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A TARIFF ON LUMBER

Senator Pettigrew Points out Some Results That Will Follow.

NOT LEVIED FOR PROTECTION

Will Build up a Gigantic Trust Which Will Rob the People.

Pine Forests Disappearing.

When the lumber schedule providing for a tariff tax of \$2.00 per thousand feet upon white pine lumber was reached in the senate last week Senator Pettigrew of South Dakota took the floor and pointed out the real intention of the framers of the bill and the results that would follow its adoption. He showed that it could not be defended on the protective tariff theory, for there was no industry in it to be built up. To hasten the cutting of the timber meant only to hasten the destruction of the industry for in less than ten years time the supply of white pine trees would be exhausted. He said:

"Mr. President, the principle of protection as advocated by the republican party during all its history is that by building up industries in this country through a tariff for protection those industries will compete with each other, and thus lower the price of the article to the American consumer. That is the fundamental principle of the doctrine of protection, and it has been taught on every stump since the republican party came into existence. We have been furnished time and again with example after example of this doctrine and the effect and force of its operation. We have been told on every stump in the country that if we placed a duty of 2 cents a pound on nails that were 6 cents a pound when imported from abroad, by the application of American genius nails would be reduced through competition resulting from the creation of factories in this country, and sold for a cent a pound. So always and everywhere we have been taught the doctrine of competition, the fundamental principle of our civilization.

"We will that the republican party took that position, or does it stand upon it today? If it stands upon that doctrine today, then it has no application whatever to the proposition to place a duty of \$2 a thousand on white pine lumber. The white pine of this country is a peculiar tree and it requires two centuries for it to grow and become fit for lumber. It extended from Maine to the western part of Minnesota, following the St. Lawrence River and the Great Lakes. It does not reproduce itself when the forest is cut off.

"This map which I propose to use in the illustration of the distribution of the white pine forests of this country, shows where these forests were once located, beginning in Maine and running down through Pennsylvania into West Virginia. The portion of the map colored yellow shows the areas which they occupied. Very little remains in West Virginia, and but few trees remain in Pennsylvania; the rest has been cut off and very little still remains in Maine. A little white pine is still growing in northern Michigan. This spot (indicating) represents the area—a little in Wisconsin, a little in Minnesota, and the rest has been cut off, and destroyed. Two hundred billion feet have been taken from this area in the last twenty-five years, and in the last ten years about 77,000,000 feet, and all that is left, according to the report of the Agricultural Department, made by Professor Fernow, is 17,000,000,000 feet in Minnesota, 10,000,000,000 feet in Wisconsin, and 5,000,000,000 feet in Michigan. There is a supply, then, to last about six years at the present rate of cutting, and then it will be gone.

"The lumber supply for the great states of North and South Dakota, Iowa and western Minnesota was taken from these two areas (indicating) in Minnesota and Wisconsin. One company owns of these two areas of pine 10,000,000,000 feet, and there are 27,000,000,000 feet in all. A very few companies own the rest.

"The proposition, then is to place a duty of \$2 a thousand upon this timber for what purpose? Mr. President if a duty of \$2 a thousand is placed upon this timber it will be sent down the lakes into the New England market and into New York and Massachusetts. They are supplied with white pine timber now from Canada, and it comes across the lakes and the St. Lawrence river into Ohio, New York and New England. Put a duty of \$2 a thousand on this timber, and then these states will draw upon our own sources of supply in Michigan, Wisconsin and Minnesota, already too small.

"The surplus in these states, all that the owners can cut will be cut and sent down the lakes into the eastern market, and the Canadian timber will not come into this country at all, but will be shipped abroad, for white pine is scarce throughout the world. The demand for it is everywhere, and instead of our getting it it will be shipped from this country, and we will be compelled to pay for what is cut in this country \$2 additional a thousand for every foot we use. I wonder where the American Forestry Association is when this effort is being made to deplete and destroy these forests in the interest of a few millionaires

who own them, which has been going on now for weeks and weeks. There has been no protest from them in this direction to preserve the forests, and instead of this being an effort to protect an American industry, it is an effort to absolutely destroy it in the interest of a few men who have cornered the entire product. Neither can it be restored again.

"Our theory of protection is that one factory after another will be built up and thus industries will be increased, but this proposition is to destroy this industry, for these trees do not regrow, as every one familiar with this matter knows, for over this vast region where the white pine has been cut, other timber has grown up and the white pine is gone forever. Therefore we see there is no good argument for this proposition. Are republicans going to vote for this? Are the senators from Minnesota going to vote for it? Are they going to compel the people who live on the prairies, their constituents, to pay to the men who have cornered the pine of Minnesota and Wisconsin \$2 a thousand more than they now pay? There are more consumers of pine in Minnesota and Wisconsin than there are producers; more men who have to buy lumber than men who produce it. What argument can be made why the people of the Dakotas shall be compelled to contribute to the men who have cornered the pine in these two states? It may be argued that it would make a market for southern pine. We already buy southern pine.

"I bought 2,000,000 feet of southern pine in one season. That pine comes up from this region, Mississippi and Louisiana. We use that in connection with white pine. It will not materially increase the market for hard pine to put a duty on white pine. You simply put us in a position to be robbed by men who have cornered our timber supply. Take 400,000,000 feet of white pine from this region, in Minnesota and Wisconsin, down the lakes to an eastern market. What effect must it have upon our market? No Canadian pine will come into our country—not a tree; but this pine, the already short supply will be drawn off to supply the markets of the east, and the effect of taking that 400,000,000 feet, which is about the amount of white pine used in the east, will be to add the \$2 per thousand to all the board our people buy.

"Politically, selfishly—for I do not expect to seek reelection from the republican party—I ought to be silent and allow you to pass the bill with this provision. I should like to see you do it and carry the state of South Dakota next year, or North Dakota, either. Politically, I ought to be silent and let you go on with your work. Where we had only 183 majority last year we will have 8,000 next year. There is no possible ground on which to justify this sort of a thing. But I propose to have it thoroughly understood just what you are doing, and then if you want to do it, very well. I propose to plead the cause of the brave people who have gone out on the frontier and who have built homes on the prairies, many of them still living in sod houses because of the agricultural depression which has made it impossible for them to purchase the white pine at present prices.

"Mr. Allen, I should like to ask the senator how many individuals or firms own the white pine in this country? Mr. Pettigrew, I cannot answer the question, but I should like to have the senator from Nebraska do so if he can. I understand that the fire warden who has charge of the forests of Minnesota says that there are 200 firms engaged in the cutting of all kinds of timber in the state of Minnesota.

"Mr. Allen, I have been informed that less than a dozen men—or a dozen firms possibly, I should put it—own the entire white pine supply in the United States. Mr. Pettigrew, I think this is true of these three states. Enormous fortunes have been made. I understand the stock of one corporation, the Mississippi Boom Company, I believe it is, is used to be \$100 a share, and it is now \$6,000 a share, and yet it is proposed to add to the price of that which is left for the benefit of these rich corporations. It hardly seems possible to me that we can endorse anything of the sort.

"It is urged in the interest of protection that you want to equalize the cost of producing pine lumber in this country and the cost of producing in Canada. Then, in response to a resolution from this body, Carroll D. Wright has shown that it costs more to produce 1,000 feet of pine lumber in Canada than in the United States. Therefore the plea for labor is destroyed.

"Mr. Allen, I understand, if the senator will permit me, that the theory of protection contemplates the increase of an industry rather than its decrease.

"Mr. Pettigrew, Certainly, I have enlarged upon that point somewhat.

"Mr. Allen, The senator has shown that the forests are rapidly disappearing, and that in the course of a few years they must become extinct entirely. Therefore the theory of protection certainly cannot apply to an industry of that kind.

"Mr. Pettigrew, Certainly not. I think I stated that within twenty-five years we cut 200,000,000,000 feet of white pine and used it up. There is left in this country and in Canada about 75,000,000,000 feet, not over 85,000,000,000 feet at the outside.

"There is not ten years' supply of white pine in both countries, and yet the proposition is to drive the white pine across the sea and to seek markets off from this continent and turn the whole attention of those who are destroying what is left of the small tracts remaining in these three states. Why is it? Who urges it? Is it the men who use timber on the prairies? Who wants this done? Simply the men who have cornered the pine in these three localities and are already many times millionaires. They are in haste to realize upon their investment. This have to pay taxes. They are in haste to close the market, so that they

can take advantage of the cheap freights down the lakes and dispose of the entire timber and realize at once, and then perhaps do as some of our millionaires, move to Europe and enjoy the rest of their days.

"I do not know that they will go to Europe. I do not blame them at all for getting rich; I do not blame them at all for advocating the tariff, but I do blame the representatives of those states if they will allow them to do it. Who must be opposed, then, to this increase in the value of the small areas of the remaining pine? The people who live throughout this country, on the prairies of Minnesota, Iowa, and the two Dakotas. How long are they going to bear the burden uncomplainingly? Not more than one more election, and I doubt if they do that."

"The senator continued and produced figures to show that there was no doubt that the available supply of white pine would be exhausted in a few years, and answered the charge made by the advocates of the bill that the price of lumber had declined on account of the importations from Canada, and that men in the lumbering districts had been thrown out of work accordingly.

"He said: 'The price of white pine declined because there was, in the first place, previous to 1893, an enormous demand which stimulated the cutting of the trees; but owing to the depression which came with a decline in prices resulting from the complete demonetization of silver in this country by the repeal of the Sherman law in 1893, with the misery and distress which came to the farming community all over the land, our towns ceased to grow and our people ceased to prosper, and they were unable to purchase. But the lumbermen had continued to cut, and the dull season found a large amount of pine on hand, and competition among the lumbermen lowered the price; and that is all there is to it.'

"Now, there is another thing, Mr. President. These same men who can combine and open an office here in the city for the purpose of securing a duty of \$2 per thousand on pine can easily combine after they have secured a duty, to maintain the price at the full limit of the tariff.

"Sometimes I have thought that the condemnation of trusts was left out of the republican platform at St. Louis on purpose to get an excessive tariff upon a great number of items that consumers use in this country, and then combine without violating their party pledges in putting the price up to the limit of the tariff. The two conventions before the last denounced trusts, but when the trusts got together in convention at St. Louis they concluded not to abuse each other, and let it out entirely. And so we have the excessive raises all through the pending bill."

"There is another provision more vicious than the tariff proper. It is the clause which allows a rebate of \$2 per thousand feet on imported pine that is used again in exporting products. Concerning this provision the senator said:

"This bill provides that there shall be a rebate of the duty (\$2 per thousand) if it is exported. It is within thirty days that the Standard Oil Company let a contract for \$30,000 worth of boxes, and they specified (perhaps here is the reason why they want a duty on white pine) that the boxes should be made out of Canadian pine. Why? Because they would get the rebate of \$2 per thousand. When they were asked why they insisted on Canadian pine, they said, 'There is going to be a duty of \$2 per thousand on pine, and we will get the rebate.' Arm our ships large quantities of boxes to Europe, and he will be placed in the same situation. So the government really would be imposing the duty for the purpose of putting it into the pockets of these people. Here is another trust to be taken care of. Two hundred million feet it is estimated are exported in this way."

PLEASANT RECEPTION.

Tendered to Mr. and Mrs. Elon W. Nelson Upon Their Return.

An elegant reception was given last Tuesday evening by the state house employees in honor of Mr. and Mrs. Elon W. Nelson who had just returned from their bridal tour among friends and relatives in Wisconsin. It was given in the Senate chamber which had been beautifully decorated with flowers and hand-painted draperies. The guests of honor, Mr. and Mrs. Nelson entered the chamber at 9 o'clock and took their place in the receiving line, at the head of which was Land Commissioner J. V. Wolfe and wife, then Mr. and Mrs. Nelson, and Deputy Secretary of State Wessner and wife, on the left. After the two hundred people had passed the line and offered congratulations, delicious refreshments were served. Music was rendered by a concert orchestra and a band of colored singers. Dancing was indulged in until a late hour.

All agree that it was one of the most pleasant receptions ever given in this city.

Old Settlers Picnic.

The Old Settlers association of Lancaster county will hold their annual picnic at Lincoln Park, June 23. Many interesting entertainments and amusements will be provided. A full program will be published next week.

The remains of a remarkable woman, Mrs. Christina Honkessell, were buried Friday, says a Bessemer, Mich., telegram. Those who knew her best say she was ninety-nine years old. She was married eighteen times, and last time only six months ago by a young man. She had considerable property here and in Wisconsin. She did a man's work, such as chopping wood and other manual labor.

The Independent gives all the news, all the time. Read it.

PROCEEDINGS IN CONGRESS.

Seriously Considering an Export Bounty for Wheat and Cotton.

Washington, D. C., June 7th, 1897. (Special to the INDEPENDENT.) From the present outlook it is possible that congress may adjourn by July 15th. It is expected that the senate may pass the bill as early as the first of July, and that within two weeks the House may take action and the conference committee of the two Houses reach a final agreement. So July 15th is the last date fixed upon by the republicans for the great grand swell of prosperity.

MAY RUN FROM THE SUGAR SCHEDULE.

Senator Tillman has the sugar trust and their friends in congress frightened. He may soon have them on the run. He has been pushing his resolution calling for an investigation of the scandal connected with the sugar schedule in the Wilson bill as well as the sugar schedule in the pending tariff bill. There is a united and determined effort in certain quarters to prevent action on his resolution, and at least for the present. It is whispered among knowing ones that the republicans are getting ready to withdraw the present sugar schedule, which would give about twenty million dollars profit to the sugar trust, and to substitute a lower schedule in order to prevent an investigation. It should be said in justice to Senator Tillman that he has not acted as a partisan but as a patriot in this matter. He has not tried to shield the democratic party by simply asking for an investigation of any corrupt influence used by the sugar trust in shaping the present bill; but he has demanded that the conduct of the democratic party two years ago in shaping a schedule in the interest of this same trust be equally investigated. His action in this matter has no doubt caused some coolness between him and certain leading democrats. The investigation should be had without the present sugar schedule is withdrawn or not.

INDECENT HASTE.

Two years ago on the 20th of last May, the supreme court in a memorable and monstrous decision, decided the income tax unconstitutional. During this whole time congress has taken no action looking to the relief of the people from this alarming and oppressive decision. A few weeks ago the supreme court rendered a decision on the anti-trust law that to some extent embarrassed the great railroad corporations of the country. At once the railroad lobbyists centered at Washington and brought pressure to bear to have congress take action to set aside the decision of the court by passing a pooling bill. On last Friday Senator Butler in a speech called the attention of the Senate and of the country to these facts and contrasted the difference in the conduct of the senate when the interests of the people were affected and when the license of the railroad corporations was in the least interfered with. He called attention to the fact that in December 1895 he offered a joint resolution proposing an amendment to the constitution providing for an income tax; that this resolution was referred to the judiciary committee, and that up to this time he has been unable to get a report from that committee. He called attention to the indecent haste with which congress was proceeding to give relief to the railroads and contrasted it with the indecent slowness of congress to move in giving relief to sixty-nine million of people. He gave notice that he would not only file the pooling bill but that if the judiciary committee would not report his resolution that he would reintroduce it and ask the senate to consider it in committee of the whole, and that he would ask the senate to take a vote on that measure before the pooling bill was ever considered.

EXPORT BOUNTY FOR WHEAT AND COTTON.

The amendment to the tariff bill proposed by Senator Cannon, providing for an export bounty on wheat and cotton as the only means of giving protection in a tariff bill to agriculture and farm labor has attracted no little attention and is receiving serious consideration. The question is one of real merit and is gaining strength in congress each day. It is not yet certain that such an amendment can be adopted.

SENATOR PETTIGREW'S PLAN.

Senator Pettigrew has introduced a bill that to a certain extent illustrates the principle known as the initiative and referendum. His bill provides for the voters of the country at the next congressional election casting their votes directly for or against certain great economic propositions. In this way, the people would, in a certain sense, initiate legislation. A fairer expression of the sentiments and desires of the American people can be gotten in this way than through party conventions and party machinery. Thousands if not millions of voters at every election vote for measures they do not approve and fail to vote for other measures that they favor because they must either submit to their policy or leave their party, and party prejudice is so strong that in this way the people year after year fail to get reforms which a large majority of the voters favor and desire. Indeed, it grows plain each year that the people will never again rule in this country until the principles of the initiative and referendum are put into operation, so that the people can legislate directly independent of party machinery and party conventions.

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POPULIST DOCTRINE

Postal Savings Banks. Municipal Ownership, and the Initiative and Referendum.

ADVOCATED BY BIG DAILIES.

Encouragement for Those who have Long Advocated Reform Policies.

Results of Their Adoption.

The course taken by the populist party in the last campaign and its magnificent development of strength has started the thinking machines connected with many of the great dailies in the country. The result a very flattering for those who have long advocated populist doctrine. Study and honest investigation makes converts for our party and its principles. Three foundation planks in the populist party are receiving very favorable consideration. Postal savings banks, municipal ownership, and the principle of the initiative and referendum are gaining rapidly in public favor. The Chicago Record in a recent issue advocating postal savings banks says:

"Suppose the people who deposited their hard-earned savings in the collapsed Globe Savings Bank had been enabled to deposit their money in a postal savings bank under Federal control. Suppose, instead of placing their earnings in the hands of private individuals who had not the skill or the principle to guard them at every point, they had today the knowledge that, no matter what local disturbance may have troubled the National government, their savings were absolutely secure, and would be returned to them immediately on the presentation of their proofs that they were depositors. Would those depositors now be fighting for the maintenance of their rights and meekly asking for the return of even part of their deposits?"

No. They would be going on just as before; saving their money and depositing it in the coffers of Uncle Sam. They would have the absolute assurance that no matter what mismanagement might occur in a given branch of the system, the government stood security for their deposits, and no agency not sufficiently powerful to destroy the government itself could deprive them of a dollar of their savings.

If the people are to be encouraged to be frugal and contented let them have some sure means of saving their money some plan by which each depositor can rest assured that no reckless banking methods, no amount of dishonesty and no juggling with trust funds can deprive him of his property. Without some such system the people who would prefer to be saving and thrifty are surely going to be discouraged."

The New York Journal, the only paper of importance in New York City, that supported Bryan in the last campaign, is now advocating other reforms in addition to free silver, concerning city ownership of railroads says:

A deputation of Knights of Labor has presented a petition to Mayor Strong that measures should be taken to secure municipal ownership and control of certain city railroads, which by their charter may revert to the city under certain conditions. These conditions have so far matured, it seems, as now to constitute an option. Among the special reasons adduced in the plea that the metropolitan street system is rapidly becoming an octopus, which will soon absorb all the tramway lines of the city unless immediate steps are taken to wrest the spoil from their tentacles.

This is a perfectly proper and reasonable claim, but in the opinion of the Journal it does not go far enough, or lay the ax to the root of the evil. It will be of course, advantageous to the public interest that the city should own one, two or three railroads, on the principle that a part of a loaf is better than none, but the vital question involved in the outlook is the requirement of the road by the municipality—a result which we believe to be imminent in the not distant future, similarly with the systems of gas and electric lighting. That it lies within the control of the municipality to institute such steps as will lead to this result we believe to be incontrovertible without violating any essential rights of individuals or corporations.

The label of socialism which is attached to all such schemes like the cry of "mad dog," is as baseless as the canine stigma oftentimes is. The city has as much inherent right under our prevailing system to supply the needs of travel and illumination as to furnish its drinking water, or to clean its streets. English governmental methods have never been branded as socialistic, yet many of the principal cities of the United Kingdom have pushed this theory of municipal ownership of tramway to full extent in practice. The results have been so conspicuously satisfactory as to challenge the admiration of all visitors, alike in efficiency of service and cheapness of fares.

The more rapidly the agitation for a similar revolution in American cities is begun the better. It is a reform which the times need. So, while the demand of the Knights of Labor does not go far enough, it yet addresses itself to an immediately practical and practicable result

which may inaugurate the larger change."

When the newspapers have become convinced that the principles of the populist party are just and that in their adoption is prosperity for the country, they will soon lose their prejudice against the name. They will discover that the people's party banner is the only emblem under which all genuine reformers can unite.

EUGENE MOORE IS HELD.

Judge Hall Sustains Three of the Nine Counts—Trial Next Term.

Judge Hall of the district court in Lancaster county, listened to the arguments in the case of the State against Eugene Moore last Saturday. Moore's attorneys had filed a general demurrer to the state's information and asked to have all of the nine counts therein contained quashed. The argument occupied most of the day and Judge Hall reserved his decision until this week. He reduced his opinion to writing and announced it Tuesday morning. He quashes six of the counts and sustains three.

The court overruled two of the counts which charge larceny and sustained three which charge embezzlement. The other four were defective. Concerning the difference between larceny and embezzlement Judge Hall holds that the crime of grand larceny is complete only when it is found that a person feloniously takes money; that it is of the value of \$35; that it belongs to another person; that it was taken from the owner's possession; that it was against his will, and that there was felonious intent to deprive the owner permanently of its use.

The crime of embezzlement is complete when it is proved that the defendant is an officer or other person; that he is charged with the collection, receipt, safe keeping, transfer or disbursement of the public money or any part thereof belonging to the state; that the defendant has collected as such officer or other person or receiver of public money belonging to the state; that he has converted any portion of such money to his own use or to the use of any person or persons, and that he has acted with fraudulent and felonious intent to deprive the state permanently thereof. The court therefore states that the second, fifth, seventh and eighth counts, charging embezzlement as a person charged with the holding of money, are defective in failing to allege facts whereby the court upon reference to the statutes may be informed that the defendant at the time complained of was a person charged by law with the duty of collecting or receiving or safely keeping or transferring or disbursing public money.

Concerning the argument made by Moore's attorneys, that as auditor he had no right to receive the fees with which he is charged with embezzling, and that therefore he could not be held responsible in his official character, the court holds that the law requires the auditor to know that the fees for official certificates issued by him as auditor for the state are paid for in advance of their issue.

Judge Hall holds that: "It is the official duty of the auditor to require and see that the fees fixed for any statutory service requested of him by insurance companies or others be paid into the state treasury before he performs the service."

"He may perform this official duty in either of two ways: First, by requiring the party asking a license to do insurance business or procure a copy of any document on file in his office to pay the fee in advance into the state treasury and bring him the receipt; or, second, by collecting and receiving such fees himself as auditor in advance. In the latter case it becomes, under the common law, his official duty to keep such fees safely and under the constitution to transfer them into the state treasury in advance of the performance of the service by him."

This decision, if sustained in the supreme court, would seem to fix Moore's responsibility, and that under it he may be convicted of embezzlement.

When we see a great trust thus favored, a trust that has been exacting an enormous tribute from the American people under the shelter of tariff duties, when we see a trust that has wanted its ability to compete on a plane of equality with the refiners of the world, to make and sell sugar as cheaply as it can be made and sold, asking and being granted protection against foreign competition of, say, one-quarter of a cent a pound when the imposition of such duty will enable the trust to raise the price of sugar to the American consumer one-quarter of a cent above the price at which it could profitably make and sell sugar, and thus levy a tribute on the American people of one-quarter cent a pound on the 4,000,000,000 pounds of sugar consumed annually, or a tribute of \$10,000,000, men naturally stop and ask: What did the sugar trust do to return for such favor? Under what obligation to the trust are the framers of the tariff bill who granted this favor? What favor has the trust done to senators or the republican party to be given this favor in return? And then men ask themselves, is the republican party indebted to the sugar trust for campaign contributions, or are senators individually indebted to the trust for campaign help? We repeat there is basis for such suspicions, and the senate owes it to itself to expose the guilty or clear itself of suspicion. It may be that investigation would be futile and serve to unfold nothing. It may be that the sugar trust officials would refuse to answer questions, and bring the investigation to naught. But the attempt should at least be made by the senate, and made seriously.—Twenty-first Century.