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THE COMING ISSUES

Shall we Abandon the Declaration of Independence and Make European Alliances

PROBLEMS OF IMPORTANCE

Shall the Philippines be Conquered Territory and Governed by a Standing Army?

Republic or Empire?
Editor Independent:

The smoke of the late battle is clearing away. The dead are being buried, the wounded are binding up their bruises as best they may. The battle itself is a thing of the past, and takes its place in history among the hosts of others that have been lost and won. It has its lessons and it will be wise to ponder them. It has its severe lesson for those who by their lack of principle and their small politics have nearly lost the state, and have brought upon its people a calamity greater than the loss of it—viz: the defeat of the greatest United States senator the state ever had.

It is not my intention to consider this subject now, but rather to invite your attention to the new situations that confront the nation. Problems of the most vital importance are thrust upon us, and demand almost immediate solution. The republic stands today at the parting of the ways, and its choice of a road will determine whether it shall longer remain a republic—whether it shall carry forward the banner of freedom to be the beacon of the oppressed people of the world—or whether it shall become an empire, giving up its glorious mission, and join the monarchies of Europe in their unholy strife for conquest and power.

We have conquered almost an empire from Spain. The vital question is, what shall we do with it? I think I can detect a growing sentiment among the adherents of the national administration in favor of adding these conquered lands, especially the Philippines, to our own territory—making them an integral portion of our country. This means one of two things—either governing them as conquered countries—outlying colonies subjugated to our will by force of arms—or governing them as territories, and ultimately annexing them to the union as states. Let us briefly consider these alternatives.

I except Cuba from this discussion, because in the very resolution declaring war a specific declaration was made that we would allow the Cubans to establish a government for themselves, and the nation is bound in honor by this pledge. But it is not so with Porto Rico and the Philippines.

To govern these countries as colonies or conquered countries means a total abandonment of the Monroe doctrine. It means what is termed an Anglo-American alliance. In anticipation of such action by this country England has already taken advantage of the prestige such an alliance would give her. It means our complication in European politics, and an active participation in European diplomacy. It puts us cheek-by-jowl with the effete monarchies of the old world, makes us sponsor for their integrity, and an interested party in maintaining the traditional European balance of power, which any European alliance with us would for the time being utterly destroy. In short, it would sound the death-knell of the republic, and make it an empire, with all the direful consequences which that would imply. Among these would be the enormous standing army, making an enormous drain upon the youth of our land, and changing the ambition for distinction in the walks of life to one for military renown. It would take our youth across the sea, to a miserable miasmatic climate, and clothe thousands of our wives and sisters and daughters in the hue of sorrow that knows no alleviation. It would make a costly navy, to be maintained in foreign seas, an absolute necessity, with the same results to the youth of the nation.

It would make an asylum for the politicians, decayed and unsuccessful at home, or otherwise, and would send them abroad as consuls and pro-consuls of the so-called great republic, to govern and plunder half civilized but wealthy people—and the experience of Englishmen in India, when the wealthiest nation in the world became subject to the younger sons of the English nobility and a grasping corporation would be repeated—only our politicians would better their instructions. This picture is only half drawn. I leave it to the imagination of your readers to fill in the details.

Now let us suppose that this nation is a little more generous and concludes to choose the alternative of absorption of this captured Asiatic empire into our union of states, what follows? Why, every evil that resulted from the other course, and some additional ones. We theoretically preserve our traditional idea of equality, that is all. We abandon the Monroe doctrine, we become complicated in the politics of Europe and Asia, we must maintain a large stand-

ing army and navy, we undertake to protect and govern an empire at the distance of 7,000 miles. We must send satraps there with large discretionary powers, etc. But there is another result to our own people which is not involved in the first alternative. We must necessarily and unavoidably place the ten or fifteen millions of this half civilized Asiatic population upon absolute equality with our own people. There can be no restriction of free emigration or free trade as between the state or territories. There can be no Chinese exclusion bills applied to people of our own states and territories. The great shibboleth of the republican party is protection to American labor. Where will be that cry when we open wide our doors to hordes of Asiatic laborers? When we mix an inferior grade of anything with a superior one, we strike a new average. The lower grade may be raised, but the higher one is lowered. Do we want to lower the grade of American labor toward that of Asiatic? That is just what we would do in addition to all the other evil things named, if we take this Asiatic territory into our union on any terms whatever.

Now, there is another way—a way that will be entirely consistent with our traditions, our professions and our destiny. We can say to these Asiatics who have become our wards through the fortunes of war, establish a free constitutional government for your people in which self-government modeled after the forms of the United States shall form the base, and you shall have our moral support, our advice, and our armed assistance if you need it. In the case of Cuba we specifically pledged ourselves to "leave the government and control of the island to its people." The same principle binds us in spirit with regard to the Philippines. Say to the people of these islands that the only right to govern is derived from the consent of the governed, and the with courage and honesty carry out that principle to its legitimate fulfillment. This course would place us evenly at the head of the nations of the earth, either ancient or modern, and would shake to the foundations every throne in the world. It would say to the nations, here is a people that is honest and realizes its greatness. It would say to the throned oppressor of down-trodden humanity, beware!

I do not discuss the details of these three alternatives—I merely present the outlines of them. They all involve the maintenance of the navy at its present strength, and a considerable increase of our army. The last involves the least in this direction, and that only temporarily.

The time has come when sentiment must crystallize on this question—when the people must make up their minds, and make a choice. That choice, my countrymen, is fraught with the most momentous consequences—momentous to the oppressed peoples of the earth, but more momentous still to ourselves. It is to be a choice between rapacity and greed and thirst for dominion on one hand and national honesty, integrity and devotion to a God-given mission on the other. Which will you choose?
J. BURROWS.

ELECTION ITEMS.

Jerry Simpson was defeated in his district by a plurality of 1,400.

Only one populist congressman, Ridgely, was returned in Kansas.

Republican majorities in Illinois were cut down materially. Jehu Baker was the one populist congressman elected from that state.

The "fusionist" defeat in Washington is ascribed to the fact that the question of municipal taxation, by local option was distorted by the republican campaigners into a single tax issue and as such was voted down.

Aided by 25,000 populist votes the democrats of Missouri elected their state ticket and all but three congressmen. The middle-of-the-roads, after having claimed to be the party which polled 43,000 in 1894 probably cast less than eight thousand votes. In many of the doubtful counties the middle-of-the-road vote elected republicans.

Governor Pingree of Michigan, although scratched by over 40,000 republicans, was re-elected by a majority of over 70,000.

You will find the date at which your subscription expired marked on this week's issue of your paper. Take notice of it and if you are in arrears you should make a payment at once.

There was never a more disgusting and hypocritical cry set up by any misguided creatures on earth than that set up by the people who are preventing the children of the home of the friendless from being fed and clothed, just because they have possession and want to continue to hold the offices. All those children could be cared for within a week were it not for the insane desire of those in charge to hold office. They are asking the state officers to not only violate a state law, but to make a precedent which, if followed, would result in unending corruption. Wherever their beggars appear they should be sent home and told to turn the institution over to the state so that it may be run in the same economical manner that the rest of the state institutions have been run for the last two years.

IMPORTANT FACTORS

Do not say "My Vote is Only on (and it will Make no Difference

A THOUSAND EVILS LURK

The People of the State Have Been Accustomed to see the Candidates pay Most of Expenses

Expenditures a Necessity.

This year there should be a new and thorough organization of the populist party in the state of Nebraska. The state has been so demoralized by republican methods for thirty years, that it has been impossible to completely change the methods to which the voters have so long been accustomed, but the time has arrived when a serious effort should be made to change them. The people of this state have always been accustomed to see the candidates for office pay the main part of the expenses of carrying on a campaign. There are a thousand evils connected with that plan—evils that can never be cured or separated from it. The expenditures of a campaign are of a necessity very large, even when the utmost economy is exercised. Printing, postage, and traveling expenses of speakers, even when no salaries are paid, for the three months of a campaign foot up a large sum. Such expenses must be paid or the state turned over permanently to the party that will pay them, and such a party would recoup itself ten times over out of the public revenues.

The result of the present system, not only has a tendency to increase the worst evils of politics, but it is a very great injustice to all parties concerned. No man should be asked to go out and work or spend a single day of his time without being paid. Every man who is a member of the party should bear a just share of the party expenses, for everyone is equally interested. The way it is now a few men have to bear all the expenses and many of them can ill afford to do it. This writer knows of one man, who, for eight years, has contributed between \$200 and \$300 a year and has never been a candidate for office. He expects no further return than what all citizens will receive from having secured good government. That is all wrong and ought to be remedied before the next election.

A great many of the most important offices do not pay salary enough to pay the cost of a canvass, to say nothing of the time employed in making it. Such is the case with the members of the legislature in many districts. To canvass a county a man must use a team and buggy for at least sixty days. He must pay for bills advertising his meetings, for cards, for hotels and for various other expenses, and he must, if elected, spend at least sixty days at the state house during the legislature. Now here are 120 days of time and all of these and other expenses to be paid out of his salary of \$300. All this time for any benefit for himself more than for the whole population, and the result is that many of our best workers and most efficient men are thus prohibited from running for the legislature.

This is all wrong and it should be remedied. The way to remedy it is to teach every man who is a member of the party that it is his duty to contribute something toward the party expenses, and that he cannot be an honorable and respected member of it if he fails to do it. The state committee should start a movement immediately to so reorganize the party in every county that every man who intends to sustain this reform movement shall be asked to contribute something towards paying the necessary expenses of the party.

It is the republican campaign fund alone that enables that party to poll one-half of the votes that it does poll. It is not done by direct bribery, although there is much of that, but in ways that effectually acts upon the vote. They understand, and act upon the understanding, that a very large number of voters take but little interest in government. They have no decided convictions of any sort. The republicans have money to hire men to get the name of every voter in the state and to find out just how he can be influenced and more money to hire men to see that every voter is at the polls that will vote their ticket and in every voting precinct in the state, while we have no means to get the indifferent voters out. That makes, especially in an off year, a tremendous difference. The corporations furnish the funds for the republican party in unlimited amounts. Whatever amount is necessary to hire men to do the work is furnished. This money is returned to them many times over in favorable legislation.

In fighting this fight we must look at men as they are and not as they ought to be. While Nebraska is the most intelligent state in the union, still it is a fact that there are thousands of men in it, who have no correct ideas of government, much less of the science of political economy which has now become a political issue. These thousands can only be reached by personal solicitation. Many of them read but little and what they do read are the falsehoods of the republican press.

If they are indifferent on election day the republican party has a nice carriage ready to send for them. The driver and the team is paid a good salary from money contributed by the railroad corporations or eastern trusts. The poor fellow is given a cigar, treated with the greatest respect, taken to the polls and votes to enslave himself and his children.

The populist party has no way to get its voters to the polls. Many thousands of them, pushed with work and pressed for time, think, "My vote is only one and it will make no difference," and stay away, where if they were sent for and a word or two said to them they would come and vote. This corporation campaign fund is an awful thing to fight. There is no way to fight it but to impress upon every reformer that it is not only his duty to go and vote, but to contribute something toward the cost of getting the indifferent and careless voters to the polls. Either give up the fight or fight in a way to win. Learn something from your enemies.

Three times since the Alliance movement began we have been defeated by the cornhuskers staying in the cornfields. There is not a particle of doubt in the mind of any well informed man who is acquainted with the conditions in Nebraska that on a full vote and with an honest count there is over 20,000 majority for the principles we advocate. We do not get them to the polls. The republicans get every man. They do it with their campaign fund. They have the name of every voter in the state. They know his politics. They know whether he is indifferent or doubtful. They know whether they will have to send for him to get him to vote. All that has cost an immense amount of money. The corporations have furnished it and they will get it back ten times over. On the other hand we have no poll of the state. We did not know who our voters were, only to a limited extent. We had no funds with which to get them out. It will do no good to denounce them, as much as they deserve it. We must take them as they are. We must have a fund to rightfully conduct a campaign. That fund must come from small contributions from each member of the party. Let the state committee go to work at once to see that a new organization is made that will secure it.

Another factor of very great importance is the reform press. The party was first formed and built up by the reform press and the books and pamphlets printed and circulated by our people. In those days there was little said about men. Principles were discussed almost exclusively. During the last year the reform editors have been more inclined to write about men and candidates. In so far as that has been done the old enthusiasm for principles has declined. Our papers should return to the old policy and begin again the discussion of fundamental principles. Let the editors write on the same themes that have enthused the people and won all the victories of the past.

On the other hand the editors should not be expected to bear all the heat and the fierceness of the fight alone. Every effort should be made to sustain them. They lead a hard and unremunerative life at best. Every member of the party should make efforts to extend the circulation of reform papers. Every populist should throw all the business possible to them. A well-edited reform paper sent to a man for a year will, in nine cases out of ten, make a permanent convert. There is no way so effective and none cheaper of convincing reasonable men of the correctness of our principles. The state committee should render every assistance possible to the reform press.

Let the state committee begin the campaign of 1900 on the lines indicated and Nebraska will be certain for 50,000 majority for a Bryan electoral ticket, and a two-third majority in the legislature, and a full free silver, government money delegation in congress. Up and at it then.

Silver Victories.

The Buffalo Daily Times calls attention to the fact that the democratic candidates for congress in New York who took a bold stand for silver ran away ahead of Croker's candidate for governor who ran on a platform that ignored the money question. It says:

"Danforth ran ahead of his ticket. Mackey and Ranspacher were elected. All are well known silver men. Now suppose the democratic state convention had followed the traditions of the party and endorsed the platform of the last national convention. Why what would have been the result? Why victory. Wonder what the result in this county would have been had the conventions not reaffirmed the platform? Perhaps 15,000 instead of about 9,000 voters would have stayed at home."

Observe the date at which your subscription expires, marked on this issue of your paper, and if you are in arrears make a remittance.

Dangerous Accumulations.

In an article in the Forum, Mr. Thos. G. Shearman, the New York statistician, gives the names of seventy Americans, whose aggregate wealth is \$2,700,000,000, an average of \$38,500,000 each; and declares that a list of ten persons could be made whose wealth would average \$100,000,000 each; and another list of 100 persons whose wealth would average \$25,000,000 each, and that the "average annual income of the richest hundred Americans cannot be less (each) than \$1,230,000, and probably exceeds \$1,500,000."

THE SPIRIT OF POPULISM

No Enthusiasm can be Created in the Ranks Except by the Advocacy of Principles.

FAULTS OF LAST CAMPAIGN

We can Enthuse no one by Proof That we Have Been Honest or Expect to be Honest.

Fight on the old Lines.

The following letter, which appeared in the World-Herald, is reproduced because it tells the truth about the late campaign. Any man who knows anything of men as they really are, knows that no enthusiasm can be created by an appeal to selfishness. The spirit and teachings of the Great Teacher has so worked itself into the hearts of men during the last eighteen centuries that they, all unconsciously, in any public or organized movement will demand that if they spend time or money, it must be for some great principle, some effort to help and uplift mankind. If the declared purpose of the war with Spain had been for the purpose of the aggrandizement of the nation, for the extending of its territory or for the extension of our commerce, men would have to have been drafted into the service to fill our armies. But when the object announced was for the freedom of an oppressed people, the succor of starving women and children, the young men rushed to take up arms by the hundred thousands. The writer of this has been insisting all the time that our editors should cease the discussion of men and candidates and devote their space to the discussion of principles. We can enthuse the whole country by a demand for the upbuilding of the mass of the common people. We can enthuse no one by the proof that we have been honest or the declaration that we intend to be honest.

Beatrice, Neb., Nov. 12.—Having been much gratified by the energy displayed upon the editorial page of your paper during the recent campaign, I wondered at your expression of doubt as to the cause of the falling off in the fusion vote. I am not in the least surprised at all, except that it is so populist.

The populist party was the outcome of the promulgation of certain principles which are so far radical that their realization means the overturning of most of the statutory laws of the state.

Without asserting that these radical principles are correct, they are at least the gonfalon around which these people rallied with an enthusiasm that defied bribery and intimidation, or the habitual weapons of the corporations.

For the sake of these principle in other campaigns they endured much and left their own ungathered in the field to attend the election and work for the men who stood for them from the "opening to the closing of the polls."

How different were the issues presented in the last campaign!

I wish to go on record now as strongly as language can express it that all which Senator Allen, Governor Holecorn, the state officers and the last legislature have done to carry into active operation these principles so well expressed in the Omaha platform of 1892 meets my hearty approval and I applaud them for it.

But a disposition has been manifested to compromise and temporize. An evident desire to placate the plutocracy has been shown. The assurances publicly given through "prepared interviews" that "nothing radical" would be done may have added to the respectability of our leaders in the eyes of the corporations, but it did not arouse enthusiasm in the breasts of those grim warriors who stood in the ranks and won the battle in the assured belief that many "things radical" would follow.

The issue tendered by the fusion directory during the late campaign was degenerate in the extreme.

The populists have never promised honesty and economy in the administration of affairs as a paramount issue; they have only declared for it as a thing to be expected as a matter of course from any decent party. We have assurance that every party would abstain from putting up their thieves as candidates for office, and as a rule the assumption has been verified.

Instead of referring incidentally to the striking contrast between the morality of the last republican administration and the honesty and economy of ours and then lifting on high the banner of human rights and urging the downtrodden and the robbed to rally for their own deliverance, the changes have been incessantly rung on how many cents or dollars each citizen of the state has been saved by the saving methods adopted by the fusion administration. At the last it was a scoldish appeal to the pocketbook and dollar interest of the voter. The voter stood assured that if fusion triumphed he would invariably be "six bits" better off than if the republicans should win.

Such was the plan upon which the battle was fought.

The farmer, thus impressed, saw at

once that he could save \$3 worth of corn on election day, endure the republican scalping of 75 cents as his share of the loss, and still be \$2.25 ahead of the game.

A campaign conducted as ours has been this year, along simple pocket-book lines, will always be won by the side that puts the biggest pocketbook into it. Unfortunately the wealth of the world is arrayed against us and we can oppose to that implement only such weapons as we have.

The one we possess and which has never failed in human history when fairly used is enthusiasm for a righteous cause.

The appeal made during the late campaign to the greed of the voter was a fatal mistake.

We can never win the battle on that line nor by the apothecias of any other member of the party who chances to become by the aid of our votes a senator or a governor. They tried that experiment in Kansas.

It is only the battle for principles that touches the heart and sets on fire the brain of the common man that can be won against plutocracy.

It was not confidence in the greatness of their leaders nor the hope of saving money that made the crusaders irresistible, but the burning enthusiasm to recover the holy sepulcher.

It was not admiration for Washington or the continental congress nor an economic administration that made invincible the warriors of the American revolution; it was the immortal principle set forth in the declaration that every man is endowed by the Creator with the inalienable right to live.

This is the issue now presented once more. Plutocracy has thrown down the gauntlet, denying the doctrine.

We must pick it up. When we make this issue distinct and clear we shall win.

This is the lesson of the last campaign in Nebraska.

W. H. ARBHY.

CAMPAIGN FUNDS.

The Most Important Part of the Green Coming Struggle Against Wall Street.

There are many reasons why a completely new system to raise campaign funds should be adopted. Heretofore selfish interests have put up the money for paying the legitimate expenses of a political campaign. Those who thus furnished the money become very influential with the politicians, congressmen and other leaders who were aware of the fact that the money furnished to their campaigns came from certain persons. It has resulted in class legislation, wherein these few people representing class interests have profited largely thereby.

Recently ex-Governor Altgeld of Illinois, in a speech cited the fact that the sugar trust, during the last presidential campaign, gave one million dollars to the republican national committee. The republican party came into power as a result of that election, and at the first session of congress that was then elected the new tariff bill was prepared. When the schedule was arranged on sugar the republican members of the committee permitted the officers of the sugar trust, that had contributed the million of dollars, to write the tariff schedule relating to sugar. The result was that competition by foreigners was prohibited and the sugar trust immediately advanced the price of its product one cent a pound, and on the sales by it of sugar cleared twenty millions of dollars in one year, which was a part of dividends for that year of a much larger sum. In this instance it will be seen that by having contributed one million of dollars to the campaign the sugar trust—a class interest—cleared in one year a net profit of nineteen millions of dollars on its investment in a political campaign. It had thus become an investment with enormous profit, and they will no doubt be ripe to contribute again to so profitable a scheme as supporting a political party that has tied itself to the class interests of the nation.

The above is the way campaign funds have been raised and are now raised in the republican party. Since the populists have come into power in some of the states, they have relied mainly upon the men who hold the offices to furnish the money and that is almost as bad. A move should be made to remedy it.

The people when they understand this new movement will gladly come to its support—for therein lies not only their salvation, but also their self-respect, in no longer being placed in the position of alms-takers to the class interests of New York and other cities that would exploit them, or the office holders of their own party. The people should run the party, but never will until they pay the expenses.

Colonel Bryan's Reply.

When Col. Bryan was invited to attend the peace jubilee at Chicago, he answered that he was in the service of his country and his regiment required all his time and attention. He added the following words to his regrets that he could not attend:

"The American people are pre-eminently a peace-loving people, and it is fitting that they should celebrate the termination of the present war—a war conducted in an unchristian love for humanity—a war which has demonstrated anew the valor of our soldiers and seamen—a war which is destined, let us hope, to establish in the Orient as well as in the West Indies that doctrine so sacred to the people of the United States, namely, that governments derive their just powers not from the armies and navies, but from the consent of the governed."