

The Morning Star

W. H. BERNARD, Editors. OSCAR W. HARRIS, Editor.

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THE POSITION OF THE SOUTH ON THE PRESIDENTIAL QUESTION.

Foreseeing that irreparable damage would ensue to the Democratic party from a too active participation by the South in the contest over the nomination to be made at St. Louis in June, we have in several articles urged the policy of non-intervention. For the most part this is the expression of Southern newspapers of the Conservative party. It is the real feeling of the people in our party. A few journals—some of them edited with conspicuous ability—we regret to see pursuing a course which tends inevitably to distraction in the party councils, perhaps to an ultimate weak nomination. Our friend of the Charlotte Observer is not one of these. The Observer says, under the head of "The South Cannot be the Chooser":

"The Wilmington STAR comes out in some sensible remarks and advises the Southern newspapers to keep cool upon the subject of the Presidential candidates whose claims to the reality, revolving though it may be, that instead of being choosers we are at best only beggars, and must make the best out of what is proffered us. The South will be pretty much a unit for any candidate that the North prefers, and we think it both ill-timed and unwise in the Richmond and Petersburg papers to exhibit so much zeal on this particular juncture of affairs. If a majority of the Northern States desire in their primary conventions, as it seems probably they will do, that Tilden is an acceptable man, then it is the duty of the South to wheel into the line and give him her hearty and zealous support. We of the reconstructed States must be exceedingly cautious now and where we step, for we may stumble upon a torpedo at any moment which will blow us into atoms. We are going in to win and not to irritate or arouse the already too bitter hatred and envy existing at the North, even among that class who earnestly desire to see a change of the Administration. With a view to that end, we sincerely hope that no Southern State will send instructed delegates to the National Democratic Convention at St. Louis."

No instruction! Let every Southern State have a free, unpledged delegation that can cast its ballot for the strongest man. And no manufacture of sentiment in favor of any body! As the Observer says, and as we have said before, if a majority at the North are for Tilden, Tilden is the man. Our duty is to accept, not choose, either Tilden, Hancock, Bayard or any other man who is shown to have the finest opportunities for carrying the election. Out of the number of able and personally unexceptionable men who have been pressed for the nomination, cannot the people's favorite be named? If not, then the ranks of the Democratic party ought surely to contain such a person. The difficulty in the way of a choice is in the feud between the Ohio and the New York Democracy, to which the South must not become a party. We find prominent journals like the Baltimore Gazette making such intemperate remarks as these on the action of the Ohio Convention:

"The lunatics went back on all that the Democracy had gained in the past three years. The party has some great men as fighters, so the Ohio Democrats elect Mr. George H. Pendleton as president. It has earned some credit for adhesion to measures looking to specie payment, so they declare for the rag lady. It has gained some influence by its demand for a higher order of statesmanship, so they nominate Old Bill Allen, who is a 'warrior and Old Roman' of the worst type. Nothing can be done with these people. It is idle to appeal to the knobs on which they wear their hats. The only thing to do is to repudiate and disavow them as Democrats, and put them in quarantine. Pass around the hats for contributions to purchase disinfectants."

If Mr. Allen's friends committed a blunder, what will you call this?

No; this sectional business is all wrong. The nomination should be irrespective of section, except so far as securing votes is concerned. If the East can offer a better opportunity to elect a President, let the West yield the nomination to that section. It is perhaps natural for New York to claim as many honors as she does. We may not wish to indulge her in them, but if she can give assurance of victory, let her for the present have all she claims. The question is, can she assure victory?

The Eastern candidates, who are strongest before the people, those we mean who have been talked of much, are Tilden and Hancock. Tilden can probably carry New York—better, we think, without dissent than Tammany and the Canal ring than with them. Hancock might carry Pennsylvania. He would be likelier to carry it than Tilden. Tilden would be stronger in New York than Hancock. Tilden would be stronger in New England than almost any one else. Hancock would be a splendid reconciliation candidate. If reform is to be the leading feature, Tilden is

the more striking figure; if fraternity, Hancock. But the West comes in with Davis, who is endorsed as a thorough Democrat by a number of prominent and life-long Democrats. Having large intellectual and physical proportions, it would seem that Judge Davis would make a good enough candidate, as he would assuredly make a creditable President. He is understood to be a moderate hard money man, who is wonderfully popular in Illinois. If he can carry Illinois he will have a fair chance of carrying Indiana and Ohio. Judge Davis then, if he is pushed, in the present state of the popular mind, will make a formidable rival of Tilden for the nomination. Judge Thurman we regard as out of the race.

Going back to our starting point: There should be manifested at St. Louis by the Southern delegates no favoritism for this or that candidate, or line of policy on issues that are dividing the party. A close, observant, strictly impartial attitude will be found to have been the sensible thing when election day arrives. What is needed is harmony. West and East must make the nomination. If the South can help these sections to lay aside their rivalries and mutual dislikes and grudges by becoming genuinely reconciled, she will be justified in breaking the passive policy. If she can say, "Link Hancock and Hendricks, or Tilden and Palmer," and have her advice followed, then will she be entitled to the praises of all as the timely peace-maker. If the South cannot effectively play the role of pacificator, let her hold off until the hour of extremity arrives, and be prepared with the lights before her to do what is wisest and safest both for the Democratic party and the country.

STAR-PUNTS.

The income of James Gordon Bennett of the New York Herald, is estimated at \$2,500,000 per day.

The Fredericksburg Star says Gen. Fitz Lee, in consequence of other engagements, has been compelled to decline the command of the Southern battalion "Centennial Legion."

The New York Tribune heads a Washington dispatch "A Triumph for Blaine, Col. Scott Clears Him Completely." It is now in order for somebody to step forward and clear Col. Scott.—Knowlton's Tribune.

The New York World says that the wandering street pedlar is deluding the credulous housewife with a preparation for the resins of spoons. It is a salt of mercury which, when rubbed upon worn plate, imparts to it a brief argent gloss, but it comes off in the soap or the pudding, and salivates the family.

Heister Clymer is reported upon undoubted authority as saying that the charges against Pendleton are an unmitigated outrage. Mr. Danforth, a Republican member of the same committee, publishes a long article in the Baltimore Times, in connection with a long correspondence from Washington in the World, backed up by an editorial vindicating Pendleton, is significant. The World has heretofore been hostile to Pendleton.

THE PRESIDENT.

News and Views—The Great Struggle as Seen from a Variety of Standpoints.—Col. Waddell Expresses Himself.

THE SITUATION AS VIEWED BY HON. FERNANDO WOOD, OF NEW YORK. [Baltimore Gazette.]

Hon. Fernando Wood, of New York, at first, with some hesitancy, but in a moment, freely and with great frankness, thus expressed his views: "I have very little doubt of the success of the Democratic party in the approaching national contest. I do not deem it possible that the people of this country will continue the Republican party in power, as it has shown such incapacity and profligacy. Therefore, I assume it is very improbable that they will give to the Republicans the control of the next administration. There is a general demand for change of party and administrative policy. I think the general arrangement of the country and the depression of every branch of trade are directly traceable to the conduct of the party in power. Notwithstanding the many follies American people occasionally commit, there is a strong vein of common sense lying at the foundation of our social organization, and disgusted, doubtless, as many are, by the machinations and selfishness of politicians, this common sense will assert itself at the polls in demanding and procuring a radical change of government. In my long experience, extending the third of a century in public life, I have frequently noted that like causes to those which now exist have produced the results which I anticipate in this case. Whilst I do not think that the struggle which is to take place in the National Convention, with reference to our candidate, will produce any evil effects on the organization of the Democratic party, which will remain intact under all circumstances, yet it will be politic to nominate with reference to the influences and prejudices which may exist. Although, as a citizen of the State of New York, I naturally have an affinity with my State, yet I do not think that our success in New York is dependent upon our nomination of any candidate from that State. Indeed, there are reasons for believing, in the present juncture which exist in the Democratic party, that an unexceptionable candidate

not living in its borders would be more certain to carry the State than any one who resides there. New York is a debatable ground. Politically it swings like the pendulum of a clock, from one extreme to the other. Sometimes we give from twenty to fifty thousand majority, and again at the ensuing election as large a majority the other way. However strong we may be attached to our leading statesman, candor compels me to admit that the animosities which have been engendered by their participation with the internal struggle within the organization of the party are difficult to eradicate, even at the polls at a Presidential election. Therefore, in the interest of success, I think that if the St. Louis Convention will nominate as the candidate one whose public and private life is beyond reproach, and who will recognize the organization and the platform of the Democratic party as laid down in that Convention, we can do better with him if he lives outside of New York than if he resides within the State. If the West can unite on such a gentleman I will ensure him New York by over twenty thousand majority. Senator Bayard stands exceedingly well. He is high-toned, with a personal and public life without a blemish, and would be as strong as any other Eastern man who could be named. It is folly to say of him that he comes from a small State, as such a man as he belongs to the whole country.

In conclusion, I would say that if the West should present with any degree of unanimity the name of Judge David Davis, and he should be nominated, in my opinion he would carry three-fourths of the electoral vote of the United States, for the reason that while he is a thorough Democrat in line with the Democratic party, he is thoroughly unassailable. It will be the policy of the Republicans to put our party on the defensive from the start, as it has done for the past twelve years, and they have whipped us on that line of fight. They cannot do that against Davis. I claim to be a Bourbon, a Bourbon straight. There is not an 'r' that I have not dotted nor a 't' that I have not crossed in the Democratic alphabet. I entered this House in 1840, thirty-six years ago, and I have never wavered nor hesitated. As such a Democrat Davis is entirely acceptable to me and those I represent. In saying this I mean no disparagement of Mr. Thurman, Mr. Hendricks, or any other leading man of the West, and certainly not of the East."

HON. A. M. WADDELL'S VIEWS. [Baltimore Gazette, Saturday.]

Hon. A. M. Waddell, of North Carolina, representative from the Third, or Wilmington district, spoke as follows upon the situation: "While I have decided opinions of my own in regard to the policy of the Democratic party in the pending presidential contest, my estimate of the popular sentiment in North Carolina is based, to a large extent, on the expressions of the newspapers. I know the sentiment of my own district very well, and believe I know the general opinion in the State. Ninety-nine men out of a hundred there, if asked, would say, 'give us an available man who is a sound Democrat, and we will be content.' The people of North Carolina have an admiration for Bayard, amounting almost to personal affection. They regard him as a man of great abilities and lofty character, worthy of the name he bears. Their only fear about him is that, if nominated, his very excellencies (as they regard them) would be used as weapons against him. They consider Thurman as one of the ablest statesmen and constitutional lawyers in America, and would gladly support him, but I apprehend that the action of the convention at Cincinnati has destroyed his chances. Why that convention should have nominated a defeated candidate on the same old platform, is one of the eccentricities of our politics. I say this without intending to express any opinion of Governor Allen's ability or fitness for the Presidency. Mr. Hendricks is also popular in North Carolina, and would get a hearty support if nominated. As to Gov. Tilden, I think the general sentiment is about as follows: His reform movement in New York, and his success by so large a majority the first time he was regarded as a very hopeful sign, and made him very popular, but the result of the next election there, which was said to have been controlled by him, in which the majority was so largely reduced, has created the fear that he could not carry his own State, which is absolutely necessary. Another element of anxiety about him if nominated is to be found in the aversion of our people to the idea of having the elections and the administration of the government controlled in the interest of eastern capital. These things, and the fact that New York has already tried three candidates without success, render Mr. Tilden in their opinion not the strongest candidate whom the Democracy could select, but they will give him their full strength if nominated. Judge Davis is regarded as an honest and able man, who would make an acceptable President, and the idea prevails that while perfectly sound on the money question, he would poll, perhaps, a larger vote in the West than anybody else. Still candor compels me to say that since the Greeley campaign there are numbers of people who will never again vote for any man who is not a square Democrat and so recognized. Unfortunately, Judge Davis is in a position which prohibits him from talking politics, and although I personally believe him to be a good Democrat, as anybody, the masses of the people only know him as a Republican. If his friends would only come out plainly and avowedly announce his entire sympathy

with the Democratic party, so that the people would understand it fully, I believe he would get the unanimous support of the voters of North Carolina. These seem to be the most prominent candidates now. There may be a "Great Unknown" in the Democratic ranks. Blaine seems to be looming up higher than ever. If the Democrats cannot beat him they cannot beat anybody, and, therefore, I hope he will receive the Republican nomination. There is one thing which the northern Democrats ought to bear in mind. The South is now a unit, and will probably cast about 130 Democratic electoral votes. With this state of things staring them in the face, if the northern and western Democrats go to fighting one another over the money question or the like, and thereby lose the election, they will never see a united South again. The people will despair about federal politics, and devote themselves exclusively to their own State and local affairs."

PRESS COMMENTS.

Baltimore Gazette: It is not a question of the nomination at St. Louis, but of the election.

The New York Tribune now concludes that the selection of William M. Everts as the Republican candidate for the Presidency is not an improbable contingency.

The New Jersey Herald would have the Democracy understand that to carry that State they must make ex-Governor Joel Parker their Presidential nominee.

Petersburg Index-Appeal: Old Bill Allen is like Samson in one respect; he kills himself, but he also pulls down the temple upon the heads of Thurman and Tilden.

The New York Tribune has discovered signs that General Hancock is to be pressed to the front with renewed vigor as the Democratic candidate, and that the movement will probably start from Washington.

Asheville Citizen: Tilden and Hendricks we believe will sweep the country. With them as candidates the honest people of the country feel that if they should not succeed, they will have done more, deserved success.

Christiansburg (Va.) Messenger: Already the choice is narrowed to a triangle, with Blaine at the apex of the Republican and Tilden at the apex of the Democratic. Conkling and Bristow complete the former; Hendricks and Hancock the latter.

New York Sun: We think it would trouble the most sanguine supporters of Mr. Blaine to name ten delegates out of the two hundred and two from New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio, and Indiana whom they know of their own personal knowledge to be for the nomination of Blaine. Does not this end his case?

Index-Appeal: Gen. Hancock still remains as the embodiment of moderation, integrity, patriotism, and fidelity to the constitution, and as the central figure and rallying point around which all parties, sects and sections of the United States can enthusiastically gather.

Chicago Tribune: The real struggle is between Bristow and Blaine. They are the candidates of the Western States after the "favorite-sonny" nonsense is disposed of. The Bristow men in the West, if forced to an acknowledgment that he cannot be nominated, will undoubtedly go over to Blaine; and the Blaine men in the West, when convinced that their candidate cannot be nominated, will go over to Bristow.

Petersburg Post: The naked choice then is narrowed down between Hancock and Tilden, and the selection should be made simply on considerations of availability; for as to the relative merits and qualifications of these two men there can be no debate, and will be none. Viewing the issue at this time in this light, we are compelled to give it as our opinion that Governor Tilden has so far manifested more strength in the different sections, and can probably command more electoral votes than General Hancock or any other named man.

Richmond Whig: We believe the sloughing off of the notoriously corrupt organization of Tammany, and the canal ring of plunderers, will add two votes for Mr. Tilden in his own State for every one he might thereby lose. That he would carry New York we have not the least doubt, but we would fear the issue should another be the choice of the St. Louis Convention.

Richmond Enquirer: There remains in the field one who, from the first, we have declared to be our choice on every ground save the desirability of conciliating the West; and the time has arrived when the unanimity of the Democratic masses in his favor should be no longer suppressed. Principle and expediency now alike point to the desirability of the nomination of Thomas F. Bayard, of Delaware, as the Democratic candidate for the Presidency. Here is a man whose selection would offend no faction, no section.

Wilson Advance: Now if Governor Tilden, whose past course is a guarantee for the future, and whose bold and conspicuous stand against dishonesty in all quarters has so thoroughly identified his name with reform, that his nomination will inspire confidence everywhere, and more likely than any other secure the electoral vote of the Empire State, the Convention will act wisely in making him our standard bearer, because with honesty, capability and fidelity, he would possess availability which must be considered, when so much depends on the result, and the defeat of the Democratic party will be a calamity from which the country can never recover.

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