

CENTRAL EXPRESS



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CLEVELAND AND GRADY

Make Speeches Before the Business Men of Boston.

Grover Cleveland is still the man of the hour. A banquet was given him and Henry W. Grady on the night of the 12th, inst., by the business men of Boston, at which both men made timely speeches. When Mr. Cleveland came forward, he was greeted with shouts of applause, handkerchiefs and hats flying in every direction. Following appears Mr. Cleveland's speech:

POLITICAL SELFISHNESS.

Political selfishness cheapens in the minds of the people their appreciation of the character and functions of the government; it distorts every conception of the duty of good citizenship and creates an atmosphere in which iniquitous purposes and designs lose their odious features. It begins when a perverted judgment is won to the theory that political action may be used solely for private gain and advantage, and when a tender conscience is quieted by the ingenious argument that such gain and advantage are identical with the public welfare. This stage having been reached and self-interest being now fully aroused, agencies are used and practices permitted in the accomplishment of its purposes, which seen in the pure light of disinterested patriotism, are viewed with fear and hatred. The independent thought and free political preference of those whom Fate has made dependent upon daily toil for hard earned bread, are strangled and destroyed by intimidation and the fear of loss of employment. Vile unsavory forms rise to the surface of our agitated political waters, and gleefully anticipate in the anxiety of selfish interest, their opportunity to fatten upon corrupted and debauched sufferage.

CORRUPTION OF VOTERS.

This train of thought leads us to consider the imminent danger which threatens us from the intimidation and corruption of our voters. It is too late to temporize with these evils or to speak of them otherwise than in the plainest terms. We are spared the labor of proving their existence, for all admit it. They are terribly on the increase all must concede.

Manifestly if the motive of all our citizens were unselfish and patriotic, and if they sought in political action only their share of the advantage accruing from the advance of our country at all points towards her grand destiny, there would be no place or occasion for the perversion of our suffrage. Thus the inauguration of the intimidation and corruption of our voters may be justly charged to selfish schemes seeking success through political action. But these evils have been neglected by honest men disgusted with all political endeavor; they have been tolerated by respectable men, who in weakness of patriotic sentiment, have regarded them as only phases of shrewd political management, and they have been actually encouraged by the honors which have been bestowed upon those who boast of their use of such agencies in aid of party supremacy.

A FREE BALLOT.

Many of us therefore, may take to ourselves a share of blame, when we find confronting us these perils which threaten the existence of our free institutions, the preservation of our national honor and the perpetuity of our country. The condition annexed to the founding of our government upon the suffrage of the people, was that the suffrage of the people, should be free and pure. We consented to abide by the honest preponderance of political opinion, but we did not consent that a free voter expressing the intelligent and thoughtful sentiment of the voter, should be balanced by vote of intimidation and fear or by an unclean, corrupt vote, disgracefully bought and treacherously sold.

Let us look, with a degree of pity and charity upon those who yield to fear and intimidation in the exercise of their suffrage. Though they ought not thus to yield, we cannot forget that as against their free ballot, they see in the scale, their continued employment, the comforts of their homes and the maintenance of their families. We need not stifle our scorn and contempt for the wretch who basely sells his vote, and who for a bribe betrays his trust of citizenship. And yet the thought will intrude itself, that he but follows in a low and vulgar fashion, the example of those who proceed upon the theory that political action may be turned into private gain.

NO SURRENDER.

But whether we pity or whether we hate, our betrayal is none the less complete; nor will either pity or hate restore our birthright. But we know that when political selfishness is destroyed our dangers will disappear, and though the way to its stronghold may be long and weary, we will follow it—fighting as we go. There will be no surrender, nor will there be desertions from our ranks. Selfishness and corruption have not yet achieved a lasting triumph, and their bold defiance will but hasten the day of their destruction.

As we struggle on and confidently invite a direct conflict with these entrenched foes of our political safety, we have not failed to see another hope which has manifested itself to all the honest people of the land. It teaches them that though they may not immediately destroy at their source the evils which afflict them, they may check their malignant influence and guard themselves against their baneful results. It assures them that if political virtue and rectitude can not at once be thoroughly restored to the republic the activity of baser elements may be discouraged. It inspires them with vigilant watchfulness and determination to prevent as far as possible their treacherous betrayal by those who are false to their obligations of citizenship.

THE DAY IS NEAR.

This hope, then like the Star in the East, has fixed the gaze of our patriotic fellow-countrymen; and everywhere—in our busy marts of trade and on our farms—in our cities and in our villages—in the dwellings of the rich and in the homes of the poor—in our universities and in our workshops—in our banking houses and in the ranks of inexorable toil—they greet with enthusiastic acclaim the advent of Ballot Reform.

There are no leaders in this cause. Those who seem to lead the movement are but swept to the front by the surging force of patriotic sentiment. It rises far above partisanship; and only the heedless, the timid and the depraved refuse to join in the crusade.

FOR THE AUSTRALIAN SYSTEM.

The reform is predicted upon the cool deliberation of political selfishness in its endeavor to prostitute our suffrage to the purpose of private gain. It is rightly supposed that corruption of the voter is entered upon with such business calculation that the corruptor will only pay a bribe when he has ocular proof that the suffrage he has bargained for is cast in his interest. So too it is reasonably expected that if the employe or laborer is at the time of casting his ballot removed from the immediate control of his employer, the facility of fear and intimidation will lead to their abandonment.

The change demanded by this reform in the formalities surrounding the exercise of the privilege of suffrage, has given rise to real or pretended solicitude for the rights of our voters; and the fear has been expressed that inability on the part of electors to conform to the requirements of the proposed change, might produce great inconvenience

and in some cases result in disfranchisement. It has even been suggested that the inauguration of the new plan might encroach upon unconstitutionality guarantees.

BWARE OF ENEMIES.

It will not do to accuse of hostility to the reform all those who present these objections; but it is not amiss to inspect their ranks for enemies in disguise. Though the emergency which is upon us is full of danger and though we sadly need relief all rights should be scrupulously preserved. But there should be no shuffling, and no frivolous objections should be tolerated. When a dwelling is in flames we use no set phrase of speech to warn its inmates and no polite and courtly touch to effect their rescue. Experience has often demonstrated how quickly obstacles which seemed plausible is not convincing when urged against a measure of reform, are dissipated by the test of trial, and how readily a new order of things adjusts itself to successful use.

CIVIL SERVICE REFORM.

I remember the inauguration of another reform; and I have seen it grow and extend, it has become firmly established in our laws and practice. It is today our greatest safeguard against the complete and disgraceful degradation of our public service. It had its enemies and all of them are not yet silenced. Those openly and secretly unfriendly, said in the beginning that the scheme was impracticable and unnecessary; that it created an office-holding class; that it established burdensome and delusive tests for entry in the public service which should be open to all; that it put in the place of real merit and efficiency, scholastics acquirements; that it limited the discretion of those charged with the selection of public employes, and that it was unconstitutional. But its victory came—wrought by the force of enlightened public sentiment—and upon its trial every objection which had been urged against it was completely credited.

As it has been with Civil Service Reform, so will it be with Ballot Reform, except that the coming victory will be more speedily achieved and will be more complete.

Henry W. Grady, the eloquent editor of the Atlanta Constitution, has been again trying to teach the Boston yankees something about the Southern negro. Among other things he said:

The Southern States will give this year a cotton crop worth \$450,000,000, and its equivalent in grain, grass and fruit. Such crops could not come from discontented labor, unrequited. The tax books of Georgia show that the negro in that State alone, who, twenty years ago was a slave, owns property assessed and \$10,000,000 and worth twice that much. What people under like circumstances has ever done so well?

And the public schools bear testimony to the work done on behalf of the negro. For while the whites in Georgia pay 97 per cent of the school fund, amounting to more than a million a year, 40 per cent of the beneficiaries are black children. The South, since 1865, has spent out of its poverty \$122,000,000 on education and this year will spend \$37,000,000 more. Charleston, prostrated by the exhaustion of the war and its subsequent disasters, spends a large proportion of its taxable value on its schools than does Boston.

But education is not the only or chief help to the solution of the problem. It is a slow process but Mr. Grady says:

In the South there are negro lawyers, teachers, editors, doctors, preachers, working in peace and multiplying with the increasing ability of their race to support them. In villages and towns they have their military companies equipped from the armories of the State, their

churches and societies built and supported largely by their neighbors. What is the testimony of the courts? In penal legislation we have steadily reduced felonies to misdemeanors and have led the world in mitigating punishment for crime, that we might save, as far as possible, this dependent race from its own weakness. In our penitentiary record sixty per cent of the prosecutors are negroes and every court the negro criminal strikes the colored juror, that white men may judge in his case. In the North one negro in every 185 is in jail; in the South only one in 449. In the North the per centage of negro prisoners is six times as great as that of native whites; in the South only four times as great. If prejudice wrongs him in Southern courts, the record shows it to be deeper in Northern courts.

The Philadelphia Times, a newspaper that has generally been fair in its treatment of the South, commenting on the above says:

What nonsense to talk as though the white people in the South were "terrorizing" or trying to "re-enslave" the negroes whom they are thus slowly but steadily leading out of barbarism and helping to become self-respecting and sustaining citizens. And how much worse than nonsense it is to suppose that the meddling interference of Congress is needed or can in any way assist in the healthy solution of one of the most appalling problems ever thrown upon any people—a problem that the South is working out for itself with a courage and a success unparalleled in history.

The New Law and the Doctors.

The Charlotte News states that the new law bearing on the doctors in this State, goes into effect on January 1st. After that date heavy penalties are prescribed for all physicians who practice without a certificate of registration, obtained from the clerk of the Superior Court. To get this certificate, the doctor shall produce and exhibit before the clerk a license obtained from the Board of Medical Examiners, or a diploma issued by a regular medical college prior to the seventh day of March, 1885, or make oath that he was practicing medicine or surgery in this State prior to the said seventh day of March, 1885; and upon such exhibit or oath being made as aforesaid, the clerk shall register the date of registration with the name and residence of such applicant in a book to be kept for this purpose in his office, marked "Register of Physicians and Surgeons," and shall issue to him a certificate of such registration under the seal of the Supreme Court of the county upon the form furnished him, as hereinafter provided, for which the clerk shall be entitled to collect from said applicant a fee of twenty-five cents. The person obtaining said certificate shall be entitled to practice medicine or surgery, or both, in the county where the same was obtained, and in any other county in this State; but if he shall remove his residence to another county he shall exhibit said certificate to the Clerk of such other county and be registered, which registration shall be made by said Clerk without fee or charge; Provided, that any one having obtained a temporary license, as provided in section three thousand one hundred and twenty-five of The Code, shall not be entitled to register, but may practice during the time that such license shall remain in force.

Section 5 provides that any person who shall practice or attempt to practice medicine or surgery in this State without first having registered and obtained the certificate as aforesaid, shall be guilty of a misdemeanor, and upon conviction thereof shall be fined not less than twenty-five dollars nor more than one hundred dollars, or be imprisoned at the discretion of the Court, for each and every offense.

INGERSOLL'S PHILOSOPHY.

Has the Great Agnostic Yielded a Point for Immortality.

NEW YORK, Dec. 7th.—"It may be that we live no more; that we go back to the unconscious dust; and yet the heart will always say, 'Perhaps there is another life.'"

Has Colonel Ingersoll begun to change his views about the doctrines of the Christian faith, which hitherto he has been thought to have held an absolute unbelief?

A lawyer of this city well known in professional life has distributed among some of his friends a brochure in which he has applied to the doctrine of immortality the law of circumstantial evidence; but although full of interest for itself, it is still more remarkable and is likely to be much more extensively examined from the fact that it has inspired a letter made public to-day written by Col. Ingersoll to the author, Mr. E. R. Jhones, in which the great agnostic, as he is considered and as he has called himself very recently, expresses some remarkable ideas.

Colonel Ingersoll's letter is still full of those denials which have placed him at the head of the agnostic school in this country; but there is in it a tone of admission that is unmistakable.

Mr. Jhones' essay is an attempt to show that there is circumstantial evidence enough to indicate that there is a hereafter. Of it Bishop Henry C. Potter says: "It is interesting and shows great ingenuity."

COLONEL INGERSOLL'S VIEW.

But Colonel Ingersoll is not content with this, and it seems to have affected him deeply. He says:

If we admit the existence of infinite wisdom and compassion we must say that there must be a world better than this; but how do we account for one worse than that—that is to say than this. If justice triumphs here, why not there? If honesty, goes without bread in this world, why not in another? Certainly God will be not better than now. Still it may be possible that a God of infinite love and compassion will reward those who suffer, though suffering itself—that all that happens will be consistent with wisdom and compassion.

I do not see any evidence in this world that it was created either by wisdom or compassion. Nor do I see what right we have to say, that man has a spiritual body, any more than trees have. The tree springs from a seed; so does man. The trees produce others and then perish from the earth. The same is true of the human race. You have had the courage to accept the logic of your position and give to all life the immortality that Christians give to man. I hardly know the meaning of the words Spiritualists and Materialists. I do not see that it makes the slightest difference with the argument to admit that everything is "spiritual" or to assert that everything is "material." He who asserts that all is "spiritual" admits the existence of everything that another calls "material," and he who insists that all is "material," admits the existence of everything that another called "spiritual." Call it what you will, it remains beyond the grasp of your mind.

MILTON'S HEAVEN CRITICIZED.

I congratulate you on what you said concerning the war figures of Milton. His "heaven" was simply another England, with a government somewhat worse. You have endeavored to establish your doctrine by reason, by something universal, and you have wisely left out the provincialisms, the prejudices and peculiarities of Christianity. Love and hope are universal. As long as men love and as long as they hope there will probably be in heart and brain the splendid dream of immortality.

It may be that we live no more; that we go back to the unconscious dust, and yet the heart will always say, "Perhaps there is another life." But whether there is or not, let us all paint on the canvass of the future, the picture that delights and satisfies the Soul. We know that in this world after grief comes joy as after light comes day.

EFFECT OF THE LETTER.

This letter, when it was read by the few who saw it exhibited the utmost surprise, because it gave at once the idea that Colonel Ingersoll had at last begun to feel that agnosticism was but a poor creed.

"I think," said a distinguished clergyman to whom the letter was shown, "that Colonel Ingersoll has revised his conception of his chief doctrine of Christianity. He says that the idea can not safely rest upon the inspiration of the Bible, but when he admits the universality of those principles which alone have any basis when they are considered in connection with a future life and says that a God of infinite love may bring happiness and a reward to those who have sorrow and grief in this he admits a great deal."

Colonel Ingersoll has lately uttered other words publicly which contain the same note of change in the rigor of his scepticism. The effect of his letter in the circumscribed circle who have read it has been very striking, and many have been led to examine their own views.

The War and Politics.

New York Times.

The remarks of the press upon Jefferson Davis, so far as they have been received, are of an unusual and hopeful interest. In a survey of them it is not necessary to take account of the "organs," which are written according to their retainers, and in which the President of the Confederate States accordingly appears as a monster, either of unmitigated depravity or of unmitigated virtue. But in all the newspapers that have opinions of their own and express the same, there is an evident effect to estimate the career of Davis with entire fairness and without reference to any bearing it may have upon our present politics. The articles of intelligent and honest American papers are conceived and written in a spirit as purely critical and historical as the articles of European newspapers that have been transmitted to us by the cable. The opinion of foreigners was long ago said to foreshadow the opinion of posterity. In each case the fact of the knowledge of events that is had by the actors in them is more than compensated by disinterestedness. In this country at this time we have the advantage of both these helps to right conclusions. The facts themselves of the war are very much better known now than while the war was in progress or immediately after its close. All the conspicuous survivors of the actors in the events of the years between Sumter and Appomattox have put their countrymen in possession of all that they knew, and their countrymen have dispassionately drawn their own opinions from the facts thus furnished. Though a man need not yet be advanced in years to remember the war, or even to have taken part in it, we are, in fact, posterity to the generation of men by whom the war was carried on in council or in the field. As the death of Davis has shown, in a more striking and conspicuous way than any event that preceded it, we are prepared to exhibit toward these men the dispassionate temper of posterity, and to judge them as fairly as if the war were five generations away instead of one. Indeed the people of the North are now much better prepared to do justice to the Southerners of a generation ago than Americans of any section are to justice to the loyalists of a century ago.

This showing ought to have important practical consequences. It means very emphatically that the civil war has at last been "taken out

of politics." It is really in the view of a great majority of the voters, as idle to talk about the "Southern policy" of an Administration as to talk about its Western policy. Doubtless the war has left results that constitute political problems, or rather it would be more accurate to say that the institution of slavery has left such results. It is difficult to see, however, what the General Government either can do or should towards the solution of these problems, which must be solved at their own peril, by the communities in which the blacks are numerous enough to raise a "negro question." It is certain that when the General Government undertook to promote the solution of this question, in the lawlessness of the period of reconstruction, it did nothing but mischief and reduced several Southern States to a condition nearer anarchy and barbarism than had ever prevailed on American soil before.

Nevertheless, neither the blunders of reconstruction nor the much less excusable blunders of the period that followed it availed to shake the popular confidence in the Republican party or the popular distrust of the Democratic party. The Republican party to use the expression of its own platforms, was the party that had saved the Union, and the Democratic party, was the party that had tried to destroy it. As an excuse for Republican blunders and a cover for Republican scandals this claim recalled the funeral oration upon Colonel Yell, of Yellville, who had not accounted satisfactorily for the funds of the bank of which he was president, but whose remarks upon the occasion of its failure "showed that his heart still beat warmly for his native land." In spite of its absurdity the claim was admitted by the voters of the country, who virtually licensed the Republican party to misgovern it. No set of men that ever lived could be trusted with such a license, and it was quite natural that after the successful inauguration of Hayes and the election of Garfield the holders of the license should proceed to such an extreme affront to the conscience as the nomination of Mr. Blaine. His defeat broke the spell, but it did not prevent the Republican leaders from trusting to the "war record" of their party to save it from the consequences of any crime or blunders they might commit. Now they understand that the party must stand or fall by its present merits and not by its historical merits.

We have been a long time reaching this desirable point, but we have now arrived there. With the press of the country discussing Jefferson Davis as calmly as if he had been dead a hundred years, and with Iowa "going Democratic," the most fervid Republican must own that it is necessary to the party to think a little about its present and its future instead of losing itself in a rapt contemplation of its past.

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