

Theory of Watson's Campaign

Editor Independent: In a letter received from the east I learn with regret that not a few populists are disappointed and somewhat discouraged at the small aggregate vote given Mr. Watson and you at the recent election.

Because of this I feel compelled to make a fair and full statement of facts concerning this matter and believe it will remove all such impressions and at the same time furnish abundant reasons for genuine encouragement.

Let me state distinctly at the outset that the campaign was not made simply to secure votes for Watson and Tibbles, but to make possible the reorganization of the populist party. It was not the number of votes cast for Watson and Tibbles that would most effectually secure this much desired object, it was the death and burial of the last miserable remnant of fusion, together with the most crushing defeat the democratic party had ever received. These were the real objects of the recent populist campaign and the election returns justify the claim of complete success.

Permit me to recall the salient features of the late political contest:

Mr. Watson had studied the situation in borrow and in silence for nearly a year and had satisfied himself as to the proper course to pursue. His first speech at Lincoln not only disclosed his position but killed the last attempt at national fusion that will be made for a generation to come. The manner in which that speech was received convinced Mr. Watson that he had sized up conditions correctly and also that a campaign of bold aggressiveness was demanded. Out of this came that magnificent speech at Cooper Union, the echo of which was still ringing throughout the country when the polls closed in November. It was the most courageous, audacious and logical speech ever delivered by a political leader. No other political leader would have dared voice such sentiments and no other leader but Mr. Watson could have held his leadership and done so. But the people trusted him and the results declared their wisdom. Let those who are dissatisfied over the returns read that speech carefully in connection with the election results and I will warrant a fresh revelation. The points of his contention were so well taken, so logical and plain, so bold and aggressive that they became at once the slogan of the campaign. Fusion was confined to the states of Kansas and Nebraska in a purely local manner and the destruction of the democratic party began in dead earnest. Those speeches of Mr. Watson were read with undisguised amazement by all classes. Some thought them vagaries, others called them indiscreet and unwise, but men of political experience found in them solid evidence of sound leadership and began at once to calculate accordingly. It was to rebuild the populist party for which Mr. Watson labored and in his judgment it could be accomplished in no other way.

When I returned from the west, including the Pacific states, where I had been to arrange for national tickets, I found a strong sentiment among populists in Kansas and Nebraska to vote the straight republican ticket and end fusion then and there. In New York, New Jersey, New Hampshire and Maryland I found a determination among populists to vote for Roosevelt and break the power and prestige of the democratic party. They argued if Parker should be elected the populists would be powerless to reorganize. With the influence of fusion on the one hand and a treacherous democratic administration on the other there could be no hope for the people's party. The only safe course was to vote with the republicans and destroy democracy. These arguments met with such general approval that very soon the defeat of the democratic party became the central idea of the populist campaign. I traveled over West Virginia and Indiana, urging populists to vote the re-

publican ticket and thereby make certain the defeat of Parker in those states. I used those same arguments to sustain my position and found but two fusion populists who disagreed with me. When I went west in October I urged similar action and made use of these arguments. When I reached Idaho the campaign seemed to favor the alleged democratic party, but when I urged all populists to vote a republican ticket and gave reasons for such advice the political aspect changed at once and the democrats were thoroughly defeated. In Washington the populists had refused to nominate a state ticket in order to vote with the republicans and thereby crush a treacherous democracy. In every speech I made and in all the numerous interviews given out I urged all populists to vote where it would do the democratic party the greatest injury. When I reached Nevada the last week of the campaign I found the democratic party greatly elated and confident of success. In speeches and interviews I urged all populists and silver men to join with the republicans and defeat the democrats and that changed the entire character of the contest and made possible a republican victory. No one questioned our loyalty to the populist party, but every one commended our courage and good judgment in taking such a strong position. The usual good sense of our brethren led them to accept this advice in all sections of the country and the 8th of November disclosed our great victory.

Let no one suppose for a moment that the small aggregate vote shown by the election returns constitute the full strength of the populist party. A letter just opened from Idaho tells a far different story. It says: "In my township there were 29 populists, 23 including myself voted a straight republican ticket and I am sure we did right." I have many others of a similar import. In 1892 we cast over a million votes for Weaver and Field and I believe there are fully that number, if not more, with us today. Some are in the republican party, forced there by fusion. Some are with the prohibitionists, others go with the socialists. In the recent election not less than half a million populists voted for Roosevelt. At least one-half of the socialist vote came from populists, while many could not vote because of no nominations as in California, Pennsylvania, Maryland and other states. All these and many thousands beside will gladly take their places in the ranks of the people's party just as soon as anything like a permanent organization is assured. These men have not deserted populism. No indeed, populism abandoned them and they are simply waiting the return of sane and sure conditions.

While the election returns show that Watson and Tibbles received less than 120,000 votes in the aggregate, what does the results of the election disclose. Get up beside Mr. Watson and let him point them out. He will show you the unhonored grave of the putrid remains of fusion never to be resurrected, at least while the memory of this generation lasts. He will show you the shattered, beaten and discouraged columns of democracy, without principles, without honor and without hope, winding its weary way to the narrow confines of a disrupted and panic stricken south. Its leaders quarreling among themselves and the rank and file disgusted and ready to rebel. He will show you the once solid south broken for the first time and one of its strong members lost forever. He will show you that once arrogant and treacherous democracy so thoroughly demoralized as to be absolutely incapable of an aggressive effort. Are not these results satisfactory? If not why not? We have only the republican party to fight now. They have always fought us in the open and we have never feared from them a knife thrust in the back. We can now decide on a political campaign without fear of treachery or the secret methods of an unseen foe. This election has destroyed those who destroyed us. It now remains to be seen whether we have the strength of character and good judgment to take advantage of this great victory.

It was a glorious campaign because it was conducted in wisdom and loyalty. It was a glorious campaign because the results fully justified the means. God grant that such results may not be wasted.

N. A. DUNNING.

Alameda, Col.

Follow in Chains

All the great thinkers and statesmen, when they have spoken up the fundamental principles of government have been populists. James A. Garfield in congress in 1874 said:

"Since the dawn of history the great thoroughfares have belonged to the people, have been known as the king's highways, and have been open to the free use of all on payment of a small uniform tax or toll to keep them in repair. But now the most perfect, and by far the most important roads known to mankind, are owned and managed as private property by a comparatively small number of private citizens."

"It is painfully evident from the experience of the last few years that the efforts of the states to regulate their railroads have amounted to a little more than feeble annoyance. In many cases the corporations have treated such efforts as impertinent meddling, and have brushed away legislative restrictions as easily as Gulliver broke the cords with which the Lilliputians attempted to bind him."

"In these contests the corporations have become conscious of their strength, and have entered upon the work of controlling the states. Already they have captured some of the oldest and strongest of them, and these discredited sovereigns now follow in chains the triumphal chariot of their conquerors. And this does not imply that merely the officers and representatives of states have been subjected to the railways, but that the corporations have grasped the sources and fountains of power, and control the choice of both officers and representatives."

John Stuart Mill made as strong a statement of the populist theory concerning the government ownership of railroads as was ever made by any man. He said:

"In attempting to enumerate the necessary functions of government, we find them to be considerably more multifarious than most people are at first aware of, and incapable of being circumscribed by those very definite lines which . . . it is often attempted to draw around them. We sometimes, for example, hear it said that governments ought to confine themselves to affording protection against force and fraud; . . . But why should people be protected by their government; that is, by their own collective strength, against violence and fraud and not against other evils, except that the expediency is more obvious. . . ."

"The third exception which I shall notice to the doctrine that government can not manage the affairs of individuals as well as individuals themselves, has reference to the great class of cases in which the individuals can only manage the concern by delegated agency, and in which the so-called private management is, in point of fact, hardly better entitled to be called management by the persons interested than administration by a public officer. . . . This applies to the case of a road, a canal, or a railway. These are always, in a great degree, practical monopolies, and a government which concedes such monopolies unreservedly to a private company does much the same thing as if it allowed an individual or an association to levy any tax they choose for their own benefit, etc."

No Compromise

Editor Independent: I will not be able to get along without The Independent as long as it sticks to its principles as it does now. No compromise now or in the future with any party. The populist door is open. Let Bryan and his followers come or stay out. What they need is a baptism of Watson fire.

J. D. SWANEY.

Beatrice, Neb.

A Square Deal

For two generations the Indian wards of the government were alternately coddled and robbed. They had no votes or taxes; they were penned on reservations and forbidden to travel and were told that they were only "good" when dead. The agency system was continued not for their sake but for the profit of the agents and of supply contractors. A not ignoble race was pauperized by a monthly issue of groceries and "beef on the hoof."

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Yet do not misunderstand me when I say "nerves." I do not mean the nerves you ordinarily think about. I mean the automatic stomach nerves that bring your mind no control. I have not the space here to explain to you how the nerves control the stomach, or how they may be vitalized and repaired. When you write I will send you a book which will make these points clear. But this much is certain: all the nerves cause all forms of stomach trouble—indigestion, belching, heartburn, insomnia, nervousness, dyspepsia. No stomach medicine will cure these ailments. Only nerve treatment will do that. No other remedy than Dr. Shoop's Restorative even claims to reach these nerves.

What ails the stomach nerves? Worry, probably. Mental anguish destroys their tiny fibers and tears down the telegraph lines without which the stomach has no more self control than a sponge. Overwork will do it. Irrregular habits will do it. Overeating will do it. Distraction will do it. But the effect is the same—stomach failure.

No matter how these nerves became impaired—I know away to rebuild their strength—to restore their vigor. It is a remedy which took thirty years of my life to perfect—a remedy which is now known in more than fifty thousand communities—in more than a million homes—as Dr. Shoop's Restorative.

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lands are being sold for their owners' benefit, reservation lines are obliterated, the Indians are free to go where they please, and are citizens among citizens. Only old and helpless Indians can live without working. The newly chosen commissioner, Mr. Leupp, will pursue the same means for the same end of self-support.

For Indians as well as white men the best policy is that which gives every man a "square deal" and then expects him to look out for himself.—Springfield Republican.

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