THE DAILY RECORD-UNION.

SATURDAY.....OCTOBER 9, 1880.

THE BEST PAPER

Published in California to-day, for the family, the business office, the shop, the market and the field is THE SACRAMENTO WEEKLY UNION, issued in semi-weekly parts; i. e., every Wednesday morning and every Saturday morning, an eight-page part of the paper appears, the two making up a paper of 16 large close pages, the whole furnished by mail, prepaid, one year, for $2 50. The advantage of the UNION in being sent out twice each week must be obvious to all. It brings the news oftener and fresher to every reader, and thus forestalls the news in the old style of weeklies. But the UNION is also the best paper in matter of all kinds. Its editorials are bold, clear, positive and logical; its miscellany choice, chaste and varied; its news departments full, fresh and from the most approved sources; its market quotations reliable, its correspondence from the best of writers, and in all its departments it is, by all odds, the leading paper of the coast.

NEWS OF THE MORNING.

In New York yesterday Government bonds were quoted at 107½ for 4s of 1907; 102½ for 5s of 1881; 108¼ for 4½s; sterling, $4 81½@4 84; silver bars, 113.

Silver in London yesterday, 52¼; consols, 97 15-16; 5 per cent. United States bonds, 105¼; 4s, 111½; 4½s, 112½.

In San Francisco half dollars are quoted at ½ discount to par; Mexican dollars, 92 buying, 93 selling.

At Liverpool yesterday wheat was quoted at 9s 6d@9s 10d for average California.

Mining stocks improved in value a little at the afternoon session in San Francisco Thursday. Yesterday morning the advance was maintained in most instances, and there was a still further slight improvement in some of the Comstocks.

The Democrats of Plumas and Lassen counties have nominated W. W. Kellogg for the Assembly.

Rain fell at San Bernardino and other points yesterday.

The dead body of a man was found near Marysville yesterday, under circumstances indicating foul play.

The track of the Southern Pacific Railroad is now laid eighteen miles in New Mexico.

Travel to southern Arizona is rapidly increasing.

Four new Custom-houses have been established on the Arizona line by the Mexican Government.

At Bisbee, A. T., a man named Dodson, shot and killed a young man and wounded his sister.

The Linn County Fair is in progress near Albany, Or.

President Hayes inspected Chinatown at Portland, Or., yesterday.

Two persons were killed and several seriously injured in the accident on the Fitchburg Railroad in Massachusetts Thursday night.

Incendiary fire at Manning, S. C.

The epizootic is disappearing from New York.

Two steamers from Europe brought to New York yesterday $916,000 in gold.

By the caving of a bank at Waterbury, Conn., yesterday, two laborers lost their lives.

Freeman, who murdered his child while in a state of religious frenzy, has escaped from the insane hospital at Danvers, Mass.

At Concordia, Miss., Wednesday, B. J. Owen and J. W. Glover fought with pistols, both being killed.

The American Board of Missions adjourned at Lowell, Mass., yesterday.

A. S. Jackson, who killed an Indian in Colorado recently, and was captured by the savages, has been found dead at the stake.

Calvary Church, San Francisco, has been selected by the Presbyterian Synod as the next place of meeting, in October, 1881.

Jonathan Chase has been nominated for Congress by the Republicans of the Second Rhode Island District.

The Democrats of the Fourteenth New York District have nominated Lewis Beach for Congress.

An officer in Hancock's department gives this morning the inside history of the "boom" for his chief.

The reunion of the "Boys in Blue" at Indianapolis yesterday was an immense demonstration.

Secretary Evarts declines to recognize Don Celso Caezar Moreno as the accredited agent of the Hawaiian Government.

The Republicans of the Twentieth Pennsylvania District have nominated Thomas H. Murray for Congress.

The Supreme Court has denied the petition for a rehearing in the San Francisco municipal election case.

Two drunken squaws fought at Carson, Nevada, yesterday, and one was killed.

George Lowery and David Thomas were hanged in Nelson county, Virginia, yesterday, by citizens.

HANCOCK'S SINCERITY.

If there is any significance in facts, and if any responsibility attaches to men who accept important trusts, then General Hancock is not a sincere man. We do not understand the kind of tenderness which refrains from telling a truth because it reflects upon a person in high position. We do not recognize that theory which classes as "gentlemen" persons who manifest an indifference to honesty and integrity. We cannot comprehend how any man with the feelings of a gentleman could have written General Hancock's letter of acceptance. In that letter he declared himself as desiring "a full vote, a free "ballot and a fair count." He referred to the franchise as a right "preservative of "all rights," and he said that it must be maintained throughout the United States. Now when General Hancock wrote that letter he must have been aware that he could by no possibility become President of the United States unless he secured his election by systematic frauds upon the franchise. He is not a simpleton. He knows that the solidity of the South is not caused by the sentiment of the majority. He knew then as he knows now that the majority of the Southern votes are against him, and that it was and is the purpose of his party to suppress those votes. And since, knowing these things, he wrote as he did, we are compelled to pronounce him an uncandid and dishonest man, and utterly undeserving the confidence of upright and self-respecting people.

NATURALIZATION IN NEW YORK.

Trouble is apprehended in New York in consequence of the Democratic determination to claim the right to vote on the naturalization papers of 1868. That was the year when Mr. Tilden manipulated the votes of New York, and when 40,000 fraudulent votes were polled by the Democrats. An immense number of fraudulent naturalization papers were issued in that campaign by Tweed's Judges. Thousands of foreigners who had just landed in the country were thus admitted to citizenship and helped to swell the Tammany vote. It is somewhat natural that, as all these frauds have since been ventilated, the authorities should object to the voting of those who were naturalized in this summary fashion, and hence the trouble. It is said that John Kelly has advised his fraudulent friends to knock down any officer attempting to interfere with them, and if this advice is acted upon, as it is almost certain to be, there will arise an opportunity to ascertain whether or not the Democrats, North as well as South, can nullify the federal election laws without going through the form of repealing them.

THIS is the way they re-enslave the negro in Texas under the State laws: A colored woman was arrested in Matagorda county, and the Judge hired her out at a quarter of a cent a day to work out a fine of $30. This is but one of many instances of oppressive laws. The contract system is universal in the South, and its barbarity might be illustrated by citations from the laws of all the States.

ISSUES IN THE CAMPAIGN.

It is alleged occasionally by some lukewarm, half-hearted journal, that there are no issues or principles in the present campaign. It would be very difficult to make a more reckless misrepresentation than this assertion involves. An issue is at stake than which none more momentous and far-reaching can be presented; the question, namely, whether the fundamental principle of majority rule shall be maintained in this republic, or whether a party which tramples upon the freedom of the franchise shall be given control of the Government. Beside this issue all others that can be named to-day sink into insignificance, for it is impossible that the people can adjudicate any question whatever until they have determined this one. In fourteen States of the Union the ballot is not free. In fourteen States it is not possible for every citizen to vote as he pleases, and to have his ballot counted as he votes. To assert, in the face of this fact, that there are no issues in the present campaign, is to assert that it does not signify whether the people are or are not in the unrestrained possession of their rights of citizenship. If the freedom of the ballot is of no consequence, then the Constitution of the United States is of no consequence; then there is nothing to choose between democratic and oligarchic government; then anarchy is as good as order, and it matters nothing whether the people are free or enslaved. But in truth there can never be any issue more grave than the one now pending, for upon its right settlement must depend the future of the country. The fact that politicians realize its importance but dimly is to be deplored, yet it has been perceived and pointed out by at least one man whose sagacity his countrymen have long respected, and the words of General Grant ought to find an echo in every candid mind. It is not merely a question of the protection of the political rights of the colored voters at the South. Their color has nothing to do with it. It is precisely the same as though white men were deprived of their rights. The deprivation exists, and it reacts upon every voter in the United States. The world has never witnessed so anomalous a spectacle as this canvass presents. It is not an open, legitimate contest of opinion. Let no man flatter himself with such an illusion. It is an unequal conflict between a free ballot and a suppressed ballot, between fair play and organized fraud. The solid South is brought into the field representing the violation of republican institutions in every State comprising that infamous league. Its leaders audaciously boast that they have their hands on the throat of Liberty, and that by the stolen Electoral votes of that region they will make up such a pretense of a majority as will enable them to usurp the Presidency. The North has fallen into the trap. Its law-abiding and conservative habits of thought have led it to accept a situation in which it is placed at a cruel disadvantage. It sits down to play with an adversary whose dice are loaded and whose cards are marked; it knows that this is the case; and yet it imagines that somehow constitutional government may be preserved by making-believe that there is no fraud in the game.

We have said before, and we repeat the assertion, that it is impossible for General Hancock to be honestly elected. But it is not impossible for him to win in this unequal struggle, and in that consideration lies the gravest danger. An election means an honest choice by a legal majority. That Hancock cannot obtain, for if to-day the ballot was free at the South he could not secure one-half of the 138 electoral votes which have been packed for him there by force and fraud. Consider what this means. It means that the country is confronted with the menace of an overthrow of republican government. Nothing less than this is involved in the situation. A President declared elected by the suppression of the franchise in fourteen States of the Union would be a standing repudiation of free government. It would be impossible any longer to pretend that it existed. The country would fall under the dominion of a minority of the Mexicanized section. The ballot-box stuffers and bulldozers would rule. The great North and West, thus disfranchised, thus cheated openly out of their right of choice and their proportional representation, would realize that in attempting to ignore the Mexicanization of the South they had Mexicanized the whole Union. Nor is it possible that such a condition of things should endure. Whatever the colored voters of the South may do, the people of the North and West, the freest people on the earth, and the people most jealous of their freedom, would not sit down quietly under so monstrous a wrong. It is not necessary to pursue the argument further at this time, however. Enough has been said to indicate the nature and extent of the danger which threatens the country, and to demonstrate the absurdity of the assertion that no principle is at stake in this campaign. Nor is this the only issue involved. Out of this overshadowing danger grow a score of lesser but still formidable ones. There is the danger to the stability of the public faith and the integrity of the currency. There is the danger of Southern claims. There is the danger of reassertion of the doctrine of State Rights. There is the danger of nullification of the constitutional amendments. Each and all of these are real and alarming, and they are embraced in the possibility of Democratic success. Considering the character of the questions at stake, and their momentous implications, the man or journal that complains of a dearth of living principles in this canvass must be preternaturally dull, or must possess extraordinary ideas of the self-sustaining capacity of republican institutions and free government.

A NICE PROGRAMME.

The Greenbackers say they *only* want to pay off the $782,000,000 of bonds which mature next year, instead of refunding them. To do this they propose to appropriate all the cash in the Treasury. The cash in the Treasury is at present $154,000,000. That would not begin to pay off the bonds therefore. To carry out the Greenback programme it would be necessary to issue at least $500,000,000 or $600,000,000 more greenbacks. That would raise the greenback issue to at least $1,000,000,000. But the Greenbackers also propose to abolish the National Banks, and substitute greenbacks for their issue. That would increase the volume of greenbacks to about $1,400,000,000. As the Greenbackers propose to begin by paying out all the coin in the treasury, there would be no specie reserve to protect this enormous volume of paper. It would therefore rest upon nothing. It would be fiat money, in short. Such a currency, consisting entirely of the debts of the Government, and without any coin to redeem it, would be on a par with the French Assignats, or the Continental or Confederate currency. Specie payments would of course be put an end to. The premium on gold would be restored. The paper dollar would sink day by day until it had fallen below the lowest point reached by the greenback during the rebellion. That never fell below 38 cents. The Greenbackers' dollar could not hope to retain that value because it would be redundant at the outset, as well as irredeemable. As the payment of one form of debt with another form of debt is repudiation, the discharge of the bonds in greenbacks would necessarily destroy the public credit. At the same instant the country would be flooded with paper money, and it would inevitably sink like a stone. National bankruptcy would be the least disaster necessitated by the financial programme of the Greenbackers. Individual bankruptcy would follow as night follows the day. Every policy of insurance, every annuity, every mortgage, every note which did not specify coin as the kind of money in which it was to be paid, would depreciate in the hands of the holders, while those instruments which called for gold payments would ruin the debtors. Every widow and orphan in whose name and interest investments in Government securities have been made, would be stripped bare. Real property would of course follow the universal collapse, and every savings bank and insurance and trust company in the country would become insolvent. Not only would the current wages of the workingman be reduced forty or fifty or sixty per cent; not only would he have to pay three prices for all the necessaries of life; but his little savings against a rainy day would be swept away, and he would be left face to face with destitution. These are a few of the consequences which would unquestionably ensue upon the carrying out of the Greenbacker programme, and it is this respectable and public-spirited and intelligent programme which the Democratic candidates of Sacramento county have indorsed, and which they advocate with much zeal and fervor at their meetings throughout the county.

AMERICAN SHIPPING.

The ship builders have been taking counsel together at New York, and naturally enough the majority of them urged the emancipation of their interest from the thraldom of the tariff, though a few appeared to think that they could get along well enough without any relief. The situation of the American shipping interest is by this time plain enough. The interest is in fact dead, and the tariff has killed it. When ship builders meet now all they have to tell one another is how many thousand tons of shipping were built fifteen or twenty years ago, but there are no reports of ship building now. The carrying trade of the United States has passed to foreign bottoms long ago. The work of Congress has been accomplished, and there is no longer an American mercantile marine. Nevertheless the supporters of the tariff hold their heads as high as ever, and continue to insist that the existing situation is perfectly satisfactory. When the grasping Intendants of Louis the Fourteenth of France were asked, in the midst of a frightful famine, how long the price of grain was going to be kept up, one of them gave the candid answer, "As long as the people will stand it!" And that is what must be expected in regard to the tariff. It will be kept up as long as the people will stand it. So long as American farmers submit to be plundered by the tariff; so long as they are content that everybody but themselves shall be "protected;" so long as they cheerfully give the tithe of their substance to support pauper millionaires at the East; so long as they allow their Representatives in Congress to sell themselves to the Protectionists; just so long will the tariff be maintained, and just so long will all its evil consequences, including the paralysis of the shipping interest, continue. There is no reason why we should not transact our own carrying-trade, beyond the blindness and folly of the voting masses, but up to the present time these defects have been proof against even the sharp stimulus of self-interest, and so the Protectionist swindle has been carried on successfully.

THE PARTY OF IMPERIALISM.

It has sometimes been said by foolish Democrats that the Republican party had imperialist tendencies. In truth it is the Democracy which is leaning in that direction, and the proof of this is not difficult. The Democracy has signalized itself as the foe of a free suffrage. It has based its present campaign on a Southern alliance deriving all its advantages from the suppression of the popular voice at the South. If it wins by these tactics it will have vindicated this deliberate usurpation in its own eyes, and it will have convinced thousands of reflecting men that there is no longer any hope of stability under the existing forms of government. The sense of wrong which so gross and undisguised a violation of fundamental republican principles must cause, will inevitably produce discontent with the institutions which have proved incapable of resisting such assaults. The popular sentiment against fraud and violence will take the form of disgust at the sham republicanism so forced into prominence. There is nothing that stimulates the desire for a change of government so greatly as the notorious breakdown of existing institutions. Such a collapse disillusionizes men rapidly. They would in this case perceive the hopelessness of further endeavors to make-believe that they were living under a government of majority rule. They would chafe and fret more and more under the usurpations of the lawless minority. And they would be driven swiftly in the direction of those theories of a strong government which always possess such an attraction in periods of disorganization and anarchy. And it is the Democratic party which is now working to the ends here described. Of that there can be no doubt. That party is doing its best to discredit republican government by adopting frauds on the franchise as its main reliance, and by pretending while doing so that it is proceeding legitimately. If we wish to know how such practices result in communities whose standard of civilization is somewhat lower than our own, we have but to turn to Mexico and the South American republics. In those States the suffrage has long been what the Democratic party is trying to make it in the United States, namely a mockery and a sham. In those States anarchy is the normal condition, and every election is followed by a revolution. In this country, however, the aggregate wealth and intelligence of the people would preserve them against a relapse into absolute political and social chaos; but it would do this by the abandonment of free institutions. Imperialism, dim, shadowy and unreal phantom as it may appear now, is the logical and inevitable goal of the present Democratic course, and the success of Hancock would have the effect of bringing it so much nearer that none could any longer doubt the reality of the danger, or its true nature.

A SOUTHERN IDEA OF SECTIONALISM.

A new school-book called the "Government Class-book" has lately been published. It is intended to convey necessary information to the young concerning the nature and functions of the Government of the United States. Copies of it have been sent by the publishers to the various State Superintendents of Education, and among others to the State Superintendent of Louisiana. That officer, having reviewed the work, addressed to the publishers a letter containing the following remarks: "Please accept many "thanks for the 'Government Class-book' "sent this office. I have examined it "with much care, and while there is much "to admire in its beautiful and attractive "dress and typographical neatness and "accuracy, in its clear and perspicuous "as well as condensed statements, yet it "contains many statements which are not "borne out by a strict construction of the "Constitution of the United States; "and the heresy now so popular "in some sections, that this is a nation, "is one that I, at least, am unwilling to "be taught the children of Louisiana, for "it is not true, if the early Fathers of the "Constitution knew whereof they af-"firmed. I regret that any such sectional "idea (perhaps I should say 'national' "idea) should permeate the book. I re-"gret I cannot introduce it into the "schools of Louisiana, for with this excep-"tion I like it." The letter is signed by "Edwin H. Fay, A. M., State Superin-"tendent of Public Education," and is doubtless genuine. To Mr. Fay the idea that this is a nation appears a mischievous heresy, and he faithfully represents the views of his community. This little incident serves to show how sectionalism is fostered and cultivated at the South, and how little prospect there is that it will die out, as many simple folks have imagined possible. If this is not a Nation, then Secession is still in order, and that is what is involved in the Southern doctrine of State Rights.

FRANK, BUT INDISCREET.

A distinguishing characteristic of the Southern press is its reckless candor upon delicate questions. It has learned nothing from experience, but continues to speak its mind about Southern claims, and State Rights, and payment for slaves, and the nullification of the Constitutional Amendments, as though there existed no danger that its frankness might produce reactionary effects at the North. Here, for example, is the Henderson (Tenn.) *Vindicator*, which in replying to a local contemporary, says: "After avowing, with a show of "godliness wonderful to behold, that it is "in favor of whatever is sanctioned by "law, our contemporary asks if we are not. "Frankly, no. There are laws existing "which it would be neither wise nor expe-"dient to enforce, and recognizing this fact "the Government allows them to lie "unused. *We regard the law guaranteeing* "*to the negro equal rights with the white* "*man as one of this kind.*" And then this candid Southern journalist accuses his contemporary of "sowing the seeds of "hate and discord among the ignorant "negroes of Carroll country," by telling them that the law guarantees them equal political rights. To clinch the argument he concludes by saying: "Yes, sir, we are "opposed to any law the enforcement of "which will bring discord and strife into "a happy and prosperous country, *and we* "*are backed by two-thirds of the white peo-*"*ple.*" The allusion to discord and strife means, of course, that if the "ignorant negroes" are stimulated to demand their rights, it will become a painful necessity to bring out the rifle clubs and red-shirt leaguers and whip or shoot them into submission again. At present this is interesting and suggestive reading.

A DEMOCRATIC FALSEHOOD.

Democratic journals take great pleasure in quoting the Sacramento *Bee* as a Republican paper. This is a barefaced falsehood. The *Bee* claims to be independent, but is in reality the only Greenback organ in this State, and while its editors know that there is not a ghost of a chance for General Weaver to get the electoral vote of one State in the Nation, they nevertheless give aid and comfort to the rebel Democracy in the Third Congressional District by trying to influence Republicans to vote for Berry as against Knight, simply because the latter stands by the platform and principles of his party and opposes and denounces the soft money craze. Republicans who read the *Bee* and the indorsement of its ideas on the currency question by Democratic papers, will not be led astray by the whimsical vageries of the independent (?) *Bee* or its allies, the Democratic press of the State. Reconstruction is a fixed and inexorable fact, and a gold dollar, a silver dollar, a greenback dollar and a goldback dollar are of equal value, and the Republican party made them so. Mr. Berry, true to the instincts of a demagogue and a weak-minded man that he is, is attempting to ride into Congress on the Greenback hobby, and by indorsing the soft-money policy draw a few weak-backed Republicans to his support; but the ruse will not avail him anything, as he will lose many more hard-money Democrats than he will gain soft-money Republicans. In fact this Greenback-Labor party cry of "more greenbacks," in order to give additional prosperity to the country, will not go down the throats of Californians who have been so prosperous under the present financial policy of the Government.—[Red Bluff People's Cause.

IN Pontotox county, Miss., Horace Wilder (colored) was sent to the Penitentiary for eighteen months for stealing a pig valued at $1 50. He had just finished his term of service and the Superintendent asked for the cost of prosecution. The Circuit Clerk certified the amount to be the enormous sum of $74 85—the net expense of prosecuting a colored lad for stealing a pig worth a dollar and a half. At twenty-five cents a day he will be required to work three hundred days.

NEW PUBLICATIONS.

BRICKS WITHOUT STRAW. By Albion W. Tourgee, LL. D. New York: Fords, Howard & Fulbert. Sacramento: W. A. & C. S. Houghton.

A new story by the author of "A Fool's Errand" is necessarily a literary event, and in this case it is the more important for that the new story is a formidable rival to the old one. The "Fool's Errand" came upon the people as a revelation. It was not merely that it was a dramatic tale. It was not merely that it dealt with that peculiar Southern condition of society and politics which has been so abnormally discussed of late years. It was because the book was the embodiment of truth and earnestness,, and the record of real suffering and persecution, told as it could only have been told by a victim of the outrages described. The style was lucid, the argument convincing, and above all the volume was informed with a temperate and judicial spirit as remarkable as fascinating. It was no wonder that the "Fool's Errand" almost instantly sprang into favor, and that edition after edition of it was poured upon the market. Here was a man who had lived in the South; who had been a Republican there among Democrats; who had experienced all the indignities and insults showered upon such unfortunates; yet who was capable of telling the story not only without passion or prejudice, but with a constant determination to do full justice to the Southern people. It was felt, in a word, that Judge Tourgee was a trustworthy witness. Partisan journalism and partisan literature and oratory generally had so persistently forced into prominence the most ugly and extravagant features of Southern politics, and had, consciously or unconsciously, so omitted to recognize any possibility of a sense of right or duty on the part of the Southern people, that those representations were becoming unsatisfactory, as would be the pictures of an artist who should rigorously refrain from painting any other human expressions but those of agony and fierce unbridled passion. In the "Fool's Errand" for the first time an attempt was made to show that after all there was a Southern side to the question, while the truth was told in the most uncompromising way. It was the candor and fidelity of the book which commended it to the public, and those qualities are as conspicuously present in "Bricks without Straw."

Judge Tourgee's stories are novels with a purpose, and therefore they are not to be judged by the canons which apply to works of fiction written from the standpoint of art alone. "Bricks Without Straw" is, like its predecessor, a tale of the South, and it is much more than a tale. The book in fact is at least as much an argument as a story, and some of its strongest and most captivating passages are purely polemical. We are introduced to a negro lad who has just achieved freedom and independence at the close of the rebellion. It is the period when the new era had just dawned, and when neither the North nor the South nor the freedman himself comprehended the situation. Our author describes the condition of things as follows:

> The first step in the progress from the prison-house of bondage to the citadel of liberty was a strange one. The war was over. The struggle for autonomy and the inviolability of slavery, on the part of the South, was ended, and fate had decided against them. With this arbitrament of war fell also the institution that had been its cause. Slavery was abolished—by proclamation, by national enactment, by constitutional amendment—ay, by the sterner logic which forbade a nation to place shackles again upon hands which had been raised in her defense, which had fought for her life and at her request. So the slave was a slave no more. No other man could claim his service or restrain his volition. He might go or come, work or play, so far as his late master was concerned.
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> But that was all. He could not contract, testify, marry or give in marriage. He had neither property, knowledge, right, or power. The whole four millions did not possess that number of dollars or of dollars' worth. Whatever they had acquired in slavery was their master's, unless he had expressly made himself a trustee for their benefit. Regarded from the legal standpoint it was, indeed, a strange position in which they were. A race despised, degraded, penniless, ignorant, houseless, homeless, fatherless, childless, nameless. Husband or wife there was not one in four millions. Not a child might call upon a father for aid, and no man of them all might lift his hand in a daughter's defense. Uncle and aunt and cousin, home, family—none of these words had any place in the freedman's vocabulary. Right he had, in the abstract; in the concrete, none. Justice would not hear his voice. The law was still color-blinded by the past.
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> The fruit of slavery—its first ripe harvest, gathered with swords and bloody bayonets, was before the nation which looked ignorantly on the fruits of the deliverance it had wrought. The North did not comprehend its work; the South could not comprehend its fate. The unbound slave looked to the future in dull, wondering hope.

It is at this stage that the characters are introduced. The negro had not even a name. Marriage was unknown among his race. Property he could not hold. And upon these conditions the new structure of society had to be erected. The feeling of the Southern whites was peculiar. What they resented in the situation was the presentation of the negro *as a man*. They had been logically compelled by slavery to exclude this view of him rigorously. It was only in the light of an animal that the Southern Legislatures and Courts had regarded him. To fortify the atrocities of slavery this theory had been so sedulously inculcated, so buttressed by the plausible sophistries of supple theologians and sectional scientists and jurists and educators, that the greatest shock of emancipation consisted in the sudden violence done to these traditional ideas concerning the status of the negro. The Southern whites could not bring themselves to admit that he was a human being. They resented the action of the North as a cruel attempt to disgrace and humiliate them by conferring political rights upon a kind of beast. They had no belief that the negro could ever become self-supporting, for their creed had long compelled them to assume that he was intended by the Almighty to be a slave, and could succeed in no other relation. When he was thus launched, steeped to the lips in ignorance and helplessness, upon the world, the North at first lent him some guidance and help through the Freedman's Bureau. Judge Tourgee shows that this maligned institution did incalculable good throughout the South. It was extremely useful in checking the brutality and the aggressive tendencies of the old slave-owners, who would very soon have made such use of negro ignorance that serfdom at least would have been restored, had not the Bureau stood between them and their prey so opportunely. Even as it was the infamous Black Codes enacted by the majority of the Southern States laid them under disabilities which were as cruel and burdensome as opposed to the purpose of the North and the spirit and letter of the Emancipation Act. By these villainous statutes, which could only have been passed by men warped and blinded by the degrading influence of Slavery, a thousand crafty devices were employed to snare and trap the unwary freedman. The most arbitrary provisions were made in regulating his relations with his employer. He was surrounded by pitfalls day and night. If he was thrifty enough to raise a little cotton or tobacco for himself he could not sell it without observing a whole code of fanciful ceremonies, the infraction of any of which subjected him to the confiscation of his property, and the imprisonment of his body. Poll taxes were imposed upon him, and their payment made the condition of voting. Road taxes were enforced by compulsory labor. In all contracts with white men the negro was given the worst of the bargain. He was legislated against at every turn, and no effort was omitted to discourage him, to prevent him from becoming industrious, to render accumulation impossible for him, to make him as of old the thrall and bond-servant of his former masters.

It is a pitiful and a moving history, and one of the saddest features of it is the stupid perversity and blindness of the North, which made it the unconscious abettor of Southern oppression and cruelty. The sentiment of the South in regard to the manhood of the negro caused the Freedman's Bureau to be regarded with intense abhorrence and hatred. The officers of the Bureau were the first who insisted that a negro's testimony was to be taken even as against a white man's. They would not allow the whites to cheat and abuse the negroes. They even imprisoned and fined white men for assaulting negroes. And the result was that the Bureau came to be looked upon as a hellish institution. This was not so surprising as that the people of the North should presently allow themselves to be persuaded by Southern representatives that the Freedman's Bureau was indeed a corrupt and iniquitous institution. Judge Tourgee shows how Southern prejudice and clamor were accepted as trustworthy evidence on this head at the North, and how consequently this institution, which was officered almost entirely by federal soldiers, and which had really done an immense deal of good by standing between the exasperated Southern whites and the dazed and helpless freedmen until both parties had begun to grow accustomed to the new situation, lost its reputation, and was hounded out of existence without any just reason whatever. Says Judge Tourgee: "The thorough subserviency of "Northern sentiment to the domination of "that masterly will which characterized 'the "'South' of the old regime was never better "illustrated. 'Curse me this people!' said "the Southern Balak—of the Abolitionist "first, of the Bureau-officer next, and then "of the Carpet-bagger. The Northern "Balaam hemmed and paltered, and then—"*cursed the children of his loins!*"

So the Freedman's Bureau went down, and the Black Codes went up. The North, having freed the negro, having for a time recognized his claims upon it, having then exposed him to the full hostility of his late masters by conferring upon him equal political rights, at this point reached the conclusion that it had done all it was called upon to do, and so withdrew from him every protection, and "left him naked to his enemies." It was no doubt a philosophical conclusion that unless he was made self-dependent he never could learn to defend his rights, but it was not sufficiently perceived that generations of slavery had necessarily weakened the moral stamina of the race, and rendered a protracted course of training and education indispensible to its satisfactory discharge of the new duties forced upon it. The negro was prematurely thrust into the world. He was simple, ignorant, and timid. His very joy at the new political rights conferred up him tended to exasperate the whites, for they regarded such manifestations as menaces. The negro nevertheless endeavored to stand upright. There were many black men of vigorous mind who naturally became local leaders, and whose examples were beneficial and bracing. These taught their followers that hard and steady work was the condition of independence. They established little colonies. Naturally the colored people clung together, for their old masters were sullen or angry, and would have nothing to do with them. Then, under the Bureau, humane Northern people helped them to build schoolhouses and churches, and Northern women and girls left comfortable and even luxurious homes to go South and instruct the freedmen. The Southern whites viewed all these movements with growing jealousy. Opposition to negro education had always been one of the conditions of slavery. It was still kept up. The Northern women who devoted themselves so heroically to the elevation of the race which had suffered so long a martyrdom were exposed to all the sneers and insults that Southern "chivalry" could invent. Judge Tourgee thus describes the public treatment of two Northern teachers in North Carolina: "By their own sex "they were regarded with that calm, unob-"serving indifference with which the modern "lady treats the sister who stands without "the pale of respectable society. So far as "the 'ladies' of Horsford were concerned, "the 'nigger teachers' at Red Wing stood "on the plane of the courtesan—they were "*seen* but not *known*. The recognition which "they received from gentlemen of Southern "birth had in it not a little of the shame-"faced curiosity which characterizes the "intercourse of men with women whose rep-"utations have been questioned but not en-"tirely destroyed. They were treated with "apparent respect, in the school-room, upon "the highway, or at the market, by men "who would not think of recognizing them "when in the company of their mothers, sis-"ters or wives." This was the manner in which the noblest womanhood of the North was treated by the Southern people. This is the way in which Judge Tourgee's own wife was treated by that arrogant, intolerant, uncivilized community.

In "Bricks without Straw" we are given a picture of the operation of all the influences and tendencies we have thus far described. The hero is a negro of more than usual intelligence and energy. He serves in the Union army, earns a little money, buys a piece of land from his old master (who swindles him by a bad title) and around him a little colony grows up, prosperous, peaceable and happy. The heroine is a Northern girl, whose brother, an officer in the Union army, dies down South, and who stops there, at first for her health, and then as teacher of a negro school at Red Wing. Upon this pleasant and hopeful picture supervenes the Kuklux era. Encouraged by the success which had attended the attack upon the Freedman's Bureau, and believing that with one resolute effort the negroes could be dragooned into a submission which would deprive their new political endowments of all significance, this secret organization was formed, and shortly swept over the South like a nightmare. Red Wing did not escape. Nimbus Desmit, the negro hero, and his intimate friend Eliab Hill, a crippled colored preacher, had been marked down as "dangerous and desperate" men, because they were determined to insist upon what the law and the Constitution gave their race, and because they were too intelligent to remain poor and ignorant when the opportunities of advancement were presented to them. So one night the church and schoolhouse at Red Wing were set on fire, and by the blaze a Kuklux raid was made upon the house of Nimbus. This is a very dramatic episode. The outrage upon the cripple Eliab, the cruel whipping of the wife of Nimbus, and the sudden interruption of the Kuklux programme by the return of Nimbus himself, are graphically described. But though the Kuklux are beaten off the doom of the colony is sealed. Nimbus disappears, the law is set to work to harry and break up the remainder of the colony. The school is perforce abandoned. And the local press congratulates the community on the fact that "Horsford county is redeemed."

A character in the book of peculiar interest is Hesden Le Moyne, a young Southerner, who is led to extend protection to Eliab Hill after his ill-treatment by the Kuklux; who is "ostracized" by his own friends and relatives for having done this; who bears the ostracism with cool courage; and who finally rises above the narrow sectionalism of his locality, and grows capable of seeing the Southern question in a more dispassionate light. The emancipation of this young man's mind from the prejudices of his education and surroundings is very powerfully worked out, and it affords the author an opportunity for showing how the better class of Southerners really feel in regard to their region and the position of the negro since the rebellion. It is unfortunately too evident that there are not enough Hesden Le Moynes at the South to leaven society, or the present situation there could not exist. Indeed it is Judge Tourgee's purpose to show that this class of comparatively liberal minds is in a powerless minority, the majority being composed of those who either approved the "redemption "of the country" by the Kuklux, or who were afraid to express their disapproval.

Of course the Kuklux raid settled the question of negro political advancement. The national experiment of compelling the newly enfranchised race to make bricks without straw had the sequel which might have been predicted. The crack of the overseer's whip had not been sufficiently forgotten for the Kuklux to have much difficulty in their mission. They might have spared much of the brutality they practiced, for the colored people were by no means disposed to resist the oppression. They were easily cowed, for they had only been free a little while, and they had never been out of the gripe of their late masters. The latter had turned the law against them when their shackles were struck off by the nation, and the great North had failed to realize how much these shivering neophytes needed encouragement and protection at their first strange entry into political life. They were abandoned helpless to the night-riders, and their subjugation was completed in a short time. And all this is history, however clad in the garb of fiction. It is the verisimilitude of the story which gives its fascination to it. The reader is conscious all the time that he is studying one of the strangest and most moving problems history has ever presented, and that the scenes depicted have actually occurred in his own country. It is a mournful and yet a stimulating picture, and it is impossible that any earnest Northern Republican should read the book without experiencing the implied reproach which every page of it silently addresses to his party, for its infirmity of purpose in carrying out the high policy to which it was pledged in the sight of the world.

"Bricks without Straw" is indeed a too pregnant title for such a history of the Reconstruction Period at the South. We took the negro from the field, and told him he was free, but we gave him no help to keep his freedom. We told the Southern white man that he must respect the liberties of his late chattel, but at the same time we permitted him to paralyze the newly enfranchised creature's progress with the Black Codes. We gave him a Freedman's Bureau to help him, and then we took it away because it was too useful; that is to say, because it was denounced by the men whose *laches* it was instituted to check and to punish. The freedman was expected to advance with his legs tied. He was expected to become educated without schools, to become independent without freedom, to learn political wisdom without experience, to hold his own without equality of opportunity, to make "bricks "without straw," in short. That he has failed to come up to the irrational expectations formed respecting him is not to be wondered at, but it is surprising that in the face of such discouragements and obstacles as have surrounded him he should have made any progress at all.

Those who are impatient regarding the plot of the story we must refer to the book itself. Suffice it to say that the interest is fully sustained to the end, that the characters are well drawn, that the incidents are thrilling and graphically described, and that the entire work is, if possible, more interesting and absorbing than "A Fool's Errand." The fact that it is not merely a story, but that its didactic purpose is the dominating consideration, of necessity constitutes an excuse for whatever shortcomings might exist in the purely artistic features. No such defects, however, are likely to be discovered, for like the former book this one charms and enchains the reader by its earnestness and power, and he passes from narrative to argument, and from argument to narrative again, without noticing the change. The author has remedies to suggest for the Southern difficulty, which will strike different minds with varying degrees of force. He suggests that one main cause of the difference between Northern and Southern politics is the circumstance that the South has never posessed the elements of purely local government embraced in the township system. Centralization has been the Southern principle, and the petty elections which throughout the North accustom every inhabitant of a village to participate in politics, and to match himself at some time against his neighbors, have always been absent at the South, where appointments are the rule and elections the exception. We think it quite probable that this consideration possesses force, though slavery is alone almost sufficient to account for the difference between North and South. Another recommendation, and one which will be more likely to obtain general approval and comprehension, looks to the extension of education as a means of elevating the South. Judge Tourgee is of opinion that the nation ought to take this matter in hand, and that a fund should be provided for use at the South. He thinks it would not be necessary to take control over the State educational systems, but suggests that the fund might be so arranged as only to be available by those schools which fulfilled certain conditions. On questions of detail, however, he is not bigoted, and broadly urges rather that public thought should be directed earnestly to this topic than that any particular scheme should be advocated.

The suggestions which conclude the story in no way interfere with its power and instructiveness. It is a complete picture as it stands. It exposes the utter failure of Reconstruction. It brings the disastrous effect of Southern bigotry and brutality into strong relief. It makes the blunders of the North more conspicuous than ever. It demonstrates the weight of the responsibility which yet rests upon the party which emancipated the slave in letter, but has thus far failed to make him free in fact. We recommend every man who wishes to understand the Southern question clearly to read "Bricks without Straw." It is written so dispassionately that even Southerners can hardly quarrel with its tone, and it is evidently pervaded with a spirit of justice and candor. That it should be possible to compose such a work without recourse to fiction at all, out of existing facts in our own country, should convince thinking men that the current complaint of a dearth of issues has no foundation in fact, but that if indeed issues appear to be deficient, it is only because there is an indisposition to face the responsibilities of the hour, and to accept and accomplish the sacred duties which have been imposed by destiny upon the Republican Party.

THE Republican party conceived and created the greenback, and reared it to its present full and mature stature, despite all the diseases which it had to encounter in its infancy and youth, and despite all the malignant devices and machinations with which the Democracy sought early and late to enfeeble, cripple and destroy it.