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OFFICIAL JOURNAL OF POLK COUNTY.

INDEPENDENCE IN AM. THINGS.

SUBSCRIPTION PRICE \$1.00 PER YEAR, IN ADVANCE.

VOL. X.

COLUMBUS, N. C., THURSDAY, OCTOBER 6, 1904.

NO. 25

Sept. 26, 1904. To the Hon. Champ Clark and Others, Committee, Etc.:

Gentlemen-In my response to your committee at the formal notification proceedings I referred to some matters not mentioned in this letter. I desire that these be considered as incorporated herein, and regret that lack of space prevents specific reference to them all. I wish here, however, again to refer to my views there expressed as to the gold standard, to declare again my unqualified belief in said standard and to express my appreciation of the action of the convention in reply to my communication upon that subject.

Grave public questions are pressing for decision. The Democratic party appeals to the people with confidence that its position on these questions will be accepted and indorsed at the polls. While the issues involved are numerous, some stand forth pre-eminent in the public mind. Among these are tariff reform, imperialism, economical administration and honesty in the public service. I shall briefly consider these and some others within the necessarily prescribed limits of this letter.

Imperialism. While I presented my views at the notification proceedings concerning this vital issue, the overshadowing importance of this question impels me to refer to it again. The issue is oftentimes referred to as constitutionalism versus imperialism.

If we would retain our libertles and constitutional rights unimpaired we cannot permit or tolerate at any time | the government whatever other results | terest of our manufacturers, whose or for any purpose the arrogation of unconstitutional powers by the executive branch of our government. We should be ever mindful of the words of Webster, "Liberty is only to be preserved by maintaining constitutional restraints and a just division of polit-

Already the national government has become centralized beyond any point contemplated or imagined by the founders of the constitution. How tremendously all this has added to the power of the president! It has developed from year to year until it almost equals that of many monarchs. While the growth of our country and the magnitude of interstate interests may seem to furnish a plausible reason for this centralization of power, yet these same facts afford the most potent reason why the executive should not be permitted to encroach upon the other departments of the government and assume legislative or other powers not expressly conferred by the constitu-

The magnitude of the country and its diversity of interests and population would enable a determined, ambitious and able executive, unmindful of constitutional limitations and fired with the lust of power, to go far in the usurpation of authority and the aggrandizement of personal power before the situation could be fully appre-

clated or the people be aroused. The issue of imperialism which has been thrust upon the country involves a decision whether the law of the land or the rule of individual caprice shall govern. The principle of imperialism may give rise to brilliant, startling, dashing results, but the principle of democracy holds in check the brilliant executive and subjects him to the sober, conservative control of the people.

The people of the United States stand at the parting of the ways. Shall we follow the footsteps of our fathers along the paths of peace, prosperity and contentment, guided by the ever living spirit of the constitution | Trust Remedics. which they framed for us, or shall we go along other and untried paths hitherto shunned by all, following blindly new ideals which, though appealing with brilliancy to the imagination and ambition, may prove a will-o'-the-wisp, leading us into difficulties from which it may be impossible to extricate ourselves without lasting injury to our national character and institutions?

The Tariff and Trusts. Tariff reform is one of the cardinal principles of the Democratic faith, and the necessity for it was never greater than at the present time. It should be undertaken at once in the interest of

The Dingley tariff is excessive in many of its rates and, as to them at least, unjustly and oppressively burdens the people. It secures to domestic manufacturers, singly or in combination, the privilege of exacting excessive prices at home and prices far above the level of sales made regularly by them abroad with profit, thus giving a bounty to foreigners at the expense of our own people. It levies oppressive and unjust taxes upon many articles forming in whole or part the so called raw material of many of our manufactured products, not only burdening the consumer, but also closing to the manufacturer the markets he needs and seeks abroad. Its unjust taxation burdens the people ive prices for food, fuel, clothing and demanded by the best interests of velopment. And this should be done

ties of many articles not normally imported in any considerable amount which are made extensively at home, for which the most extreme protectionist would hardly justify protective taxes, and which in large amounts are exported. Such duties have been and will continue to be a direct incentive to the formation of huge industrial combinations, which, secure from foreign competition, are enabled to stifle domestic competition and practically to monopolize the home market.

It contains many duties imposed for the express purpose only, as was openly avowed, of furnishing a basis for reduction by means of reciprocal trade treaties, which the Republican administration, impliedly at least, promised to negotiate. Having on this promise secured the increased duties, the Republican party leaders, spurred on by protected interests, defeated the treaties negotiated by the executive, and now these same interests cling to the benefit of these duties which the people never intended they should have

and to which they have no moral right. Even now the argument most frequently urged in behalf of the Dingley tariff and against tariff reform generally is the necessity of caring for our infant industries. Many of these industries after a hundred years of lusty growth are looming up as industrial giants. In their case at least the Dinger of trusts.

For the above mentioned reasons. among many others, the people demand reform of these abuses, and such reform demands and should receive immediate attention.

vanced the theory that the object is measures of retaliation are not." the raising of revenue for support of contends that customs duties should purpose, thus using the power of taxation to build up the business and property of the few at the expense of the many.

This difference of principle still subsists, but our party appreciates that the long continued policy of the country, as manifested in its statutes, makes it prudently and sagaciously undertaken on scientific principles, to the end that there should not be an immediate revolution in existing conditions.

In the words of our platform we demand "a revision and a gradual reduction of the tariff by the friends of the masses, and for the common weal, and not by the friends of its abuses, its extortions and discriminations."

It is true that the Republicans, who do not admit in their platform that the Dingley tariff needs the slightest alteration, are likely to retain a majority of the federal senate throughout the next presidential term and could, therefore, if they chose, block every attempt at legislative relief. But it should be remembered that the Reists, and I believe it will shrink from defying the popular will expressed unmistakably and peremptorily at the ballot box.

The people demand reform of existing conditions. Since the last Democratic administration the cost of living has grievously increased. Those having fixed incomes have suffered keenly; those living on wages, if there has been any increase, know that such increase has not kept pace with the adpower should be our earnest endeavor.

I pointed out in my earlier response the remedy which, in my judgment, monopolies, and the assurance was then given that if existing laws, including both statute and common law, proved inadequate, contrary to my expectations, I favor such further legislation within constitutional limitations as will best promote and safeguard the

interests of all the people, Whether there is any common law which can be applied and enforced by the federal courts cannot be determined by the president or by a candidate

for the presidency. was left by the people in framing the constitution to the judiciary and not to the executive. The supreme court of the United States has recently considered this question, and, in the case of the Western Union Telegraph company versus the Call Publishing company, to be found in the one hundred 92, it decided that common law principles could be applied by United States courts in cases involving interstate commerce in the absence of United States statutes specifically covering the case. Such is the law of the

In my address to the notification committee I said that tariff reform "is other necessaries of life. It levies du- both manufacturer and consumer."

Reciprocity.

wan equal truth it can be said that the benefits of reciprocal trade treaties would enure to both. That the consumer would be helped is unques tionable. That the manufacturer would receive great benefit by extending his markets abroad hardly needs demonstration. His productive capacity has outgrown the home market. The very term "home market" has changed in its significance. Once, from the manu facturers' point of view, it meant expansion; today the marvelous growth of our manufacturing industries has far exceeded the consumptive capac of our domestic markets, and the term "home market" implies contraction rather than expansion. If we would run our mills to their full capacity, thus giving steady employment to our workmen and securing to them and to the manufacturer the profits accruing from increased production, other markets must be found. Furthermore when our manufacturers are dependent on raw materials in whole or part imported, it is vital to the extension of their markets abroad that they secure their materials on the most favorable terms.

Our martyred president, William Mc-Kinley, appreciated this situation. He pointed out in his last address to the people that we must make sensible trade arrangements if "we shall extend the outlets for our increasing sur- party that it stands committed to the ley tariff invites combination and mo- plus." He said: "A system which pro- principle of civil service reform and nopoly and gives justification to the vides a mutual exchange of commodiexpression that the tariff is the moth- ties is manifestly essential to the con- forcement. tinued and healthful growth of our export trade. * * The period of exclusiveness is past. The expansion of our trade and commerce is the pressing problem. Commercial wars are unprof itable. A policy of good will and The two leading parties have always friendly relations will prevent repris differed as to the principle of customs als. Reciprocity treaties are in hartaxation. Our party has always ad- mony with the spirit of the times;

may incidentally flow therefrom. The products, he urged, "have so multi-Republican party, on the other hand, plied that the problem of more markets of congress it encountered opposition, was attempted by pension order No. requires our urgent and immediate atbe levied primarily for protection, so tention." He had come to realize that called, with revenue as the subordinate | the so called stand pat policy must give way: that there must be a reduction of duties to enable our manufacturers to cultivate foreign markets. The last words of this president, who had won the affection of his countrymen, ought to be studied by every man who has any doubt of the necessity of a reduction in tariff rates in the internecessary that tariff reform should be est of the manufacturer. They present with clearness a situation and a proposed remedy that prompted the provision in our platform which declares that "we favor liberal trade arrangements with Canada and with peoples of other countries where they can be entered into with benefit to American agriculture, manufactures, mining or

The persistent refusal of the Republican majority in the federal senate to ratify the reciprocity treaties negotiated in pursuance of the policy advocated alike by Mr. Blaine and Mr. McKinley, and expressly sanctioned in the Dingley act itself, is a discouraging exhibition of bad faith. As already mentioned by me, the exorbitant duty imposed on many an imported article publican party includes many revision- by the Dingley tariff was avowedly intended by its author not to be permanent, but to serve temporarily as a maximum, from which the federal government was empowered to offer a reduction in return for an equivalent concession on the part of a foreign country. President McKinley undertook honestly to carry out the purpose of the act. A number of reciprocity agreements were negotiated, which, if ratified, would have had the twofold result of cheapening many imported vance in the cost of living, including products for American consumers and rent and the necessaries of life. Many of opening and enlarging foreign mantoday are out of work, unable to se | kets to American producers. Not one cure any wages at all. To alleviate of those agreements has met with the these conditions in so far as is in our approval of the Republican masters of the senate. Indeed they did not even permit their consideration. In view of the attitude of the present executive, no new agreement need be excan effectually be applied against pected from him. Nor does the Republican platform contain a favorable reference to one of the suspended treaties. The reciprocity clauses of the Dingley act seem destined to remain a monument of legislative cozenage and political bad faith unless the people take the matter in their own hands at the ballot box and command a reduction of duties in return for

reciprocal concessions. Independence For the Filipinos.

The determination of this question pine question in my response the mankind, may have a resultant good phrase "self government" was intended to mean something less than independence. It was not intended that it should be understood to mean nor do I think as used it does mean less than independence. However, to eliminate all possibility for conjecture I now state that I am in hearty accord with and eighty-first volume of the United | that plank in our platform that favors States supreme court reports, at page doing for the Filipinos what we have already done for the Cubans, and I favor making the promise to them now that we shall take such action as soon as they are reasonably prepared for it.

If independence such as the Cubana enjoy cannot be prudently granted to the Filipinos at this time, the promise that the promise is the promise in the promise is the promise in the promise in the promise in the promise is the promise in the promise i the Filipinos at this time, the promise that it shall come the moment they are capable of receiving it will tend to stimulate rather than hinder their denot only in justice to the Filipinos. but

people cannot withhold freedom from mother people and themselves remain free. The toleration of tyranny over others will soon breed contempt for freedom and self government and weaken our power of resistance to insidious usurpation of our constitutional rights. American Citizenship.

The pledge of the platform to secure to our citizens, without distinction of race or creed, whether native born or naturalized, at home and abroad, the equal protection of the laws and the enjoyment of all the rights and privileges open to them under the covenants investigation of Government Departof our treaties, as their just due, should be made good to them. In the accomplishment of that result it is essential that a passport issued by the government of the United States to an Amercan citizen shall be accepted the world over as proof of citizenship. Civil Service.

The statute relating to civil service is the outcome of the efforts of thoughtful, unselfish and public spirited citisens. Operation under ft has frequently been of such a character as to offend against the spirit of the statute, but the results achieved, even under a partial enforcement of the law, have been such as to both deserve and command the utterance of the Democratic demands its just and impartial en-

Reclamation of Arid Lands.

A vast expanse of country in the west, portions of which are to be found in each of the sixteen states and territories, mentioned in the law, is directly affected by the national statute—the efforts of leading citizens, providing the ground that they deserve liberal ing the years of the development of the it denies the right of the executive to measure which finally received the vote usurp the power of congress to legisof every member of the upper house late on that subject. Such usurpation based to a large extent upon the view 78, and effect has been given to it by that the aim of its promoters was to a congress that dared not resent the secure the benefits of irrigation to usurpation. It is said that "this order private owners at government expense. was made in the performance of a The aim of the statute is, however, to duty imposed upon the president by enable this vast territory to reclaim act of congress," but the provision its arid lands without calling upon the making the imposition is not pointed taxpayers of the country at large to out. The act to which the order repay for it. Whether the purposes of fers, which is the one relating to penthe bill will be fully accomplished must stons to civil war veterans, does not depend in large measure upon the abil- authorize pensions on the ground of ity, sobriety of judgment, independ- age. It does grant pensions to those ence and honesty of the officers of the "suffering from any mental or physical interior department having this great disability or disabilities of a perma-

in the region affected aggregated more tates them from the performance of than 59,000 miles, and the work of rec- manual labor as to render them unalamation is but in its infancy. The total cost of construction of the necessary head gates, dams, main canals, ditches, reservoirs and pumping stations was at that time a little over \$93,000,000, which of itself suggests the hundreds of millions that may eventually be invested in the territory covered by the statute. The magnitude of the conception and the enormous expense its carrying out involves make us realize the overwhelming importance of a broad, capable and honest administration of the work authorized by the statute if effect is to be given to that part of the plan that relieves the country at large from ultimate lia-

Panama Canal.

An isthmian canal has long been the hope of our statesmen and the avowed aim of the two great parties, as their platforms in the past show. The Panama route having been selected, the building of the canal should be pressed to completion with all reasonable expedition.

The methods by which the executive acquired the Panama canal route and rights are a source of regret to many. To them the statement that thereby a great public work was assured to the profit of our people is not a sufficient answer to the charge of violation of national good faith. They appreciate that the principles and healthy convictions which in their working out have made us free and great stand firmly against the argument or suggestion that we shall be blind to the nature of the means employed to promote our welfare. They hold that adherence to principle, whether it works for our good or ill, will have a more beneficent influence on our future destiny than all our material upbuilding, and that we should ever remember that In some quarters it has been assum- the idea of doing a wrong to a smallis repugant to the principles upon which our government was founded.

Under the laws of the United States the duty is imposed on the executive to proceed with due diligence in the work of constructing the canal. That duty should be promptly performed. American Shipping

Our commerce in American bottoms amounts to but 8 per cent of our total experts and imports. For seventy years prior to 1860, when the Republican party came into power, our mer-Now we carry but a contemptibly mall fraction of our exports and im-

trade was greater by over 100,000 tons in 1810, nearly 100 years ago, than it

was last year. In the face of the conto preserve our own rights, for a free tinuous decline in the record of American shipping during the last fortythree years the promise of the Republican party to restere it is without encouragement. The record of the Democratic party gives assurance that the task can be more wisely intrusted to

It is an arduous task to undo the effect of forty years of decadence and requires the study and investigation of those best fitted by experience to find the remedy, which surely does not lie in the granting of subsidies wrung from the pockets of all the taxpayers.

rapid augmentation of government expenditures, show a need of an investigation of every department of the government. The Democrats in congress demanded it. The Republican majority refused the demand. The people can determine by their vote in November whether they wish an honest and thorough investigation. A Democratic congress and executive will assure it.

Army and Navy. We are justly proud of the officers and men of our army and navy, Both, however, have suffered from the persistent injection of personal and political influence. Promotions and appointments have been frequently based on favoritism instead of merit. Trials and court martials have been set aside under circumstances indicating political interference. These and other abuses should be corrected.

Pensions For Our Soldiers and Sallers. The national Democracy favors libnent character, not the result of their In 1902 the main canals and ditches own vicious habits, which so incanacible to earn a support." This specified requirement of incapacity is in effect set aside by order No. 78 as to all persons over sixty-two.

The war closed nearly forty years ago. In the meantime many of our soldiers and sailors long survived the age of sixty-two and passed away without receiving any pension. Skillful pension attorneys, hunting through the statute, failed to find there a provision giving a pension to all who had reached sixty-two. Many prominent veterans urged the justice of congressional action giving a service pension to all veterans. Bills to that effect were introduced in congress. And not until March of this year did any one ever claim to have made the discovery that the president had power to treat the statute as if it read that when a claimant had passed the age of sixtytwo years he is necessarily disabled one-half in ability to perform manual labor and therefore entitled to a pen-

The present pension commissioner indicated his view of the order when in a recent address he thanked the prestdent for what he had done and advised his hearers to use their influence that a law might be passed to the same effect. Full confidence, after all, seems not to have been placed on the defense of justification, for it is pleaded in mitigation that a former Democratic president did something looking in that direction. Even if that were so, which is not admitted, our present duty would be none the less plain and imperative. Our people must never tolerate the citation of one act of usurpation of power as an excuse for another. The first may possibly be due to mistake; the second, being based on the first, cannot be. In explanation, however, it should be said that the order relied on simply provided that the ed that in the discussion of the Philiper, weaker nation that we, or even all age of seventy-five years should be regarded as evidence of inability to perform manual labor. Few men are a to perform manual labor at that age, but nearly all men are at sixty-two. The first order is based on a fact that experience teaches; the other is based on the assertion of that which is not true as a general rule.

The old inquiry, "What are you go ing to do about it?" is now stated in a new form. It is said by the administration, in reply to the public criticism of this order, that "It is easy to test our opponents' sincerify in this matter. The order in question is revocable at the pleasure of the executive. If our opponents come into power they can revoke this order and announce Now we carry but a contemptibly that they will treat the vetarana of staty two and seventy as presumably forts.

American shipping in the foreign pension. Will they authoritatively state that the intend to do this?

so, we accept the fasue."

Foreign Relations.

This suggests the suspicion at least that the order was made to create an issue; that it was supposed to present a strong strategic position in the battle of the ballots. But as the making of that order was, in my judgment, an attempted though perhaps unwittingencroachment upon the legislative power and therefore unwarranted by the constitution, the challenge is accepted. If elected I will revoke that order. But I go further and say that, that being done, I will contribute my effort toward the enactment of a law to be passed by both houses of congress and approved by the executive that will give an age pension without reference to disability to the surviving burees of the civil war and under the provisions of which a pension may be accepted with dignity because of the consciousness that it comes as a just due from the people through their chosen representatives and not as largess distributed by the chief executive.

The foreign relations of the govern-

ment have in late years assumed

special importance. Prior to the acquisition of the Philippines we were practically invulnerable against attacks by foreign states. Those tropical possessions, however, 7,000 miles from our shores, have changed all this and have in effect put us under bonds to keep the peace. The new conditions call for a management of foreign affairs the more circumspect in that the recent American invasion of foreign markets in all parts of the world has excited the serious apprehension of all the great industrial peoples. It is essential, therefore, more than ever eral pensions to the surviving soldiers to adhere strictly to the traditional outcome of intelligent and persistent and sailors and their dependents on policy of the country as formulated by its first president and never, in my for the reclamation of the arid lands treatment. It pledges by its platform Judgment, wisely departed from-to infor the benefit of home seekers. Dur- adequate legislation to that end. But vite friendly relations with all nations with any. Such a policy means the cultivation of peace instead of the glorification of war, and the minding of our own business in lieu of spectacular intermeddling with the affairs of other nations. It means strict observance of the principles of international law and condemna the doctrine that a great state, by reason of its strength, may rightfully appropriate the sovereignty or territory of small state on account of its weakne It means for other American states that we claim no rights and will assume no functions save those of a friend and of an ally and defender as against European ions. It means that we repudiate the role of the American continental po-liceman, that we refuse to act as debi collector for foreign states or their citisens, that we respect the independent sovereignty of each American state and its right to preserve order and otherwise regulate its own internal affairs in its own way, and that any intervention in its affairs by us is limited to the single office of enabling its people to work out their own political and national destiny for themselves free from the coercion of any European state.

> Reform in Governmental Expenditures Twenty-eight years have passed since the Democratic party of the state of New York in convention assembled recommended to the national Democracy the nomination of Samuel J. Tilden as its candidate for the presidency and declared it to be "their settled conviction that a return to the constitutional principles, srugal expenses and administrative purity of the founders of the republic is the first and most imperious duty of the timesthe commanding issue now before the people of the Union." This strong expression was called forth by the national expenditures for the year 1875, which amounted to \$274,000,000—a situation which in the opinion of a majority of our people, justified an imperative demand for reform in the administration of public affairs. As the expenditures of the last fiscal year amounted to the enormous total of \$582,000,000, it is evident that a thorough investigation of the public service and the immediate abandonment of useless and extravagant expenditures are more necessary now than they were then. This astounding increase is out of all proportion to the increase of our population and finds no excuse from whatever aspect we view the situation. The national Democratic platform declares that large reductions can easily be made in the annual expenditures of the government without impairing the efficiency of any branch of the public service." Can there be any doubt of the accuracy of this statement? Between the expendi tures of the year 1896, amounting to \$242,the seventh after Grover Cleveland ceas ed to be president-aggregating \$582,000,000, there is a difference so great as to excite alarm in the breasts of all thoughtful men. Even excluding the sum of \$50,000,-000 paid for the Panama canal rights and to the state of Panama, the expenditures of the last fiscal year exceeded the sum of \$532,000,000, being more than double the expenditures of the government for all purposes during the first year of Mr. Cleveland's administration.

> The expenses of the first four years sucseeding the last Democratic administration amounted to the enormous average of \$511,000,000 per year. This large ex-penditure was due to a considerable extent to the cost of the Spanish-American war, which occurred during that period. But the termination of that war brough annual expenses of the government dur-ing the three subsequent years ending June 80, 1904, were about \$519,000,000, which is the largest sum hitherto reached dur-ing a like period since the close of the

This draft upon the revenues of the country has had the effect which might have been anticipated, and now we have presented the reversa of the situation, which led to the famous abservation, "It is a condition and hot a theory which is a condition and not a theory which confronts us," for, although the present incumbent found at the close of the first fiscal year during which he assumed control of the administration a surplus of receipts over expenditures of more than \$51,000,000, there was an excess of expenditures over receipts at the close of the last fiscal year of \$42,000,000, and the official monthly reports made by the freasury department show that the expenditures are continuously and rapidly increasing, while the receipts are diminishing.

Continued on 4th page.