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EXTRACTS FROM HORATIO SEYMOUR'S SPEECH.

(From the New York Sun)
Chickering Hall was filled with a select audience last night on the occasion of ex-Gov. Horatio Seymour's address on the issues of the campaign before the Young Men's Democratic Club. The demand for tickets was greater than could be supplied by the capacity of the Hall. Many ladies were present, and every seat was filled long before the doors were opened to admit the very few who were admitted without tickets.

Ex-Gov. Seymour was presented to the audience, and instantly every man rose to his feet and gave him a cordial welcome with cheer after cheer. It was for some time in vain that Gov. Seymour essayed to begin, for he was interrupted with renewed cheering. He spoke as follows:

With all governments under all conditions there is the peril on the one hand of resistance to rightful authority; on the other that the Government may through corruption destroy itself. On the one hand the peril of force, on the other that of fraud or injustice. When our fathers framed the constitution they kept in view both these dangers. To prevent war, to extend the blessings of peace and good order over our broad domains, they formed our Union. To save it from corruptions and errors which would be generated in government legislation at one point for a country so vast and varied in its interests, they preserved the states, leaving untouched their manners, their social structures, and the power to direct and control all things that related to their home interests. With great care and wisdom they defined the jurisdiction of general and state governments. We differ in opinion as to the exact limits of these, and these differences divide us into parties; but all agree that these limits exist and are essential to the safety of our political institutions. Every intelligent citizen feels the danger to the republic when states attempt to resist the rightful authority of the general government. On the other hand, there is no intelligent man who does not admit that the destruction of the rights would be followed by corruptions and abuses which in the end would shatter our country into fragments. In no other land are the topics of public discussion of greater dignity or value than those which engage the attention of the American people. The structure of our society, the nature of our civilization, the diversified industries of our people, are all affected by the action of our varied political bodies, from the smallest organization up to the legislatures of the states and of the Union. It is true that there is much of passion, of prejudice, and of selfish purpose which mar to a degree the dignity and the wisdom of our political action. But still it is true that it is a grand system of popular instruction, that its discussion tends to educate and elevate, and that the results have exceeded the most sanguine hopes of those who, a hundred years ago, sought to build up governments which should prove a blessing to the vast population of our Union. That man is wanting in mental or moral development who does not know nor care about our public affairs. It is an indifference born of ignorance. It becomes a tool in the hands of the corrupt. The questions which agitated the minds of our fathers are those which concern us to day. How shall we save our Union from destruction by violence? and how shall we save it from the more subtle dangers of corruption and of selfish schemes? How shall we make the general government strong within its rightful jurisdiction, and how shall we prevent it from overstepping its limits, and making it a source of evil? The subject which should arouse the attention and excite the earnest thoughts of every American citizen toward which of these perils are we now drifting? We differ as to the fact that there is danger if we err in either direction.

To put a strong light on the duty which the people of the North owe to themselves and their country, of making a scrutiny into the practices of the government, to learn if it is invading their rights and interests, I avail myself of the statements made by the senior Senator of the state in a speech recently made in New York. As it is true that the largest share of the population, of the wealth and of the varied interests and the pursuits of our people are in the Northern section of our Union, they will suffer most by unwise legislation. The North will wrong itself if it allows its attention to be drawn entirely to other affairs by prejudices against others. Mr. Conkling shows in a clear way that the great volume of the commerce, of the bank transactions, of amounts accumulated in savings banks, of capital in rail-

ways, of manufacturing and mining products, and of other interests affecting the welfare of society, are at the North. He shows how much larger the percentage of these interests are in comparison with those of the South. At the North then, we find the greatest liability to injuries from unwise legislation, the strongest to fraud and corruption, the most urgent reasons for care and watchfulness against abuse. It excites surprise when we seek to enter upon this duty that we do not find that those who have controlled the government so many years are willing to co-operate with us in a wholesome examination. They turn away the public mind from the subject by declaring that the pending election is a sectional contest, and that we must give up strictures upon the conduct of the minority in the South and to questions reflecting the honor interests of others, and not to our greater concerns at home. Our merchants, manufacturers, farmers and mechanics are liable to the greatest evils if men who know but little about the nature and details of their pursuits are allowed to meddle with them in the way of law making. The Senator therefore in his comparative interests of the North was made to see the danger which overhung them, if the government at Washington, which so unequally represented population or pursuits, should legislate unduly with regard to them. He dwells on the fact that the Southern states have in the Senate and in the electoral college representations beyond what their numbers would give them, and that it is not just or wise to subject Northern interests to the action of a body thus constituted. But why does he stop here? Why does he not also tell you that his candidate and his party make all this danger by centralizing power at Washington? Why does he not exhibit to you other and greater instances of unequal Senatorial representation? Why does he not go on and finish his statements of fact and his argument, and show the wisdom of the provisions of our Constitution that limit the action of our general government so that it may not become unjust and oppressive as a result of this unequal division of power in its control? He confines himself to threatened evils from the South; he does not state the fact that these evils grow out of the construction put upon the constitution by those who have controlled the general government for many years. If the ratio of representation from the South is a peril to our country, then greater disparities in other sections are greater dangers.

If the constitution of the Senate makes it an unfair tribunal, why do Mr. Garfield and others demand that the great home rights and interests shall be controlled by it? If there is injustice in its action, it is owing to the policy of the Republican party in extending its jurisdiction against the letter and spirit of the constitution. Within these influences of the Senate will be a security against injustice and sectional designs. When it oversteps its jurisdiction it becomes a peril to our country. The arguments of the Republican leaders mean that they have perverted the Senate and made it an unfair tribunal, and therefore the government should be left in their hands, lest others should do as they have done. On the other hand we demand that the organization of our government shall not be perverted, shall not be made a curse, but a blessing. Under the constitution it is a wise and just system. Under the Republican policy it has been dangerous and unjust. This is the great issue between the parties. It maps out in a striking way all the great interests of the Northern section, and then says if the Democratic party carry this election they all lie at the mercy of the minority of the people, who, he charges, are animated by hostile sentiments. Let us take up, then, the statement of the facts and the line of argument where the Senator leaves off, and we shall reach conclusions which prove the necessity to the prosperity of our country of a change in its administration; we will prove that while we have been absorbed for twenty years by questions growing out of resistance to the action of the general government we have been drifting by undercurrents into hidden dangers. We implore business men, citizens of all pursuits, to reflect awhile upon the following facts: beyond the inequality of Southern representation, upon which Republicans leaders dwell so much, you will find by looking at the census of 1870 that while the population of the state of New York was over four millions, there were thirteen states with less population than had twenty six members in the United States Senate, while New York had but two. Of those states nine are Northern and four are Southern. But even this does not show the unequal power exer-

cised by different states over the action of our government. More than half of our people live in nine states; it is in these that the great interests, capital, commerce, manufactures, agricultural production, are displayed in the grandest proportions. Yet this majority of American citizens have only eighteen Senators out of seventy six—less than one quarter of the number. On the other hand there are nineteen states whose population is less than one fifth that of our country, who have one half of the members of the controlling department of our government. This small minority, through their senators, can prevent the passage of laws for the interests of the majority, or the repeal of those laws which were hurtful. If the doctrines of the Republican party and the opinions of its candidate for the Presidency are to govern, we are exposed to perpetual danger from all parts of the United States. Why did the framers of our Constitution permit this inequality? It was done because there was a fear on the part of smaller states that they might be oppressed. It was given them solely for the purpose of defence. Our fathers felt that they sufficiently guarded the rights of the large states and of the majority of our people by limiting the jurisdiction of the government that formed within safe limits. What makes, then, this danger to the majority of the people from the action of senators from the South, or the North, or the West, representing minorities? It is because the leaders of the party in power have violated the letter and spirit of the constitution by constructions of its provisions unwarranted and dangerous. They do not propose any reform in the matter. In full view of the fact which they have stated, and which we now present, they seek to enlarge still more the jurisdiction of the general government. They propose to take away more of the rights and securities of the people. They desire to increase the interferences with the interests of our citizens engaged in agriculture, commerce and manufactures. We are not left to mere inference as to their purposes and opinions. Their candidate, Mr. Garfield has openly declared that this government was gravitating toward a strong government and he is glad of it. If he is elected it will be said that the people of this country have expressed their approval of his pre-ordained sentiments. Where, then, do parties stand? We deny that the constitution gives to the minority of the South any other part of our Union the dangerous or unjust powers that are claimed by the Republican leaders. They assert that these powers are held by the people of the South. We deny that they exist there or elsewhere. With these issues it is not true that it is a sectional controversy. It is a controversy growing out of violations of our constitution, which if sustained, will be perpetual dangers through all the future.

Let us see the significance of the demand of Mr. Garfield for more jurisdiction. He says to New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, Wisconsin, Kentucky, Missouri and Massachusetts, where a majority of our people live, give up to us the control of your commerce, your industries, your productions. He sets no limits to these interferences with your domestic concerns. Even with regard to education, which he admits belongs to the states, he proposes to evade the Constitution by giving what he calls "generous aid." This generous aid is to be drawn from the people by taxation, and distributed by the officials of the government. It gives it control of subject that he concedes belongs to the states. In this easy way by the increase of a phrase "generous aid," he shows that he never allows the Constitution to stand between him and any persons or purposes he wishes to add. The great and sacred objects of education could be harmed in no way so fatally as to take it from the charge of those most interested in its diffusion, and from communities which are elevated and made intelligent by the very duties of promoting learning and virtue.

To whom are the American people asked to surrender the control of their own affairs, beyond the requirements of the Constitution? To about one fifth of their fellow-citizens. Through their Senatorial representatives, these can prevent the repeal of a bad law, or the passage of one demanded by the rights and interests of the majority. They can reject the President's nominations. In a thousand ways they can reach the interests of the great members of our Union as well as their own people? No! Some of them are two or three thousand miles distant from New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio, &c. Their pursuits, conditions and wants are different.

But the citizens of Oregon, Colorado, Nevada, or Florida desire no such unequal powers. They feel that they know no more about our affairs than we know about theirs. They see that when our government oversteps their chartered rights, there will be danger of disorders, hurtful to all, but most to them. They wish to hold their constitutional privileges of equal state representation in the

Senate for their own protection, and not for the purpose of violating that Constitution and of undermining the grounds upon which their representation is based. Who, then, are those who are interested in getting the jurisdiction they ask you to yield up? They are the men who urge centralization, not for their own constituents, for they will be harmed, not helped by this policy. They ask it for themselves. When they display to you the vast and varied interests of the great states, when they excite the passions against the South, and get you to say you fear the Senatorial power of that section, they lead you into a mistiness that the construction of the Constitution is right, that powers do and ought to, gravitate more and more toward the general government. When you make the admission that Mr. Garfield is right in these assertions, you are establishing the mastery of these officials over your interest more than over those of the South. They can interfere a hundred fold more with your varied pursuits than with those of the less complicated industries of the southern states. They seek to remove Wall street to Washington; to organize officials into a board of brokers, with legal powers to depress values or to inflate prices.

What do we gain if we listen to appeals which aim to excite our prejudices against the South? It is a law of individual life that the man who hates and not the man hated, suffers most from unhealthy passions, from neglected interests. The law holds good as to communities. We have now strong illustrations of this truth. While our people have had their minds agitated by the denunciations of the South, they have not noticed the lengthy strides toward the control of their pursuits.

You will find that the jurisdiction these leaders seek is over the North, &c. over the South.

We charge that the Republican administration, from the close of the war in 1867 to 1877, inclusive—a period of eleven years—not only practiced repudiation, but by their conduct of public affairs investigated the controversies with regard to the currency and public debt. These never would have been excited under a wise and honest policy. Every business man knows that there is no form of repudiation so common and dangerous as that where the debtor, loudly professing his honor and at the same time wastes or misapplies his resources. This is as true of states as it is of persons. If, when the war was closed, the government had cut down its expenses, as it should have done it would at once have made such payments upon the public debt as would have checked the wild speculations that brought upon all classes so much distress in 1874. Official reports show the truth of this charge. During the period of which I speak the expenditures amounted to more than one thousand six hundred and forty five millions dollars, making a yearly average of more than a hundred and forty nine millions and five hundred thousand dollars. In this there are not included the cost of pensions, of interest, or the payments on the public debt; only the ordinary items for the war, the navy, and the Indian department, and the miscellaneous costs.

Before the war the highest expenses of government were less than one half this sum. If from 1867 to 1877 inclusive the government had spent one third more than it did annually from 1866 to 1861, it could have applied five hundred millions more than it has done toward the payment of its obligations. To show its extravagance, let us take the cost of the navy for the eleven years of peace. There has been spent upon it more than two hundred and forty nine millions dollars. This was directly after an expenditure of more than three hundred and fifty millions, from 1862 to 1866, inclusive. From the foundation of our government to 1867, its whole cost was only seven hundred and seventeen millions. We have spent more than one third in eleven years of peace of the sum expended in seven years of war, which included the events of three wars. Yet this period of more than three quarters of a century covered the war with the South, our invasion of Mexico and the war with Great Britain, when we gained so many triumphs upon the ocean. It was also during this long period that our shipping was only second to that of Great Britain. While we were wasting its vast sum we have had but a small and waning carrying trade, and now we are told that our navy is almost worthless in comparison with that of other powers.

If the taxes upon the people had been honestly applied, there would have been no "greenback" circulation, no "hard money" greenback circulation, no "hard money" greenback circulation, no "hard money" greenback circulation. The public believed the charge made by members of this Administration against the Republican party in the words of Mr. Schurz: "The party, in ninety-nine out of one hundred cases, has shielded fraud and corruption."

The waste and corruption growing out of the expenditures of government; the widespread demoralization in official

circles; the sums of money made by those who have grown from the process, much to the profit of the speculators, when the crash came in 1873, this aspect of our finances and our currency. When the crash came in 1873, this aspect of our finances and our currency, led to a crisis that for a time unsettled the public mind. The Republican party claim merit for the results of prosperous years of raising money in other countries, of the hard labor of our people over which they have had no control, they claim to be held responsible for the excess which grew out of their management where they have had no control. Mr. McCullough, who presided at a late Republican meeting in the city of Mr. Everts, who addressed it, were among the stand as witnesses, as honest men they would be to maintain the doctrine both in the light of morals and of the policy of public affairs. They could not speak in fact a course of action further to the public editors, and hurtful to the public interests. The public mind was shocked by the waste of the Administration, and incited by judicial decisions. I have a majority of the American people feel they were wrong by the decision which put Mr. Hayes in a Presidential chair. It was made, however, a step against the recorded wishes of the people. Not only the results, but the early steps leading to the result were marked by facts which will stand on the pages of history as acts of usurpation, springing from numberless schemes at the capitol of the union, growing out of the system of centralization. It is a mere contest between private interests, the winning party should show honors and emoluments upon the Court, the jurors, and the witnesses who gave a verdict, the moral sense of the community would be shocked and the public voice would ring out with cries of protest. Yet in this matter the members of the returning boards, the ready witnesses, the skillful party agents, fill the highest offices of state, they beat out country with other governments, or draw the salaries from the public treasury, with a clear sense of the fact that they have made the President, who made them officials, and their due regard for the public interest.

While there is a difference of opinion with regard to the facts and events of the electoral count of 1876, all must see that, as power and patronage concentrate and grow at Washington, a more dangerous excitement will attend Presidential elections. Men who mean to make millions by the passage of laws, will spend large sums to elect their chosen lawbreakers. The practice of obtaining from temptation is as wise for governments as for individuals. Our people must not suffer our capital to be made a den of conspirators by filling it with glittering prizes of wealth or ambition for those who will usurp power or will themselves for gold.

It is said by the Republican speakers that they want no "change." Neither do we want a change in our system of government, under which we have grown so great and prosperous. The industries of our people and the botanics of Providence have lifted us above the distress which was brought upon all classes by wild speculations. These grave by taxation from the people in wasteful expenditures, and had by all classes to look for wealth, not from industry and economy, but from speculations and demoralizing schemes. We protest against a change which will enable officials at Washington to meddle and interfere with the prosper as pursuits of our people. We are protesting against the untried theories which seek to change jurisdiction from the people to officials at Washington. We are combating the theories of Mr. Garfield that the government is changing, and ought to change. The Democratic party protest against the action, which unsettles the policy of our government, which threatens disturbance to all business pursuits, by putting control into the hands of those who know less than our citizens about their own affairs. We rebuke the theories of Mr. Garfield with words from the farewell address of Washington: "Let there be no change by usurpation, for, though this in one instance may be the instrument of good, it is the customary weapon by which the government is betrayed."

On the fourth day of March next the two candidates for the Presidency will each solemnly swear that they will "to the best of their abilities, protect, protect and defend the Constitution of the United States." This solemn ceremony will be observed by Mr. Garfield within the walls of the Capitol, when he takes his seat as Senator of Ohio. In a more impressive way, in the purr air of heaven, and before assembled multitudes of American citizens, General Hancock will in a like way, solemnly swear fully to execute the office of President of the United States. Each of these solemn oaths, with the same assumptions the obligation to preserve the Constitution. And yet no thought will be the difference in the minds of these two men with regard to the significance of their oaths. The one educated in the atmosphere of the Capitol, where power and prerogative are displayed in their most

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