brevity and avoid tiresome narration I shall omit many details concerning matters within federal control, which, while by no means unimportant, are more profitably discussed in departmental reports. I shall also omitting a minute recital of many minor incidents connected with our foreign relations, which have heretofore found a place in executive messages, but are now contained in a report of the secretary of state, which is herewith submitted.

RELATIONS WITH TURKEY.

No Change in the Situation—American Interests Guarded.

At the outset of a reference to the more important matters affecting our relations with foreign powers, it would afford me satisfaction if I could assure the congress that the disturbed condition in Asiatic Turkey had during the past year assumed a less hideous and bloody aspect, and that either as a consequence of the awakening of the Turkish government to the demand of humane civilization, or as the result of decisive action on the part of the great powers, having the right by treaty to interfere for the protection of those exposed to the rage of mad bigotry and cruel fanaticism, the shocking features of the situation had been mitigated.

Instead, however, of welcoming a softened disposition or protective intervention, we have been afflicted by continued and not unimportant reports of the wanton destruction of homes and the bloody butchery of men, women and children, made martyrs to their profession of Christian faith.

CITIZENS ARE IN DANGER.

While none of our citizens in Turkey have thus far been killed or wounded, though often in the midst of dreadful scenes of danger, their safety for the future is by no means assured. Our government at home and our minister at Constantinople have left nothing undone to protect our missionaries in Ottoman territory who constitute nearly all the individuals residing there who have a right to claim our protection on the score of American citizenship.

Our efforts in this direction will not be relaxed; but the deep feeling and sympathy that have been aroused among our people ought not to so far blind their reason and judgment as to lead them to demand impossible things. The outbreaks of blind fury which lead to murder and pillage in Turkey occur suddenly and without notice, and an attempt on our part to force such a hostile presence there as might be effective for reasons of protection would not only be resisted by the Ottoman government, but would be regarded as an interruption of their plans by the great nations, who assert their exclusive right to intervene in their own time and method for the security of life and property in Turkey.

CLAIMS AGAINST TURKEY.

Several naval vessels are stationed in the Mediterranean, as a measure of caution and to furnish all possible relief and refuge in case of emergency. We have made claims against the Turkish government for the pillage and destruction of missionary property at Harpoot and Marash during uprisings at those places. Thus far the validity of these claims has not been admitted, though demands have not been admitted, though in anticipation of danger, demanded protection for the persons and property of our missionary citizens in the localities mentioned, and notwithstanding the fact that the Turkish soldiers in the work of destruction and robbery.

The facts as they now appear do not permit us to doubt the justice of these claims, and nothing will be omitted to bring about their prompt settlement.

HOME FOR REFUGEES.

A number of Armenian refugees have arrived at our ports, and an order has lately been obtained from the Turkish government permitting the wives and children of such refugees to join them here. It is hoped that hereafter no obstacle will be interposed to prevent the escape of all those who seek to avoid the perils which threaten them in Turkish

territories.

Our recently appointed consul to Erzerum is at his post and discharging the duties of his office, though for some unaccountable reason his formal exequatur from the sultan has not been issued.

I do not believe that the present somber prospect in Turkey will be long permitted to offend the sight of Christian leaders in arms, and enlightened civilization that belongs to the close of the nineteenth century that it seems hardly possible that the earnest demand of good people throughout the Christian world for its corrective treatment will remain unanswered.

INSURRECTION IN CUBA.

Rebel Government Not Yet Established to Recognition—Ruin Spreads.

The insurrection in Cuba still continues with all its perplexities. It is difficult to perceive that any progress has thus far been made towards the pacification of the island, or that the situation of affairs, as depicted in my last annual message, has in the least improved. If Spain still holds Havana and the seaports, and all the considerable towns, the insurgents still roam at will over at least two-thirds of the island, and the determination of Spain to put down the insurrection seems but to strengthen with the lapse of time, and is evinced by her unhesitating devotion of largely increased military and naval forces to the task, there is much reason to believe that the insurgents have gained in point of numbers and resources, and are none the less inflexible in their resolve not to succumb, without practically securing the great object for which they took up arms. If Spain has not yet re-established her authority, neither have the insurgents yet made good their title to be regarded as an independent state.

NO GOVERNMENT BUT SPAIN'S.

Indeed, as the contest has gone on, the pretense that civil government exists on the island, except so far as Spain is able to maintain it, has been practically abandoned. Spain does keep on foot such a government, more or less imperfectly, in the large towns and their immediate suburbs. But, that exception being made, the entire country is either given over to anarchy or is subject to the military occupation of one or the other party.

It is reported, indeed, on reliable authority, that at the demand of the commander-in-chief of the insurgent army, the putative Cuban government has now given up all attempt to exercise its functions, leaving that government (whatever it is) to be the best reason for supposing it always to have been in fact) a government merely on paper. Were the Spanish armies able to meet their antagonists in the open or in pitched battle, prompt and decisive results might be looked for, and the immense superiority of Spanish forces in numbers, discipline, and equipment could hardly fail to tell greatly to their advantage; but they are called upon to face a foe that shuns general engagements; that can choose and does choose its own ground; that, from the nature of the country, is well adapted for ambuscade, and that fights only from ambuscade and when all the advantages of position and numbers are on its side.

MAY CONTINUE FOR YEARS.

In a country where all that is indispensable to life, in the way of food, clothing and shelter, is so easily obtainable, especially by those born and bred on the soil, it is obvious that there is hardly a limit to the time during which hostilities of this sort may be prolonged.

Meanwhile, as in all cases of protracted civil strife, the passions of the combatants grow more and more inflamed, and excesses on both sides become more frequent and more deplorable. They are also participated in by bands of marauders, who now, in the name of one party and now in the name of the other, as may best suit the occasion, harry the country at will and plunder its wretched inhabitants for their own advantage. Such a condition of things would inevitably entail immense destruction of property, even if were the policy of both parties to prevent it as far as practicable. But while such seemed to be the original policy of the Spanish government, it has now apparently abandoned it, and is acting upon the same theory as the insurgents, namely, that the exigencies of the contest require the wholesale annihilation of property, that it may not prove of use and advantage to the enemy.

ISLAND BEING LAID WASTE.

It is to the same end that in pursuance of general orders, Spanish garrisons are now being withdrawn from plantations and the rural population required to concentrate itself in the towns. The sure result would seem to be that the industrial value of the island is being diminished, and that unless there is a speedy and radical change in existing conditions it will soon disappear altogether. That value consists very largely, of course, in its capacity to produce sugar—a capacity already much reduced by the interruptions to tillage, which have taken place during the last two years. It is reliably asserted that should these interruptions continue during the current year, and practically extend, as is now threatened, to the entire sugar producing territory of the island, so much time and so much money will be required to restore the land to its normal productiveness that it is extremely doubtful if capital can be induced to even make the attempt. The spectacle of the utter ruin of an adjoining country, by nature one of the most fertile and charming to the globe, would not be the serious attention of the government and the people of the United States, in any circumstances. In point of fact they have a concern with it which is by no means of a wholly sentimental or philanthropic character. It lies so near to us as to be hardly separated from our territory.

HAVE PECUNIARY INTEREST.

Our actual pecuniary interest in it is second only to that of the people and government of Spain. It is reasonably estimated that at least from \$20,000,000 to \$50,000,000 of American capital are invested in plantations and in railroad, mining and other business enterprises on the island. The volume of trade between the United States and Cuba, which in 1889 amounted to about \$64,000,000, rose in 1893 to about \$103,000,000, and in 1894, the year before the present insurrection broke out, amounted to nearly \$96,000,000.

Resides this large pecuniary stake in

the fortunes of Cuba, the United States finds itself inextricably involved in the present contest in other ways both casual and costly. Many Cubans reside in this country and indirectly promote the insurrection, through the press, by public meetings, by the purchase and shipment of arms, by the raising of funds, and by other means, which the spirit of our institutions and the tenor of our laws do not permit to be made the subject of criminal prosecutions.

Some of them, though Cubans at heart and in all their feelings and interests, have taken out papers as naturalized citizens of the United States, a proceeding resorted to with a view to possible protection by this government and not unnaturally regarded with much indignation by the country of their origin.

SYMPATHY OF AMERICANS.

The insurgents are undoubtedly encouraged and supported by the widespread sympathy the people of this country always and instinctively feel for every struggle for better and freer government and which in the case of the more adventurous and restless elements of our population leads in only too many instances to active and personal participation in the contest.

The result is that this government is constantly called upon to protect American citizens to claim damages for injuries to persons and property now estimated at many millions of dollars, and to ask explanations and apologies for the acts of Spanish officials whose zeal for the repression of the rebellion sometimes blinds them to the immunities belonging to the unoffending citizens of a friendly power.

It follows from the same causes that the United States is compelled to actively police a long line of sea coast against unlawful expeditions, the average of which the utmost vigilance will not always suffice to prevent.

These inevitable entanglements of the United States with the rebellion in Cuba, the large American property interests affected, and considerations of philanthropy and humanity in general, have led to a vehement demand in various quarters for some sort of positive intervention on the part of the United States.

DEMANDS FOR INTERVENTION.

It was at first proposed that belligerent rights should be accorded to the insurgents—a proposition no longer weighed, because untimely and of no practical operation clearly perilous and injurious to our own interests. It has since been and is now sometimes expounded that the independence of the insurgents should be recognized. But imperfect and restricted as the Spanish government of the island may be, no other exists there—unless the will of the military officer in temporary command of a particular district can be dignified as a species of government.

It is now also suggested that the United States should buy the island—a suggestion possibly worthy of consideration, if there were any evidence of a desire or willingness on the part of Spain to entertain such a proposal. It is urged, finally, that all other methods failing, the existing insurrection in Cuba should be terminated by our intervention, even at the cost of a war which its advocates confidently prophesy could be neither large in its proportions, nor doubtful in its issue.

The correctness of this forecast need be neither affirmed nor denied. The United States has nevertheless a character to maintain as a nation, which plainly dictates that right and not might should be the rule of its conduct.

NO DREAMS OF CONQUEST.

Further, though the United States is not a nation to which peace is a necessity, it is in turn the most pacific of powers and desires nothing so much as to live in amity with all the world. Its own ample and diversified domains satisfy all possible longings for territory, preclude all dreams of conquest, and prevent any casting of covetous eyes upon neighboring regions, however attractive. That our conduct towards Spain and her dominions has constituted no exception to this national disposition, is attested by the course of our government, not only thus far during the present insurrection, but during the ten years that followed the rising at Yara in 1868.

No other great power, it may safely be said, under circumstances of similar perplexity, has manifested the same restraint and the same patient endurance. It may also be said that this persistent attitude of the United States towards Spain in connection with Cuba, unquestionably evinces no slight respect and regard for Spain on the part of the American people. They, in fact, do not forget her connection with the discovery of the western hemisphere, nor do they underestimate the great qualities of the Spanish people, nor fail to fully recognize their splendid patriotism and their chivalrous devotion to the national honor. They view with wonder and admiration the cheerful resolution with which vast numbers of men are sent across thousands of miles of ocean and an enormous debt accumulated that the costly possession of the Gem of the Antilles may still hold its place in the Spanish crown.

WATCHING ALL WITH CARE.

And yet neither the government nor the people in the United States have shut their eyes to the course of events in Cuba, nor have failed to realize the extent of conceded grievances which have led to the present revolt from the authority of Spain—grievances recognized by the queen regent and by the cortes, voiced by the most patriotic and enlightened of Spanish statesmen, without regard to party and demonstrated by reforms proposed by the executive and approved by the legislative branch of the Spanish government. It is in the assumed temper and disposition of the Spanish government to remedy these grievances, fortified by indications of influential public opinion in Spain, that this government has hoped to discover the most promising and effective means of composing the present strife with honor and advantage to Spain and to the achievement of all the reasonable objects of the insurrection.

It would seem that if Spain should offer to Cuba genuine autonomy—a measure of some rule, which, while preserving the sovereignty of Spain, would satisfy all national requirements of her Spanish subjects—there should be no just reason why the pacification of the island might not be effected on that basis. Such a result would appear to be in the true interest of all concerned. It would at once stop the con-

(Continued next week.)