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The Charlotte Observer.

Subscription to the Q. server. WERKLY EDITION.

VANCE ON CIVIL SERVICE

SOME EXTRACTS FROM HIS SPEECH

Delivered in the United States Senate, on March 31st-A Strong Argument Against the Civil Ser-

In his anti-civil service speech, Senator Vance said: Mr. President, at the close of the great civil war when the party then in power de sired to reconstruct a portion of this government on principles which would secure its domination it so happened that a constitutional President stood in the way. It was necessary to divest him of his prerogative before that party could accomplish its unconstitutional object, and
a regular attack upon his rightful
powers was begun by the passage of
the tenure-of-office law. But soon
after Mr. Johnson's term of office had
expired—his successor being one who expired—his successor being one who was in sympathy with the party then in power—the necessity for that law was no longer felt; that is to say, the offices could be secured without it. The law, therefore, was modified. But the remnant of it was left on the statute book as a reminder of the in-First National Bank Building, South Tryon Street, --- Charlotte, N. C.

DRALERS IN

Ladies', Misses'and Children's

Ladies', Misses'and Children's ocrat was chosen to fill that office ocrat was chosen to fill that office. But being wise in their generation and fearing that for the want of control of both houses of Congress it might not be able to resurrect that law, the Republican party fell upon the plan of perpetuating the official existence of its Iriends by the enactment of a law "to regulate and improve the civil service of the country." It was a continuation of the try." It was a continuation of the old assault upon the rights of the Executive; and all of the present troubles between the Executive and that enactment. And I propose to address myself to that law, a bill for the repeal of which I heretofore had the honor of introducing. But before addressing myself to either the unconstitutionality or the impolicy of that enactment, I wish to say that one of my chief objections to it and to all other laws which restrict or in-trench upon the established rights and prerogatives of any department of the government is the tendency to defeat the will of the people as expressed at popular elections, and to that extent to impair and destroy the vigor and efficiency of political parties in this country.

Mr. President, in the broadest and

most conprehensive sense of the term I avow myself a party man; not from natural pugnacity of temper, not because of prejudice against those who may differ with me, nor yet because I believe there are no evils inseparably connected with par-ty organizations, but because I do be lieve most earnestly that parties are indispensable to the existence of liberty, and that a government by par-ty is the only way in which there can be government by the people.

w is that it creates unusual offenses and attaches unusual penalties for their commission. It also takes away the President's power and duty to execute the laws, and confers them unconstitutionally upon the board of commissioners. They are given suunconstitutionally upon the board of commissioners. They are given supervision and control over everybody, including the President, in all matters pertaining to the enforcement of this law. It is the duty of this board of commissioners to see that all persons subject to this law abstain absolutely from all political service, and especially that they do not lie upon each other; that no Senator, Representative or other officer of the government shall recommend anybody for office or violate the provisions of this act in any way, but that all shall dwell together in millennial peace and harmony, and forever remain virtuous and happy. Why it omit ted to enact the whole civil service of the country into a national Sunday-school—a grand consolidated American Ebenezer—with these commissioners as teachers and exhorters, subject to the visitation of Mugwump presbyters, is something that the truly good and pious political saints must ever regret. If any malicious, evil-disposed persons whomsoever, not having the fear of God before their eyes, but being moved and seduced by the instigation of the devil, should in any way hinder, deceive or impede an applicant for initiation into the privileged tribe of Levi, or tell a lie upon him in regard to his character or qualifications, or even give any special or secret information about him, though never so true, they shall yet be guilty of a misdemeanor, and on conviction shall be punished by a fine not to exceed \$1,000, or by imprisonment not to exceed one year, or by both fine and imprisonment.

Bo much for even attempting to

and imprisonment.

So much for even attempting to help a good man to get in office or furnishing information to keep a bad one out. So much for even attempting to handle these official eggs while under the motherly incubation of these national hens, the civil service

This civil service law is the second tempt to recur to the Hamiltonian principle, and is most cunningly begun at the bottom, where it would attract the least attention and indignation. Well did the late President nation Well did the late President Garfield say the doctrine of Alexander Hamilton is waxing and that of Thomas Jefferson is waning. Had he happily lived until today and seen the operation of this law and been a witness to the position which the Senate of the United States is now occupying, he would be astonished at the rapid verification of his utterance.

to the judgment of his fellow-citi-zens, why should his subordinates be granted exemption from like submission and be endowed with official immortality? It works well, they say; the longer the clerk serves the more competent he is to serve well. Is not the same true of a President? Is not the same true of a Senator, a Representative, and all other officers?

the system works well with a mi nor officer, will it not work equally well with the major? And if that be true, will we not soon begin to extend it? Indeed, it was announced in the discussion of the bill that it was ten tative, and it was intended to be extended, as experience justified, to the model, civil services of the governwhole civil service of the government. In fact, has not the President of the United States pledged himself with certain reservations, in obedience to a supposed public opinion to extend the spirit of the law beyond its legal effect to all the higher appointments which pertain to him? If pointments which pertain to him? If that be so, is not that the waxing of the principles of Alexander Hamilton and the waning of those of Thos.

Jefferson.

The humbuggery of this whole ex-amination business as a test of fitness for clerical position his well illustrated by a flaming advertisement which I hold in my hand, and which reads as follows:

"A collection of examinations and answers, selected by a competent and experienced professor, so as to enable any person, after their intelligent review to undergo a thoroughly successful civil service examination. Every person desiring to be employed by the government should have it. Send ten cents for a conv." ten cents for a copy."

The only sensible way to obtain good employees anywhere and in any business is to select them your self and try them. If they should prove good keep them; if they should prove bad discharge them. Another objection to the establishment by this law of a privileged, irresponsible class of officials may be summed up in the language of Shakespeare—"the insolence of office." No better illustration of the almost divine genius of that great man can be found than in the acuteness displayed by him in making

Hamlet, when recounting the evils and grievances which rendered his life insupportable, mention the "insolence of office" as one of the chief. Who that has ever visited this capital city and has had any business in the various departments of the government has not been made aware in ernment has not been made aware in the bitterness of his soul of the full extent and measure of the poet's meaning!

The debate which occurred on the passage of the civil service bill was the occasion for the exhibition of con-

siderable histrionic talent arising same time difficult and very different roles The Democratic Senators charge corruption on the party in power as a necessity for its passage, boldly and loudly; but fought very shy of the suggestion of their fellow-Democrats that they were preparing to continue in power by this bill the party which had been guilty of the corruption which rendered such an act necessary. The Republicans adopted the plea which the lawyers term "confession and avoidance," ad mitting the corruption charged "sub modo," but went away back to the days of Andrew Jackson in search of a "tu quoque," and manifested much anxiety by the passage of that bill to correct the morals and evil-doings of the dead, scouting the idea that they sought to obtain any advantage for

wide of the mark.

The corruption of which the counry complained and has complained for some twenty years was not among the class of officials who were covered by that bill. No outcry had ever been raised against the poor clerks, copyists and messengers of the departments. The stench which for years had assailed the nostrils of Another serious objection to the the nation had in every instance been created by those who had been nominated to their offices by the President and appointed by and with the ad-vice and consent of the Senate. The thousand minnows which swam through the water, howover they may have disported themselves, had never been able to cause a ripple on its surface; it was the whales and the sharks which lashed the waters into fury and tore the nets of the law into shreds. The operations of law into shreds. The operations of the Black Friday conspirators, Cred-it Mobilier thieves, whisky rings, freedsmen's savings banks robbers. Sanborn contracts, star route con-tracts and such other like projects of villainy were the things that alarmed the honest sentiment of the country

and called for reform. To answer this call as Republican Senators pretended to do by such a bill as this was a preposterous and contemptible subterfuge. It was a regular case of giving Smith medi-cine for Brown's ailments. To puncine for Brown's ailments. To punish a corrupt secretary or auditor they administered discipline to a guiltless clerk. Even had that been good medical practice, it was an absurdity to pretend to punish the clerk by providing that he should hold office for life, instead of discharging him. It was a spectacle too in another sense worthy of the attention of the country in that it presented the leaders of the great party standing up and confessing that their own evil practices and corruptions demand this reform. The sincerity of this repentance, however, will be apthis repentance, however, will be apparent when it is considered that the confessions were not made in good faith but in "articulo mortis." Having held and abused power for twentyheld and abused power for twentythree years they saw by unerring instincts that the day of retribution
was at hand; that the people were
determined upon reform; not by
such poor devices as were provided
by that act, but a change in the entire control and personnel of the government. They therefore "cast an
anchor to the windward," and this
law was the result. And it is falsely
entitled. It is not an act to improve
and regulate the civil service of the and regulate the civil service of the country; to all intents and purposes it was the last will and testament of the Republican party; and my chief regret is that a Democratic President was compelled to become its executor instead of its administrator "de bonis

Let us examine a moment the falsity of its pretenges. If the corruption of the government which called for legislation lay with the clerks and minor officials, the remedy which would naturally suggest itself

promotion reform it?

If the derks were bad because they

had been appointed under the spoils system, how do we improve the clerks by this law which keeps every one of them in office, and excepts them from its operations?

If the clerks were good under the spoils system, then what was the matter with the system? In short, if we had good clerks under the old system, then no change was needed; if we had bad clerks under the old

died. A system, however good, is worth nothing unless it be put in By the civil service law we contented ourselves with a high sounding and virtuous enactment against corruption and incompetency, and at the same time excepted from its operations every man of whom corruption and incompetency were com-

The behavior of the Republican advocates of this law about the time of its passage was not only remarkable; it was shameless. In the face of their allegations that the spoils system was corrupt, and that by it we could not possibly get good and competent officials, they not only defeated by a solid vote in the Senate the amendment of Mr. Purch as I the amendment of Mr. Pugh, as I have stated, requiring their friends already in to submit to examination. but they made haste to fill every possible vacancy with their partisans before the law took effect. It is an open secret that Saturday, the 14th of July, some of the heads of departments in this city spent the entire day and night, far into Sunday morning, in filling every vacancy, promoting their riends and kin, and degrading their political enemies. The grading their political enemies. The law was to go into effect the 15th of July. Quite a number of new clerks had been provided for by the appropriation bills for the fiscal year beginning July 1, and a full supply of applicants had already passed the civil service examination, and stood by waiting for the new low to go into

by waiting for the new law to go into effect. But when the offices opened Monday, the 16th, not a vacant place was anywhere to be found; every one was occupied by a Republican or kinsman of the appointing officer. And the men who perpetrated this fraud on their own law, with the cheek of a town cow, cry "spoilsman!" at every man who denounces their hypogrish; and Democrate are their hypocrisy; and Democrats are found who by their votes here sus-tain these men in the retention of their ill-gotten spoils, and who seem to think that fraud and hypocrisy

constitute the necessary overture to the grand symphony of reform. of all this is the Republicans desire office from pure patriotism; the Democrats wish office simply for the emoluments. For a Republican to hold office after the people have told him to leave is commendable and pure; for a Democrat mendable and pure; for a Democratto wish to get one after the people
have declared for him is reprehensible and base. Now, grant that the
offies belong to neither party, but to
the people, for whose benefit they
were instituted; when the people
have once speken and declared by a
constitutional majority that the Rerublicane must as out and the Demopublicans must go out and the Demo-crats come in, which of the two dis-plays the most attachment to the spoils, he who desires them with the consent of the people, or he who holds on to them in defiance of the wishes of the people? If the owner of a house desires his two guests to the living. Both were wrong and depart, which of the two is the gentleman, he who retires on the fi st intimation of his host, or he who lingers, claims the house, and waits to be kicked out?

> ing Democrat, who for forty years has stood by his party through good and evil report, because he believed in its principles; who battled for it when it had no offices to give; many times when it was buried beneath such yast majorities as left scarce a prospect of earthly resurrection; often oppressed by a weight of odium sufficient to cow the bravest spirit, under the influence of which the faithful became even as the 'few names in Sardis, who had not defiled their garments"—when the very name of Democrat became a convertible. term with that of copperhead, rebel and traitor—fancy his unconquered and undismayed soul still working for his principles, still watching for the dawn, still waiting with prayerfulness for the hope of his political Israel, thanking God for each town township or county vice. each town, township or county vic-tory which showed that his princi-ples still lived in the hearts of his ples still lived in the hearts of his countrymen, and were growing because they were immortal—quicker and quicker throbs his heart, higher and higher rises his joy as stronghold after stronghold is carried, as State after State is captured in spite of unconstitutional laws and governmental interference, in spite of bayonets glittering at the polls, in spite of that gross and unbiushing fraud which is the supplement of despair; and, lastly, imagine if you can the hot tide of triumphant joy with which he saw in November, 1884, the banners of Democracy full high advanced and successful over all the Union, and his party once more in Union, and his party once more in control of the great destinies of his country. When the hope of his soul had thus at last been realized, and his old eyes had been permitted to behold the great salvation, when the bonfires kindled in a thousand cities and hamlets had humand down and and hamlets had burned down, and the feasting had ended, and the ora-tory and all the elements of rejoicing had subsided, and the new adminishad subsided, and the new ladministration had begun its career amid the prayers and blessings of all Demo cratic hearts, imagine I say, this old, faithful and honest man of principle coming to Washington, in the simplicity of his heart, bringing certificates from his neighbors of his character and services and modestly acter and services, and modestly asking for a position, naturally supposing that the king in making uphis jewels would remember his faithful servants. But imagine that old gentleman's disappointment when something like the following occurs

presentative: Old Democrat: I have come to make application for some position under the government which I am competent to fill.

Government Representative: You are too old; under the laws of the rewhich would naturally suggest to every man of common sense would have been simply to turn them out. This law provides that they shall not be turned out but kept in.

public men over forty-five are not allowed to take office.

O. D. But I see men in places here who are sixty years old.

G. R. Oh, they were in when the law was enacted, and it does not op-If the corruption of the government lay with the higher officials, how could the punishment of the O.D. Well, if such be the law, I

minor officials reform that corrup-tion? "A fortiori," how could their promotion reform it? submit; it may be that I am too old. But here is my boy; he is young and active and well educated; give him a G. R. We can not do it; there is

no vacancy.

O. D. No vacancy? Well make one. There is a rank Republican. That man has been our bitterest enmy He had denounced me and my party. as traitors to our country again and again. Turn him out and put in my son or my neighborh. put in my son or my neighbor's

son.

I.G. R. It can not be, sir. The law forbids it. And, besides, if there were a vacancy your son could not get the place unless he stood an examination by the board of civil service commissioners and secured the favor of that board over many others. system we have them yet, for they are all in office except such as have

O. D. Well! well! Did all those Republicans in there have to stand such an examination and get their places in the same way ! If so, and they were smarter than the Demo-crats, again I say, I will have to sub-

G. R. Oh, no, my dear sir, no. You see they were in when the law was enacted. They got in by that old corrupt method which we call "the spoils" system. But being in, you see, they had sort of a vested right to their places, and the law does not disturb vested rights, that is, Republican rights, except for very serious cause.

O. D. Then, it seems to me there is nothing here for me or mine, and all that talk during the campaign about corruption in office and turning the rascals out was a trick and a lie. It appears that there were no rascals in, or if there were, you like rascals better than you do honest men, and so keep them.

G. R. Old man, you had better go home. You are behind the times. This is an age of civil service reform.

Men can no longer be reward by of

Men can no longer be rewared by office for party work; that is, humble men like you and your son. The big ones may be paid that way; for that is true reform. But when such men as you confess that they want office they are spoilsmen, and that is what you are. I am ashamed of you! Away with you?

Away with you?

This final and insulting reply is the iron which enters his soul, and he retires crushed and wounded beyond recovery. The sense of disappointment, of injustice, of humiliation, the ingratitude of those for whom he labored, are too much for him to endure, and the enthusiasm of his life is quenched forever. The man who calls him a spoilsman, and charges that he served his party for the sake of office only, foully belies a better man than himself.

This, Mr. President, is no fancied

This, Mr. President, is no fancied picture. There are thousands and thousands of just such men, and we meet them or hear them every day.

And yet Mr. President, I believe in reform—such reform as the people want and have been wanting for ten years or more. Between those who call me a spoilsman and myself, per-haps there is only a difference of def-inition. They believe that "reform" consists in a Democratic administration operated by Republican agents; I do not. They believe in keeping Republicans in office by law after the people have declared that they shall go out; I do not. They believe in ignoring the people and their repre-sentatives as far as possible in the seection of officials; I do not. They believe there can be no true reform unless Republicans are the bene-ficiaries thereof; I do. And lastly, I believe that as good material for all civil officials is to be found in the Democratic party as any other, and that it is the right and duty of a Dem-ocratic administration to select that material and none other as the im-Conceive of an old fashioned, fight-

plements of reform; they do not. Let me warn men against those who assume to be above the homely virtues and common frailties of our race, and who affect to inhabit the untrodden altitudes of a world different from the one where our Creator has placed us, and deny being of the earth, earthy. A man too good in politics or religion is quite as reprehensible as one too bad, and I am quite sure he is a greater nuisance. For the most part they are men who have failed in securing the objects of their own ambition, and may be de-scribed either as political old maids whose blood has turned to vinegar by a failure to secure lovers before their unappreciated charms had fled, or as the grass widows of politics who have falled to retain the lovers they had won by artifice and fraud. They are men who desire to conduct politics without the aid of politicians; who belive that the most successful way to operate mechanics is to work without implements.

Let such in God's name on fine wheat be fed, and let us honest Democrats eat barely bread

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BY virtue of a decree of the Superior Court of Boyles, administrator of J. B. Boyles, deceased, vs. Nannie J. Boyles, et. al. I will expose for sale at the court house door in Charlotte, on the first Monday, (the 3rd day) of May, 1885, the tract of land of said J. B. Boyles, adjoining the lands of W. A. Brown, Ben. T. Price, John Hoover, et. al. The same will be sold in two parcels. The lands outside the dower in one lot. and the lands subject to the dower.

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