

The Lincoln Courier.

VOL. II.

LINCOLN, N. C., FRIDAY, DEC. 14, 1888.

NO. 32

THE MESSAGE

ONE OF THE ABLEST AMERICAN STATE PAPERS.

A Strong and Comprehensive Presentation of the State of the Union, the Condition and Needs of the Public Service, the Necessity for Reform and Reduction of the Revenue.

To the Congress of the United States.

As you assemble for the discharge of the duties you have assumed, as the representatives of a free and generous people, your meeting is marked by an interesting and impressive incident. With the expiration of the present session of the Congress, the first century of our constitutional existence as a nation will be complete.

ADMONISHED TO KEEP THE RIGHT WAY.

Our survival for one hundred years is not sufficient to assure us that we no longer have dangers to fear in the maintenance, with all its promised blessings, of a government founded upon the freedom of the people. The time rather admonishes us to soberly inquire whether in the past we have always closely kept in the course of safety, and whether we have before us a way, plain and clear, which leads to happiness and perpetuity.

THE CONSTITUTION OUR CHARTER.

When the experiment of our government was undertaken, the chart adopted for our guidance was the Constitution. Departure from the lines there laid down is failure. It is only by a strict adherence to the direction they indicate, and by restraint within the limitations they fix, that we can furnish proof to the world of the fitness of the American people for self government.

EQUAL AND EXACT JUSTICE.

The equal and exact justice of which we boast as the underlying principle of our institutions should not be confined to the relations of our citizens to each other. The Government itself is under bond to the American people that in the exercise of its functions and powers it will deal with the body of citizens in a manner scrupulously honest and fair absolutely just. It has agreed that American citizenship shall be the only credentials necessary to justify the claim of equality before the law, and that no condition in life shall give rise to discrimination in the treatment of the people by their Government.

FRUGAL GOVERNMENT—MONOPOLY AND AGGREGATION.

The citizens of our Republic in its early days rigidly insisted upon free compliance with the letter of this bond, and saw stretching out before him a clear field for individual endeavor. His tribute to the support of his government was measured by the cost of its economical maintenance, and he was secure in the enjoyment of the remaining recompense of his steady and contented toil. In those days the frugality of the people was stamped upon their Government, and was enforced by the free, thoughtful and intelligent suffrage of the citizen. Combinations, monopolies, and aggregations of capital, were either avoided or sternly regulated and restrained. The pomp and glitter of governments less free, offered no temptation and presented no delusion to the plain people who, side by side, in friendly competition wrought for the ennoblement and dignity of man, for the solution of the problem of free government and for the achievement of the grand destiny awaiting the land which God had given them. A century has passed. Our cities are the abiding places of wealth and luxury; our manufactures yield fortunes never dreamed by the fathers of the republic. Our business men are madly striving in the race for riches, and immense aggregation of capital outran the imagination, in the eager chase for easily acquired wealth.

DISCRIMINATING FAVOR OF THE GOVERNMENT.

We discover that the fortunes realized by our manufacturers are no longer solely the reward of sturdy industry and enlightened foresight, but that they result from the discriminating favor of the government, and are largely built upon undue exactions from the masses of our people. The gulf between employers and the employed is constantly widening, and classes are rapidly forming. One comprising the very rich and powerful, while in another are found the toiling poor.

As we view the achievements of aggregated capital we discover the existence of trusts, combinations and monopolies, while the citizen is struggling for in the rear, or is trampled to death beneath an iron heel. Corporations, which should be the carefully restrained creatures of the law, and the servants of the people, are fast becoming the people's masters. Still congratulating ourselves upon the wealth and prosperity of our country, and complacently contemplating every incident of change inseparable from these conditions, it is our duty as patriotic citizens to inquire at the present stage of our progress, how the bond of government made with the people has been kept and performed. Instead of limiting the tribute drawn from our citizens to the necessities of its economical administration, the Government persists in exaction from the substance of the people's millions, which unapplied and useless, lie dormant in its treasury. This flagrant injustice and this breach of faith and obligation, add to extortion the danger attending the diversion of the currency of the country from the legitimate channels of business.

DANGER OF UNRESTRAINED CORPORATE POWER.

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TAKING THE MANY FOR THE FEW.

Under the same laws by which these results are produced the Government permits millions more to be added to the cost of the living of our people to be taken from our consumers, which unreasonably swell the profits of a small but powerful minority. The people must still be taxed for the support of the Government under the operation of tariff laws. But to the extent that the mass of our citizens are inordinately burdened beyond any useful public purpose and for the benefit of a favored few, the government, under pretext of an exercise of its taxing power enters gratuitously into partnership with these favorites, to their advantage, and to the injury of a vast majority of our people. This is not equality before the law. The existing situation is injurious to the health of our entire body politic. It stifles in those for whose benefit it is permitted, all patriotic love of country and substitutes in its place selfish greed and grasping avarice.

WELL AROUSE IRRITATION AND DISCONTENT.

The grievances of those not included within the circle of those beneficiaries when fully realized will surely arouse irritation and discontent. Our farmers long suffering and patient struggling in the race of life with the hardest and most unremitting toil will not fail to see in spite of misrepresentations and misleading fallacies that they are obliged to accept such prices for their products as are fixed in foreign markets where they compete with the farmers of the world, that their lands are declining in value while their debts increase and that without compensating favor they are forced by the action of the government to pay for the benefits of others such enhanced prices for the things needed that the scanty returns of their labor fail to furnish their support or leave no margin for accumulation.

ARROGANCE OF AVARICIOUS MONOPOLISTS.

Devotion to American citizenship for its own sake and for what it should accomplish as a motive to our nations advancement and the happiness of all our people is displaced by the assumption that the government instead of being the embodiment of equality is but an instrumentality through which special individual advantages are to be gained. The arrogances of this assumption is unconcealed. It appears in the sordid disregard of all but personal interest in the refusal

to abate for the benefit of others one iota of selfish disadvantage and in combinations to perpetrate such advantages through efforts to control legislation and improperly influence the sufferings of the people. WORKINGMEN WILL INSIST ON CHEAPER LIVING.

Our workingmen enfranchised from all deductions and no longer frightened by the cry that their wages are endangered by a just revision of our tariff laws will reasonably demand through such revision steadier employment cheaper means of living in their homes freedom for themselves and their children from the doom of perpetual servitude and an open door to their advancement beyond the limits of a laboring class. Others of our citizens whose comforts and expenditures are measured by moderate salaries and fixed incomes will insist upon the fairness and justice of cheapening the cost of necessities for themselves and their families.

When to the selfishness of the beneficiaries of unjust discrimination under our laws there shall be added the discontent of those who suffer from such discrimination we will realize the fact that the beneficent purpose of our Government dependent upon the patriotism and contentment of our people are endangered.

COMMUNISM BREEDS COMMUNISM.

Communism is a hateful thing and a menace to peace and organized Government but the communism of combined wealth and capital the outgrowth of overweening cupidity and selfishness which insidiously undermines justice and integrity of free institutions is not less dangerous than this communism of oppressed poverty and toil which exasperated by injustice and discontent attacks with wild disorder the citadel of rule upon which the great mass in well distributed ownership the numberless homes of enlightened equal and prominent citizens. They come to rational session with the warning example in our eye of iniquities in loaded proprietorship which other countries have permitted and still suffer.

A SHAMELESS IMPOSITION.

He mocks the people who proposes that the Government shall protect the rich and that they in turn will care for the poor. Any intermediary between the people and their Government or the least delegation of the care and protection the Government owes to the humblest citizen in the land makes the boast of free institutions a glittering delusion and the pretended boon of American citizenship as a shameless imposition.

THE NECESSITY FOR REVENUE REDUCTION.

The necessity of the reduction of our revenue is so apparent as to be generally conceded, but the means by which this end can be accomplished, and the sum of direct benefit which shall result to our citizens, present a controversy of the utmost importance. There should be no scheme accepted as satisfactory by which the burdens of the people are only apparently removed. Extravagant appropriations of public money with all their demoralization of consequences should not be tolerated, either as a means of relieving the treasury of its present surplus, or as furnishing a pretext for resisting a proper reduction in tariff rates. Existing evils and injustice should be honestly recognized, boldly met and effectively remedied. There should be no cessation of the struggle until a plan is perfected, fair and conservative, toward existing industries, but which will reduce the cost to consumers of the necessities of life, while it provides for our manufacturers the advantage of freer raw materials, and permits no injury to the interests of American labor. The cause for which the battle is waged is comprised within lines clearly and distinctly defined. It should never be compromised. It is the people's cause.

JUST AND SENSIBLE TARIFF REVISION.

A just and sensible revision of our tariff laws should be made for the relief of those of our countrymen who suffer under present conditions. Such a revision should receive the support of all who love that justice and equality due to American citizenship of all who realize that in this justice and equality our Government finds its strength and its power to protect the citizen and his property of all who believe that the contented competence and comfort of the many accord better with the spirit of our institutions than colossal fortunes unfairly gathered in the hands of a few; fall who appreciate that forbearance and fraternity among our people which recognize the value of every American interest as the surest guarantee of our national progress; and of all who desire to see the products of American skill and ingenuity in every market of the world with a resulting restoration of American commerce.

SELFISH AND PRIVATE INTERESTS. It cannot be denied that the selfish and private interests which are so persistently heard when efforts are made to deal in a just and comprehensive manner with our tariff laws, are related to, if they are not responsible for the sentiment largely prevailing among the people, that the general government is the fountain of individual and private aid, that it may be expected to relieve with paternal care the distress of citizens and communities, and that from the fullness of its treasury it should, upon the slightest possible pretext of promoting the general good, apply public funds to localities and individuals. Nor can it be denied that there is a growing assumption that, as against the government and in favor of private claims and interests, the usual rules and limitations of business principles and just dealing should be waived. These ideas have been happily much encouraged by legislative acquiescence. Relief from contracts made with the government is too easily accorded in favor of the citizen. The factum to support claims against the government by proof, is often supplied by no better consideration than the wealth of the government and the poverty of the claimant. Gratuities in the form of pensions are granted upon no other ground than the needy condition of the applicant, or for reasons less valid. And large sums are expended for public buildings and other improvements, upon representations scarcely claimed to be related to public needs and necessities. The extent to which the consideration of such matters subordinate and postpone action upon subjects of great public importance, but involving no special, private or partisan interest should arrest attention and lead to reform.

SOME NECESSARY REFORMS.

A few of the numerous illustrations of this condition may be stated. The crowded condition of the calendar of the Supreme Court and the delay to suitors and denial of justice resulting therefrom, has been strongly urged upon the attention of the Congress, with a plan for the relief of the situation approved by those well able to judge of its merits. While this subject remains without effective consideration, many laws have been passed providing for the holding of terms of inferior courts at places to suit the convenience of localities, or to lay the foundation of an application for the erection of new public buildings. REPEATED CHANGE IN THE LAND LAWS. Repeated recommendations have been submitted for the amendment and change of the laws relating to our public lands, so that their spoliation and diversion to other uses than as homes for honest settlers, might be prevented. While a measure to meet this conceded necessity of reform remains awaiting the action of Congress, many claims to the public lands and applications for their donation in favor of States and individuals, have been allowed. NEGLECTED PUBLIC BUILDINGS. The propriety and necessity of the

erection of one or more prisons for the confinement of United States convicts, and a post office building in the National Capitol, are not disputed but these needs yet remain unanswered while scores of public buildings have been erected where their necessity for public purposes is not apparent. A revision of our pension laws could easily be made which would rest upon just principles and provide for every worthy applicant, but while our general pension laws remain confused and imperfect, hundreds of private pension laws are annually passed which are the sources of unjust discrimination and popular demoralization.

PRIVATE ENDS DEFEAT PUBLIC LEGISLATION.

Appropriation bills for the support of the government are defeated by items and provisions to meet private ends, and it is freely asserted by responsible and experienced parties that a bill appropriating money for public internal improvement would fail to meet with favor unless it contained items more for local and private advantage than for public benefit. These statements can be much emphasized by an ascertainment of the proportion of Federal legislation which either bears upon its face its private character, or which, upon examination, develops such a motive power, and yet the people await and expect from their chosen representatives such patriotic action as will advance the welfare of the entire country, and this expectation can only be answered by the performance of public duty with unselfish purposes. Our mission among the nations of the earth, and our success in accomplishing the work God has given the American people to do, require of those imbued with the making and executing of our laws perfect devotion, above all other things to the public good.

THIS DEVOTION WILL LEAD US TO STRONGLY RESIST ALL IMPATIENCE TO CONSTITUTIONAL LIMITATIONS OF FEDERAL POWER AND TO PERSEVERENTLY CHECK THE INCREASING TENDENCY TO EXTEND THE SCOPE OF FEDERAL LEGISLATION INTO THE DOMAIN OF STATE AND LOCAL JURISDICTION UPON THE PRETEXT OF SUBSERVING THE WELFARE.

The preservation of the partitions between proper subjects of federal and local care and regulation is of such importance under the constitution which is the law of our very existence that no construction or expediency or sentiment should tempt us to enter upon doubtful ground. We have undertaken to discover and proclaim the richest blessings of a free government with the constitution as our guide. Let us follow the way it points out. It will not mislead us. And surely no one who has taken upon himself the solemn obligation to support and preserve the constitution can find justification of solace for disloyalty in the excuse that he wandered and disobeyed in search of a better way to reach the public welfare than the constitution of our forefathers.

PROSECUTION OF POLYGAMY.

It also appears from this report that to March 1885 there had been but six convictions in the territories of Utah and Idaho under the laws of 1862 and 1882 punishing polygamy and unlawful cohabitation as crimes.

There have been since that date nearly 600 convictions under those laws and the statutes of 1887; and the opinion is expressed that under such a firm and vigilant execution of these laws and the advance of ideas opposed to these forbidden practices polygamy in the United States is virtually at an end.

THE JACKSONIAN PRINCIPLE.

What has been said is deemed not inappropriate at a time when from a century's heights all view the way already trod by the American people and attempt to discover the future path. The seventh President of the United States the soldier and Statesman and at all times the firm and brave friend of the people in vindication of his course as the protector of popular rights and the champion of true American citizenship declared "The ambition which leads me on is an

anxious desire and fixed determination to restore to the people unimpaired the sacred trust they have confided to my charge to heal the wounds of the Constitution and preserve it from further violations to persuade my countrymen so far as I may that it is not in a splendid Government supported by monopolies and aristocratical establishments that they will find happiness or their liberties protection, but a plain system void of pomp protecting all and granting favors to none dispensing its blessings like the dew of Heaven unseen and unfeeling save in the freshness and beauty they contribute to produce it is such a Government that the genius of our people require, such a one only under which our State may remain for ages to come united and prosperous and true."

CONDITION OF THE FISHERY QUESTION.

Having essayed in the discharge of my duty to procure by negotiation the settlement of a long standing cause of dispute and to remove a constant menace to the good relations of the two countries and continuing to be of opinion that the treaty of February last which failed to receive the approval of the Senate did supply a satisfactory, practical and final adjustment upon a basis honorable and just to both parties of the difficulty and vexed question to which it related, and having subsequently and unavailingly recommended other legislation to Congress which I hoped would suffice to meet the exigency created by the rejecting of the treaty. I now again invoke the earnest and immediate attention of the Congress to the condition of this important question as it now stands before them and the country and for the settlement of which I am deeply solicitous.

THE SACKVILLE WEST INCIDENT.

Near the close of the month of February last, occurrences of a deeply painful but imperative duty to obtain, with as little delay as possible, a new personal change of diplomatic intercourse in this country with the Government of Great Britain. The correspondence in relation to this incident will, in due course, be laid before you, and will disclose the unpardonable conduct of the official referred to in his interference by advice and counsel with the suffrages of American citizens in the very crisis of the Presidential election then near at hand, and also in his subsequent public declarations to justify his action superadding impairment of the Executive and Senate of the United States in connection with important questions now pending in controversy between the two Governments.

A GRAVE OFFENSE.

The offense thus committed was most grave, involving disastrous possibilities to the good relations of the United States and Great Britain constituting a gross breach of diplomatic privileges and invasion of the purely domestic affairs and essential sovereignty of the Government to which the cry was accredited. Having first fulfilled the just demands of international comity by affording full opportunity for her majesty's Government to set in relief of the situation, I considered prolongation of discussion to be unwarranted and thereon declined to further recognize the diplomatic character of the person whose continuation in such function would destroy that mutual confidence which is essential to the good understanding of the two Governments and was inconsistent with the welfare and self respect of the Government of the United States. The usual et cetera of communication has since continued through her majesty's legation in this city.

DEMANDS PROMPT AND PROPER LEGISLATION.

Our dear experience ought sufficiently to urge the speedy enactment of measures of legislation which will confide the future disposition of our remaining agricultural lands to the usage of actual husbandry and genuine homes, nor should our vast tracts of so-called desert lands be yielded up to the monopoly of corporations of gras-

ping individuals as appears to be much the tendency under the existing statute. These lands require but the supply of water to become fertile and productive. It is a problem of great moment how most wisely for the public good that factor shall be furnished. I cannot but think it perilous to suffer either these lands or the success of their irrigation to fall into the hands of monopolies which by such means may exercise lordship over the areas dependent on their treatment for production. Already steps have been taken to secure accurate and scientific information of the country which is the prime basis of intelligent action. Until this shall be gained the course of wisdom appears clearly to be in a suspension of further disposal, which only promises to create rights antagonistic to the commonwealth. No harm can follow this cautious conduct. The land will remain, and the public good wants no demand for hasty disposition of national ownership and control.

ATTENDANCE OF INDIAN SCHOOLS.

The average attendance of Indian pupils on the schools increased by over 900 during the year and the total enrolled reached 15,212. The cost of maintenance was not materially raised. The number of teachable Indian youths is now estimated at 40,000 or nearly three times the enrollment of the schools. It is believed the obstacles in the way of instructing are all surmounted and that the treasury expenditure would be a measure of economy.

OUR PENSIONERS.

The number of pensioners added to the rolls during the fiscal year ended June 30, 1888, is 60,252; and increase of pensions was granted in 45,716 cases. The names of 15,730 pensioners were dropped from the rolls during the year for various reasons. The number of all classes of pensioners was 422,557; of those who were 896 survivors of the war of 1812; 10,787 widows of those who served in that war, 16,050 soldiers of the Mexican war, and 5,104 widows of said soldiers. One hundred and two different rates of pensions are paid to these beneficiaries ranging from \$2 to \$416.66 per month, the amt. paid for pensions during the fiscal year was \$78,775,861.92 being an increase over the preceding year of \$5,808,250.22.

REVISION OF THE PENSION LAWS.

I am thoroughly convinced that our general pension laws should be revised and adjusted to meet, as far as possible in the light of our experience, all meritorious cases. The fact that one hundred and two different rates of pensions are paid cannot, in my opinion, be made consistent with justice to the pensioners or to the Government, and the numerous private pension bills that are passed, predicated upon the imperfection of general laws, while they increase in many cases existing inequality and injustice, lend additional force to the recommendation for a revision of the general law on this subject.

CONTRASTED WITH F. B. MERIAM'S REVISION.

The report shows that notwithstanding the large expenditures for new construction and the additional labor they involve the total ordinary or current expenditures of the department for three years ending June 30, 1888, are less by more than 20 per cent than such expenditures for three years ending June 30, 1884. The various steps which have been taken to improve the business methods of the department are reviewed by the secretary. The purchasing of supplies has been consolidated and placed under responsible bureau heads. This has resulted in the curtailment of open purchases which in the years of 1884 and 1885 amounted to over 50 per cent of all the purchases of the department to less than eleven per cent so that at the present time about 90 per cent of the total department purchases are made by contract and after completion of the expenditures on this account exceeded an average

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