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THE WEAK POINT IN THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY.

The Ablest Democrats in Congress are from the South.

Emerson, writing of politics in the United States a generation ago, somewhere says: "Of the two great parties which at this hour almost share the nation between them, I should say one has the best cause, and the other contains the best men." With more truth, in so far as concerns the Northern States, might the same be said of the political parties of to-day. The Democratic party, nationally speaking, while advocating the juster and sounder policy, either cannot or will not avail itself of the services of its ablest men. The character and intellect of the party in the North have for the most part no share in its administration or legislative life. The strongest defence of the present Democratic National policy comes not from the party's accredited Northern representatives, but from Northern institutions of learning and the Northern independent press. Do but compare the relative ability and importance of Northern Democrats and Republicans in the Federal Congress. In this chief representative body of the Union, how woefully deficient in superior men is the Northern Democratic delegation in both Houses. Of the fifty-seven Northern Democratic Representatives, not more than a half dozen are able to cope in debate with the one Republican delegation from the State of Maine. They are, with a few notable exceptions, either mute mediocrities whose names are unknown outside of the capitol and their own Representative districts, or demagogues whose official elevation is to their party a standing reproach. In the Senate whose few Northern Democratic members might be supposed to be the strongest and ablest men of the party in their respective States, all save one are so obscure that an almanac needs to be consulted to know who they are.

Never before has the Democratic party in the North been in such a condition of intellectual poverty at the Federal capital. Against the five or six Northern Democrats able to take up the gage whenever it is thrown down to them, there is a whole phalanx of able and trained Republican debaters who look with contempt upon the successors of Thurman and Hendricks and Kerr and Morrison and Hewitt. For while money and machine politics have lowered the average standard of ability among Republican legislators, they have not been able to deprive the Republican party of a score or more of men, any one of whom possesses enough of the quality of intellectual leadership to compel attention throughout the whole Union wherever he may have caught to say. If partisan advantage has become the main object of contention between political parties in the North, the advocates of greater ability and reputation are certainly retained by the Republican party.

This assuredly is sufficient cause for party weakness at any time; but for the last quarter of a century it has been accentuated by the preponderance of the South in Federal legislation during Democratic ascendancy. Ability and character must of necessity make themselves felt in the business of legislation as in other business. Mr. Cleveland was obliged to depend chiefly upon Southern Senators and Representatives as leaders in Congressional action. Mr. Carlisle, from among fourteen Representatives of his party from the great State of New York, could find no one of sufficient character and capacity to be entrusted with more than the chairmanship of a second-rate committee. All the Northern Democratic Senators and Representatives who distinguished themselves as defenders of the principles of their party were

to be counted upon the fingers of one hand. Yet their party possessed a working majority in one branch of Congress, and very nearly one in the other, through the whole of Mr. Cleveland's administration.

With or without reason, the majority of Northern men will, for the lifetime of this generation, look with suspicion, if not with hostility, upon Southern ascendancy in Federal legislation. Thousands of Republican electors in the North during the last ten years have been kept from bolting their party only by this fear of Southern supremacy. "The South again in the saddle" did more to change the majority in the lower House than did "British Free Trade." The Democratic movement towards revenue reform was opposed by a host of Republicans who believed in reform along the same lines, but feared entrusting it to the Southern men. Had such Northern Democrats as David A. Wells, Edmund J. Phelps, Geo. Hoadley, and John M. Palmer been associated in charge of this movement along with Representatives Mills, Breckenridge and Carlisle, there would have been toward it a different state of feeling. It is wholly useless to denounce this prejudice, founded as it is upon human passion, the same all the world over. Though proved baseless, this distrust of the South will continue to be, for a time, as it has been so long already, the main capital of the Republican party, whereon the expectations of its managers can always most surely be based. Nothing would serve more toward the overcoming this feeling than the bringing forward by the Democrats, as Congressional candidates, of the many honored Union soldiers who, since the close of the war, have acted with their party. Offset the Democratic "Rebel Brigadiers," every one, with a Democratic Union Brigadier, and at the same time invite to the front civic ability and intellectual power. How shall the Democratic party hope to be supported by the character and intelligence of the North so long as it delegates the business of legislation to men whom the great body of character and intelligence either despises or ignores.

Certain political thinkers and students of government declare that a democratic constituency can have superior men for its legislators. Such ones assert that modern democracy indirectly works the same result as the ancient Athenian democracy compassed by the law of ostracism—the exclusion from its service of the best; enmity toward which is democracy's ruling genius. If this is true, American democracy must abandon its main principle or go the same way as did the democracy of Athens. Do, however, the majority of the Democratic party of the North really prefer Cleon to Pericles for office? or do they have Cleon thrust upon them unawares, or whether they will or no? Does the honest industrious, and thinking portion of our Democratic electors really desire graduates from the bar room and police-court, or wire-pulling experts, or dumb dogs with "influence" to represent it in the conduct of legislation? Does it not desire and expect that its political leaders shall be natural leaders—men of mind, of character and of courage? Did not Mr. Cleveland's brave message in advocacy of revenue reform do more toward inspiring the Democratic heart than did the shuffling and double-faced policy of expediency during twenty years?

The National Democratic party of the United States is a great party, the leadership of which in time past, if not upon the whole equal intellectuality to the leadership of its opponents, has contained men who in vigor of thought and action were the peers of any whom this country ever produced. Considering that the leaders of both its original and its later opponents were men who had

carried off the laurels in two successful wars; considering the follies and rascalities which have been perpetrated in its name; it should be before this have ceased to exist as an organization. Nevertheless it has outlived two antagonists, and to-day confronts the third and most powerful one of all with a strength equal to that of any period in its history. The secret of this extraordinary vitality is in the fundamental principles of the party being in touch with the age spirit. Its adversaries have prevailed against it only as they have appropriated to themselves those principles which are peculiarly its own.

The partisan, prodigal, and centralizing policy of the party now in power, its championship of special and disregard of general interests, have provoked against it a felling of resentment equal to that which produced the political transformation of 1847. That this feeling will be reflected in the coming Congressional election is almost certain. The Republican leaders do not deny it. Do they, however, make any effort to dissipate this feeling? On the contrary, their every movement appears as if designed to lighten it. Their apparent end is the making sure of a senatorial majority for the next six years, hoping thus to block all repeal of their legislation for that length of time, though, meanwhile, they lose the House of Representatives and even the next administration. They reckon as a foregone conclusion that the Democratic Congressional delegation from the North will continue to be made up mainly of dullards and demagogues who will do either nothing or worse than nothing; that the brunt of responsibility will fall upon the South, and thereby furnish them with their old shibboleth, of which again successfully to make use before the Senate passes from their control. In this way their protected industries may be made secure in their monopoly, and fat may continue to be fried therefrom as partisan or personal exigencies may require.

Will the Democratic party again throw away its opportunity? The main political battle-ground of this country is the lower House of Congress. Upon the quality of its representatives in this arena largely depends the success of either party. Of this the Republican party is well enough aware. Whomever it may elect for the Chief Magistracy or for the Senate, be assured it will not fail to be well represented here. Cannot the Democratic party in the North next fall send to Washington more such Representatives as it sent to the Fiftieth Congress from the State of Massachusetts, or its present Representative from the Nineteenth District of the State of New York? Does any Democrat doubt what would be the moral effect upon the electors of the whole North could such Representatives as these supersede the ten or eleven "Hall" and Ring proteges from the cities of New York and Brooklyn. In these two Democratic cities are to be found Democratic soldiers, scholars, orators, publicists, jurists, and men of affairs whose names stand for integrity and ability all over the Union. To elect a Congressional delegation from these Democratic strongholds, composed of such material, would bring the party greater strength than would be brought to it by the election of a President.

Speaking from the Book.

A Republican on his Party.
"I am an old line Republican, one of the fire-tried sort, and am a Republican, to day; but I will confess that I have never seen the hour when I thought a Southern white man could be a Republican and be decent. I was a Republican for money."

The above are the words of D. L. Bringle, Esq., former postmaster of Salisbury.
The New York Herald is for a Southern man as the next presidential nominee of the democratic party. If there were a great many such great impartial, independent patriotic thinkers as the Herald's people this proposition, fair as it is, would be acted upon at once. As it is the old rule of the nominees from the doubtful States will doubtless prevail.

THE SCHOLAR IN POLITICS.

Bishop Potter Should Study Him in Washington.

National Democrat.
In his address before the Phi Beta Kappa Society Bishop Potter gave the impression that the University man is a creature whom much learning has made mad with sublimity, and that his habit it is to stand, "grand, gloomy and peculiar," and frown upon the uneducated men who take narrow, selfish views of things, and are glossy partisans and rather callous in their moral natures. The Bishop begs the members of the Phi Beta Kappa Society to descend into the political arena, and with their liberal ideas, and broad minds, and unselfish purposes and high sense of honor, rescue public affairs from the ignorant and self-seeking populace. Instead of going to Cambridge the Bishop should have come to Washington. He ought to have studied that interesting insect, the Scholar in Politics in Congress instead of in the Phi Beta Kappa Society. The Scholar is already in politics; he has not waited for any appeals from Bishop Potter. He is in politics, but he did not bring his broad mind, his liberal ideas or his tender conscience with him. He found them impediments to his political progress and he left them in the halls of the Phi Beta Kappa, whose motto "Philosophy is the Guide of Life," he has laid aside for the watch word "Get There, Eli."

And he gets here. If there is anything more intensely partisan, more deeply prejudiced, more cynically selfish, more unscrupulous in the application of political methods than the Scholar in Politics, we have not encountered it. For example, there is our lexicographical friend, John James Ingalls. His scholarship is not very wide, but it is deep enough in certain lines. It is devoted mainly to words, but words are mighty things, even when they are frequently mispronounced. Mr. Ingalls has recently promulgated the dictum, which, with a slight amendment, would thrill every penitentiary in the land and evoke an amen from the throat of every convict. The purification of politics, he says, is an iridescent dream, and the Ten Commandments and the Lord's Prayer has no place in politics. Long before the day of Ingalls the Algerian pirates were confident that the purification of the higher seas was an iridescent dream, and the Ten Commandments and the Lord's Prayer had no place in navigation. If any unsophisticated person accused the Atchison statesman of being broad or liberal minded politically he would laugh aimably at him, but if any one said he was otherwise than narrowly and bitterly partisan he would repeal the accusation with scorn.

And there is George Frisbie Hoar. He is a Scholar in Politics. He has taken all the degrees that Harvard can confer. He has shown how much conscience and candor he carries into politics by his report in favor of stealing two Montana Senatorships. The Montana Legislature never met as a whole, and there never was a regular election of Senators, but Doctor Hoar took the lead in the presentation of seats in the United States Senate to a couple of gentlemen from Montana who probably would have been elected if the Republicans had had a majority in the Legislature, and he felt himself warranted in so doing, because the poll book of Precinct 84 gave voters names alphabetically, which was conclusive evidence of fraud, while the poll book Precinct 17 also gave the voters' names alphabetically, but this was a trifling inaccuracy that didn't affect the integrity of the election. Precinct 17 was Republican and precinct 34 was Democratic, and throwing it out affected the complexion of the Legislature and the Senatorships. We call the attention of Bishop Potter to the fact that the report in the

Montana case was written by a member of the Phi Beta Kappa Society.

And then there is our young friend Henry Cabot Lodge, a graduate of Harvard, an historian and a professional literary gentleman. In 1884 he was a low tariff man and abhorred Blaine. But his party went in for Blaine and more tariff, and there was a Senatorial election coming off in Massachusetts, and the learned Lodge shed his opinions as a crab does its shell and ambled off, crab fashion, from his convictions to his interests. He is now championing a Federal election law, which purports to be in the interest of the Southern Republicans, but which they protest against; which the people of his own State would never put up with; which cannot have any effect in politics, except to make it easy for the Administration, through its hired men, to steal the House of Representatives, and he is advocating this bill for reasons which if valid, would brand the elections of New England as corrupt and fraudulent.

This particular Scholar in Politics is an enthusiastic advocate of civil service reform, with a half holiday on Saturday when he goes out as a spoilsman and gets all the Democrats in the Charleston Navy Yard removed, and has them replaced with Republicans.

We beg Bishop Potter to notice how much politics is elevated and purified by the accession of Phi Beta Kappa men to the ranks of the active working politicians.

Chances Against Mr. Lodge's Bill.
Because in this hour there can be nothing else of such moment to the patriotic citizens of America and to cause the New York Herald of yesterday bids us hope, we publish in full its report of the situation on the Cabot Lodge bill. It is as follows:

There seems to be no question that Mr. Lodge's bill to deprive the people of their representatives in Congress will be in the Senate.

Senator Ingalls says that the Chandler resolution to cut off debate and authorize the counting of a quorum will not, in his opinion, be made one of the rules of the Senate and that many Republican Senators will vote against it. Senator Ingalls, like Senator Hale, Senator Stewart and other prominent Republicans, congratulates himself on the fact that the Senate is still a deliberative body and is in favor of keeping it so. He says that any party that filibusters unduly and without cause will be punished by the people at the polls, and he is willing to trust to their judgement.

The outspoken language of many Western Senators makes it evident that there would be a tremendous Republican vote in the upper House against Mr. Lodge's measure of Mexican imperialism, even if so many Southern Democrats had not voted for free coinage with the expectation that the silver Republicans would reciprocate by voting against the Lodge bill.

Senator Edmunds, of Vermont, is chairman of the Judiciary Committee. He is somewhat conservative in his views and reference has already been made in these despatches to his views on preserving untrammelled the freedom of debate in that body. Here is his exact language, which indicates that Mr. Chandler's proposed previous question rule has no hope in Mr. Edmunds' judgment:—

"I wish to say in response to my friend from Maine that the difference is entirely immaterial so far as it regards the personal honor and obligation of Senators, and I have never known it, except in some extreme emergencies, to be departed from, and I hope it never will be. But an order to the Senate changes its standing rules in respect of the liberty of debate in this body.

"If a Senator wishes to debate in order to procrastinate affairs his brother Senators who do not like it

can stay as well as he can and have it out. There ought to be one body in this country where freedom of debate may continue as it has always in this body. It has always been understood that these unanimous understandings, while they bound the honor of gentlemen fully and fairly were not a rule of the Senate, but I assure that every gentleman present is just as much bound as if it were an order of the Senate."

This is a clear indication on the part of Edmunds that he is opposed to changing the rules and degrading the Senate to a pitiable condition of the House of Representatives under its present rules and management.

THE FARMERS' CANDIDATE.

Capt. Ben Tilman, Hopes to Be Governor of South Carolina.

A few miles back in the country from the little railroad station of Bopers, Edgefield county, lives a man who is to-day the most remarkable political character in South Carolina. Captain "Ben" Tilman is a plain every-day, well-to-do farmer, who had never made a political speech. At that time he became connected with a movement to reorganize the Agricultural Department, and it was then that he first exhibited the wonderful ability as a stump speaker which has since caused him to be the best hated man in the State by those who have incurred his displeasure. So effective was Tilman against the Agricultural Department that he brought about an entire reorganization, which greatly increased its efficiency. This was done despite the fact that he was then an unknown man. On March 27, of the present year, a convention of about two hundred and fifty farmers, regularly elected at county conventions all over the State, assembled at Columbia, and suggested the name of Captain B. R. Tilman for the Democratic nomination for Governor. This has opened upon what promises to be the warmest political campaign in fifteen years. The Democratic State convention meets September 10, when the fight within the party for the regular nomination which means an election will come off.

A New Question in Ethics.

Wilmington Messenger.
The Baltimore Sun has a feeling article on the wife beating case in Georgia. It discusses wife-beating in connection with religious life and Christian development. The religious body condemned the angry preacher who beat his wife, but assured him that he had not lost their confidence in his Christian character. This moves the Sun to say:

"Without stopping to inquire what sort of a resolution the wife has passed, or how far she still retains confidence in the Christian character of her husband, it may be worth while to consider what circumstances a man may beat his wife and still preserve a reputation for piety and good citizenship."

It then discusses the grave question and towards the close advances this view:

"The position of the Georgia ministers would seem to be that while a carnal and unregenerate wife may not know what is good for herself and may object at first to the chastisement which is fitting her for Heaven and a better life, the husband should never hesitate in the discharge of this solemn duty, feeling assured that she will finally come to see how entirely he has her welfare at heart and how earnestly he is working for her spiritual salvation. Women, nevertheless, are so perverse that it will probably take a long time to bring them round to the Georgia doctrine."

A new field in ethics opens and casuistry may play its part. When may a wife be beaten by her husband, and how far can he go, without forfeiting his Christian character and ministerial respect? How provoking may a wife become before it becomes a Christian duty to use the fist or to apply the lash? This is an age of novelty in many things, and new views in morality are constantly springing up.

We hear things defended now that thirty years ago would have sent a man to Coventry or put him in the limbo of repentance.

SENATOR RANSOM

Has Polled the Senate on the Federal Election Bill.

Monday's St. Louis Globe-Democrat.
Senator Ransom has taken a sort of canvass of the Senate, and he has concluded that an election bill will pass that body. "If the bill is to be beaten," he advises his Democratic friends, "it must be beaten in the House." There is no doubt the debate on the measure, after it gets into the Senate, will be very lengthy. It is a long bill, and the Senate is a long-winded body. It delights to call itself "a dignified, deliberative body," which is much the same thing. There are no rules in the Senate by which debate may be limited, and the opportunities which it will afford Senators Call and Harris and other prolix and prosy speakers will be so extraordinary as to rejoice their souls. Furthermore, it will be a part of the Democratic programme to talk it to death, if possible. Even Senator Vest says he will talk all the summer and until the 4th of next March before it shall become a law.

The Silver Bill.

New York Herald.
The Republican members of the silver conference held a long session to-day. Two propositions were fully discussed. The first was the question whether the monthly purchases of silver should be 4,500,000 ounces or dollars' worth. The President is known to favor the latter. Senator Sherman and Mr. Conger, the chairman of the House conferees, are with the President on this point and decline to yield, and the chances seem to be that the other Republican members will accept and give way to them.

The second point for extended discussion was the legal tender character to be given the new certificates. It was urged that there should not be a legal tender to any greater extent than the silver certificates now in circulation, and that it would not be fair to make the new certificates legal tender for public and private dues and debts, when the old ones are only so for public dues.

A proposition came from the Senate side to provide that hereafter customs dues should only be paid in gold. The argument was that this would continually supply the Treasury and prevent any trouble from the drain of gold which some feared as the result of the Silver bill. The free coinage and bullion redemption features have been abandoned by the Conferees, so it is said on high authority. The Republican conferees, feel confident that they will be able to reach an agreement, and probably at their next meeting.

The Kissing Point on Note Paper.

London Correspondence Chicago News.
A fad in writing paper is what is called lover's stationery. It is fine note paper delicately tinted, the most fashionable shade being light pink. The water-mark, to be detected by holding the sheet up to the light, is a blending of two hearts pierced by an arrow. In the lower corner of each fourth page (or reverse of each second half-sheet) appears what at first sight looks like a blemish. But this is the charming feature of the novelty; it is the kissing spot, for here the correspondent pressee his or her lips, and thus a salute is waited to the absent lover. The kissing spot is about the size of a shilling [twenty-five cent piece] and is covered with a thin aromatic gum that imparts to the lips a pleasing odor and taste. A more ingenious bit of maudlin sentimentality could hardly be devised, yet we must all confess that it is of just such innocent and inane follies the joy of human life largely consists.

The sentence of Avery Butler, the boy who killed his father at Clinton, has been commuted to a life term in the penitentiary. This was on the recommendation of the Judge and Solicitor and others.

The Medical Society of North Carolina at its last session resolved to memorialize the next General Assembly to establish an Inebriate Asylum.