VINDICATED AT LAST.

THE SOUTH SET RIGHT IN HISTORY,

But It Required an English Pen to Write It—Percy Greg's History of the United States Reviewed by Mr. R. H. Dabney.

To the Editor of The Times:

As the mother of George W. Cable was a Northern woman, his attacks upon the Southern people cannot be regarded as made by a genuine Southerner. But there are other men for whom this excuse cannot be made. A few young Southerners, characterized by smartness rather than depth, by sciolism rather than solid scholarship, and especially by egotism and conceit, rather than sympathy with the strength and weakness, the heroism and misfortunes of their fathers, have conceived it to be their mission to sneer at the ante-bellum South and to charge her people with lack of literary culture, narrowness of mind, prejudiced provincialism and moral depravity due to the institution of slavery.

For the sake of historical truth these wiseacres should be answered; for no matter how feeble and shaky be the foundation of facts upon which their shallow theories of Southern history rest, the mere fact that they are Southerners lends weight to their opinions.

Northern writers, of course, hail these opinions with delight, and even some sensible Southerners might be at first disposed to attribute them to careful study and superiority to sectional prejudice on the part of the authors, whereas the real motives may well be a desire for notoriety, a passion to be regarded as intellectually superior to the prejudices of the vulgar herd, and possibly even a wish to curry favor with Northern publishers and readers.

THE NORTHERN MIND POISONED.

But it is not my purpose at this time to undertake a refutation of these theories. I wish merely to draw the attention of the public to a work on the History of the United States, which is far less known than it deserves to be. Being the work of an Englishman—Mr. Percy Greg—now unfortunately dead, the ardent admiration of its author for Southern genius, Southern character and Southern valor must carry far greater weight than if the author were a native of the South. Very frequently we see complaints expressed in Southern newspapers that no important History of the United States has been written in which justice is done to the South. The public opinion of the Northern and European world has been so poisoned by the false theories concerning slavery contained in books like "Uncle Tom's Cabin" that many of our people are afraid that unless some one soon writes a great work refuting these falsehoods, they will be handed down to posterity as truths. Such a book was published in London in 1887, and yet, strangely enough, the leading booksellers in the capital of the Confederacy had never heard of it till a year ago. So far as I know, not a single review of the work has ever been written in America. Why is this? Can it be that no copies were sent by the publishers (W. H. Allen & Co., of London) to Southern newspapers, and that the Northern press deliberately chose to suppress all mention of a book so destructive of the pharisaic self-esteem characteristic of certain elements in that section? At all events it is ominous that the Washington Post stated recently that a New Englander who had read the book made haste to buy up and destroy all the copies upon which he could lay his hands. His zeal and success in this regard may account for the fact that only after prolonged search was I able to secure copies enough for the use of my class in American history at the University this past session. Not only do I wish to use it with my future classes, but I most ardently desire to see a copy of the book in the hands of every educated Southern man, and of every Northern man also, if they could be induced to read it. But the trouble is that Mr. Greg is dead, the edition is exhausted and the publishers (so I am told) have failed. Will any of the large Northern firms be willing to republish a work so Southern in its views of the war of secession and its causes? Possibly, but also, perhaps not; and if not, I wish to urge some Southern firm to publish it and sell it through the agency of drummers. If no Southern firm is willing to undertake the risk I call upon any of the wealthier citizens of the South to come forward and guarantee a publishing firm against loss on the making of the electrotype plates and the printing of the first edition. As a matter of fact I am firmly convinced that with proper management there would not only be no loss, but that a very handsome profit could be made upon the investment. The English edition is in two volumes, large print, but I have estimated that the book could be printed in a single volume of less compass than Green's "Short History of the English People," and I have no doubt that at a retail price of a dollar and a half a firm with push and energy could sell thousands of copies throughout the South.

NOVELIST, POET, HISTORIAN.

Mr. Greg was a novelist and poet as well as historian, and I have heard his beautiful poem on General Lee recited by Captain W. Gordon McCabe, of Petersburg. The artistic instincts of the poet appear in the History of the United States; for the chivalry and bravery of the Old South evidently fascinated his imagination, and his literary style is decidedly artistic, combining easy grace with trenchant vigor. His historical judgment, though vehement and vehemently expressed, is nevertheless substantially just. The work contains errors in detail, both as regards facts and opinions, but as a whole I believe it to be about the truest presentation of our political history yet made public, and unquestionably the truest history of the South.

Much that Mr. Greg has to say in regard to the causes of the Revolutionary war and its conduct will startle and antagonize the American reader who has been brought up on the traditional school-bookish account of that struggle. Mr. Greg's account is decidedly English in its tone, and he handles some of the Revolutionary fathers without gloves; but even this part of the work is very wholesome reading for those who imagine that the fathers were one and all saints and paragons, while the British were a set of bloodthirsty and malignant tyrants, who from first to last were wholly in the wrong. The truth is that the war was not merely a conflict between Americans and Englishmen, but also to a great extent a civil war between two parties of Americans. The battle of King's Mountain, for example, was a fight between Americans, in which very few Englishmen took part; and, in general, it is a mistake to suppose that the Tories were a mere handful of wicked traitors and obstructionists. In several of the colonies it is indeed almost unquestionable that a clear majority of the people were passively, if not actively, opposed to the Revolution; and it is a fact of profound significance that a hundred thousand Tories went into exile rather than submit to what they regarded as a far worse tyranny than any ever attempted by the British Crown. The fact that a lady and her daughter were stripped naked by the women of Boston, tarred and feathered and paraded through the streets with hoots and yells should at least give us pause before we insist that those Americans who loved their mother country more than "liberty" of this sort—"Oh, Liberty!" said Madame Roland during another and even worse reign of terror, "what crimes are committed in thy name!"—were all either knaves or fools.

REAL CAUSES OF THE WAR.

But I did not intend to enter so fully into this part of the subject. For the parts of the book in which Southerners will be specially interested are those in which the author discusses the adoption of the Constitution, its interpretation by the opposing parties, the slavery question, the Missouri compromise and the other so-called compromises on the subject of slavery, the real causes of the war of secession and the war itself. On all these questions the work is a trumpet-blast of no uncertain sound for the Southern side, and perhaps the best way to give an idea of the author's views is to present a series of extracts from the book.

When the convention of 1787 laid before the country the new Constitution, eleven of the thirteen States deliberately seceded from the "perpetual Union" established under the "articles of confederation" (which expressly forbade any alteration to be made at any time in any of the articles without the consent of Congress and of the Legislature of every State), and leaving North Carolina and Rhode Island out in the cold, organized the new Government and inaugurated Washington as President. "The position of the eleven States which thus repudiated their obligations under the former confederation," says Mr. Greg, "was exactly that of the eleven seceding States of 1861. The sole difference is that the seceding States of 1787 had no complaints to make against their confederates; whereas those who followed their example in 1861 believed that the conditions of the compact had been flagrantly broken." And yet no one pretended then that sovereign States could not secede from the "Perpetual Union" if they chose to do so. To the astonishingly false assertions of Motley—"The Constitution was not drawn up by the States; it was not promulgated in the name of the States; it was not ratified by the States; the States never acceded to it"—Mr. Greg replies with documentary refutations of each and every assertion, and then adds: "The language of the Federalist leaders contradicts Mr. Motley as sharply as if he had uttered his heresy in their presence. In truth, his view was anticipated and treated by both parties as something so utterly outrageous that the possibility of such a construction must condemn the convention and insure the rejection of the Constitution. Anti-Federalists suggested that some such construction might or would be put upon it. Some even hinted that it would afford excuse for acts like those long afterwards committed by Lincoln and Seward—coercion, invasion, illegal or arbitrary arrests. The advocates of the Constitution admitted that if it could fairly be so interpreted it stood at once self-condemned. They passionately denied that any honest man could take Mr. Motley's view. With Hamilton at their head, they insisted that ratification was the act of the States, each acting in its sovereign character. They insisted in the strongest terms on the doctrine of State sovereignty. Fisher Ames and Gore, of Massachusetts, repeatedly averred that the Senate represented 'the sovereignty of the States.' 'The senators are in the quality of ambassadors of the States.' General Pinckney, of South Carolina, alone presumed to question the sovereignty of the State. His State emphatically rebuked the heresy by formally asserting that sovereignty in her final ratification."

MISSOURI COMPROMISE.

In regard to the Missouri "compromise" Mr. Greg says: "Whatever the moral aspect of the question, whatever the change of feeling and opinion, the Northern States had voluntarily and solemnly agreed to place slavery and freedom within the Union on a footing of perfect equality. They might, by dissolving the Union, renounce the obligation with all the benefits hitherto enjoyed in consideration thereof. * * * But they could not, without obvious bad faith and breach of compact, introduce a new test of partnership. * * * The free States had no right, as against Missouri, to impose a new and unheard of condition of admittance. * * * The South remembered, moreover, how long the slave trade had been carried on in Northern vessels and with Northern capital; how recent and how questionable was this new profession of a loftier morality, this appeal to a law higher than the Constitution. * * * But the South was partly bullied and partly cheated. * * * Baffled, wearied and worn out, the South reluctantly submitted to the so-called 'compromise' proposed by Henry Clay. * * * This was no compromise, but the extortion, by naked force, of an enormous price for the allowance of a right iniquitously and unconstitutionally withheld. * * * Such was the so-called Missouri compromise, the first of a long series of 'compromises,' in all of which the South purchased over again what was already hers, while in all the North took credit for generosity or complained of wrong because she yielded to her partner some small fraction of equal privilege and common property, arrogating the rest to herself."

SLAVERY IN THE SOUTH.

If the European public would read Mr. Greg's admirable account of slavery in the South they would gain a very different idea of that institution from that to be gleaned from Uncle Tom's Cabin and the fanatical twaddle of men like William Lloyd Garrison and Wendell Phillips. Let the following extract serve as a sample of Mr. Greg's view: "The contemporary warfare between capital and free labor in the North and in Western Europe presented a spectacle alarming to statesmen and economists familiar with the noise, conflict and turbulence of free society—a spectacle simply hideous in the eyes of men like Calhoun. Those were the days of trades union terrorism, of secret conspiracy and assassination, of machine-breaking and rick-burning, of industrial insurrection and agrarian assassination.

"Calhoun spoke the truth when he contrasted the peace and security of the South—the smooth working of her institutions, the material well-being of her laborers, above all, the mutual good-will, affection and kindness prevailing between master and slave—with the discontent and suffering, the physical and moral hardships of contemporary free labor in European countries and in Northern cities. * * * Supported by his master in infancy, in sickness and old age, the slave was, as Carlyle said, a servant hired for life, and paid throughout that life at a far higher rate than the Irish potato grower or the Kentish hind. He received more than the European peasant and did less than half the work. His old age especially presented to that of the English laborer a contrast of which English society might well be ashamed. It was to him a period of peace, ease, comfort and honor. No pauper's garb, no pauper's fare, no prison-like work-house, no separation from wife and children awaited the last years of the servant who could serve no longer. He occupied his cottage, he basked in the sun, his grandchildren playing around his knees, his gray hairs respected, his infirmities cared for, his temper and his vanities humored.

"The abuses of slavery were terrible, but not more terrible and far less common than the barbarities to which the weak and helpless are subject in the lower class of all communities, in the purlieux of every civilization. The cruel master was a far less frequent and not one whit more hateful character than the grasping landlord of the city slums, the selfish employer, the brutal father, the drunken husband, the savage ruffian of London courts and Manchester alleys."

Of the Dred Scott case Mr. Greg declares that "the decision of the Court was law, just as the attainder of Strafford was law till reversed. But a majority of the people of the North as individuals, and the Republican party as a party, set the law at open defiance. The next Republican convention proclaimed as a fundamental principle of its policy the exclusion of slaves from the Territories. Within the Union, that is, and while claiming all its benefits, they declared themselves resolved to elect a President pledged, in disregard of his oath of office, to use the whole power of the Federal Government to defeat the law and nullify the Constitution. * * *

"On March 9, 1859, the leaders of the Republican party, backed by sixty-eight members of Congress, with Speaker Colfax at their head, put forward on behalf of the party a manifesto the like whereof is only to be found in the annals of the Jacobin Club and the Commune.

THE SOUTH GOADED TO RESISTANCE.

"It is a signal revelation of the political morality, the constitutional loyalty, the regard for positive obligations, which characterized the Republicans, of the boundless, unexampled vituperation, the menaces, outrages and insults which goaded the South to fury; which above all rendered sober discussion, compromise, confidence in the most solemn assurances henceforth impossible. Such a manifesto of itself proclaimed the ascendancy of its authors and the maintenance of the Union forever incompatible. This document, written by one Hinton Helper, an abolitionist of Southern birth, in the language of actual madness, rather than of political frenzy, threatened the South with wholesale confiscation, servile insurrection, invasion and massacre. In every page the author foamed at the mouth with incoherent abuse, slander and sheer ribaldry at which Jeffreys or Ludovic Muggleton would have stood aghast. The Republicans printed, recommended and circulated by hundreds of thousands a declaration of war, proscription and spoliation against the slave-owners of the South: 'ineligibility of slave-owners for every office, great and small; no co-operation with them in religion or society; no patronage to pro-slavery merchants; no guestship in slave-waiting hotels; no fees to pro-slavery lawyers, physicians, parsons, editors; no hiring of slaves. Such was the declared policy of men like Seward, Chase and Colfax towards fifteen Confederate States: such the language they held to the foremost statesmen of the Union, to their colleagues in Congress, to almost every gentleman, politician, soldier, planter, merchant and professional man south of Mason and Dixon's line." * * * * * * *

"Of Garrison, Wendell Phillips and other ultra-Abolitionists, the worst that could be said was that their denunciations of the Southern people were unchristian and ungentlemanly; that their ribald abuse was, though not willfully false, unpardonably careless of truth. In their attacks on slavery as an institution they were honest, conscientious and consistent. For those who insisted on retaining the profits of the bond while repudiating its obligations—the position of the Republicans at large—whatever partisanship may plead, history can find neither defense nor palliation. Repudiation deepens the infamy that clings to such promises; the unspeakable baseness of the bargain blackens the shame attaching to so foul a breach of faith. The hatefulness of the law has nothing to do with the question. Slavery and the Fugitive Slave law were the price of the Union; none but a swindler ever dreams of retaining both the purchase and the purchase-money."

CHARACTERISTICS OF VIRGINIANS.

Mr. Greg's characterization of the Virginians is flattering in the extreme. "The planters of Virginia formed perhaps the finest and most characteristically English type of the Anglo-Saxon race. * * * Their society is that in which an Englishman finds himself most speedily and perfectly at home." * * * They "proved themselves socially and individually in the highest qualities of citizens and soldiers equal to any English community in the world." They were "perhaps the flower of the English race." Strong language, certainly, for an Englishman to use.

Of Southern valor he says, that "incident after incident told by hostile witnesses testifies to the supreme and unrivaled daring of that matchless Southern infantry on which the North itself bestowed the epithet of 'incomparable.' Even the men of Illinois and Ohio were broken, like all other troops, by the moral effect of wholesale slaughter. Again and again their antagonists displayed an utter fearlessness, a sheer indifference to death, and charged like the Highlanders at Culloden, through a fire that failed to daunt till it had destroyed them." After describing Pickett's charge at Gettysburg when the Confederates were "swept by a fire compared to which the cannonades of Waterloo and Leipsic were trivial," Mr. Greg says: "The division was cut to pieces before Pickett gave the order to retreat. * * * * * The relics of a force which had displayed a courage never surpassed in the history of modern warfare retired slowly across the valley. The overwhelming force that hung on their rear had no mind to pursue. * * * * * * The charge of the Light Brigade was less desperate and far less prolonged. The bravest among the victors of Inkerman or Albuera, of Worth and Gravelotte, might envy the glory of Pickett's defeat."

Of Sherman's infamous devastation of Georgia Greg says: "Besides the devastation deliberately wrought, the cloud of bummers (common thieves and incendiaries—a name adopted, a force acknowledged from this time by Sherman himself) which attended his army robbed, burned and wasted, filling their pockets and wagons with stolen teapots, spoons, watches, jewels and plate, firing barns and standing crops, slaughtering cattle and leaving their victims to die of exposure and hunger. Sherman was as responsible for these deeds as for those he actually ordered; he was fully aware of and at the time even boasted of them. * * * * * He desired to punish the non-combatants of the South, and especially the women, whose heroic spirit and passionate patriotism had done so much to recruit the armies and sustain their spirit. He hoped also to deplete the enemy's ranks by forcing his soldiers to desert in order to succor their homeless families. In this he succeeded but too well. Veterans who, ragged, barefooted and half fed, had chased before them on a hundred battlefields the best provided armies in the world, were driven to desertion by the news that their wives and children were dying of hunger in the woods, exposed to the license of revolted slaves and the brutality of an uncontrolled swarm of camp followers. * * * Such methods are undoubtedly effective, but since the Thirty Years' War have been excluded from the practice of Christian belligerents."

Two or three extracts on Reconstruction and the Ku Klux Klan must bring this letter to a close.

DEVASTATION OF THE SOUTH.

"The devastation of the Palatinate hardly exceeded the desolation and misery wrought by the Northern invasion and conquest of the South. No conquered nation of modern days, not Poland under the heel of Nicholas, not Spain or Prussia under that of Napoleon, suffered such individual and collective ruin, or saw before them so frightful a prospect as the States dragged back by force in April, 1865, under 'the best government in the world'" "The corrupt despotism of Louis XV., the insane tyranny of Paul, the stupid, superstitious, repressive rule of Bomba, the Austrian tyranny in Lombardy and Venice, were incomparably preferable to the reign of the Kelloggs and Chamberlains. Bourbons, Hapsburgs, Romanoffs did not threaten the very existence of civilization, the basis of industry and the foundation of social order. They did not eat up, in a wasted and ruined country, all that four years of war had left." To encounter this tyranny the Ku Klux Klan waged war "in the only possible fashion against governments whose existence was an insult, whose policy was robbery, whose continuance meant universal public and personal ruin. The Southern people had resolved to put down usurpation by terrorism. The Ku Klux vigilance committees, supported by a great majority of the white people, administering lynch law on a gigantic scale, carried out their purpose with characteristic determination, energy and ruthlessness. When that purpose was effected the outrages ceased at once."

R. H. DABNEY.

University of Virginia.

MONOPOLY AND MILLIONAIRES.

Of These Chairman Campbell Seems to Be the Servant and Tool.

A Chicago special to the World says: The selection of W. T. Campbell for the position of chairman of the national Republican committee is a surprise that is not altogether agreeable to some Illinois Republicans. They believe that some other man not handicapped with Mr. Campbell's record would prove more useful in the important position. The appointment is interpreted by them to mean that Mr. Campbell will be held responsible for his own State, which the nomination of General Stevenson and the Republican Compulsory School law have made extremely doubtful. A man who is familiar with the subject says:

"W. J. Campbell is down in the city directory as 'a lawyer.' He is 'a lawyer,' one that successfully represents money, monopoly and millionaires. Mr. Campbell has for years represented P. D. Armour and rendered inestimable service manipulating municipal rulers and legislatures of various States.

"In order to make the dressed beef business a success the first thing necessary was to kill off local competition in the large and small cities. The local butchers organized for self-protection, and butchers' unions were formed. Against these unions and in the interests of monopoly Mr. Campbell directed the attacks. He had millions behind him, the butchers had nothing but the justice of their cause.

"They fought Campbell through the legislatures of Missouri and Illinois. Bills were introduced requiring local inspection on the hoof. Mr. Campbell, by the use of the 'grease,' which he so sucessfully represented, defeated all these measures. The butchers were forced out of business, their unions broken up and finally driven entirely from the field.

"The last effort to stem the crushing march of monopoly was the appeal made three years ago to the Senate by Senator Vest to investigate the dressed beef industry. As chairman of the committee Senator Vest became fully acquainted with the way in which W. J. Campbell tore the business from the many and put it in the grasp of one. Campbell threw every obstacle in the way of the Senate committee's investigation. He worked hard and faithfully for monopoly. With every resource that money could command it was no wonder that dark stories of queer work were circulated. At every step in the investigation, when facts threatened to lead to violations of law, Campbell came to Armour's rescue and by skillful work averted the blow. This 'work' was denounced at the time by Senator Vest.

"Campbell is still Armour's counselor, and, besides, finds time to represent several corporations. As chairman of the national Republican committee he will represent the plutocrats against the people. His best work will be for monopoly. Mr. P. D. Armour has accumulated a fortune of $40,000,000 in thirty years, chiefly by such work, which Mr. Campbell cheerfully executes. Mr. Armour has too strong a grip on the Chicago press for any of the papers to expose his man Campbell, but I have no doubt that the voters of this State and the country will learn the facts before November."

It Saves the Children.

An eight-months-old child of G. W. Lugar, Zion's Hill, Va., had a very severe attack of bloody flux. He tells how it was cured: "After several days we commenced giving Chamberlain's Colic, Cholera and Diarrhœa Remedy, according to directions. We were very uneasy about the child and sent for a physician. I told him what we had been doing and showed him the medicine. He examined it and told us the best thing we could do was to go ahead and give your remedy. We used about half of a small bottle and cured the child, although the child was so low that he had no use of himself." For sale by Owens & Minor Drug Company, 1007 east Main street.

ADAMS ON CLEVELAND.

WHAT CLEVELAND STANDS FOR.

His Sound and Brave Position on the Tariff the Currency, Civil Service Reform and Pensions.

[Philadelphia Telegraph.]

Charles Francis Adams is a typical Massachusetts Mugwump. By inheritance and association he is a Republican. His great-grandfather, John Adams, a representative Federalist, was the second President of the United States. His grandfather, John Quincy Adams, was elected the sixth President over Jackson. His father, Charles Francis Adams, a leading Republican in the early days of the party, represented the United States at the British Court throughout the war between the States. The younger Adams, who was graduated from Harvard in 1856 and cast his first vote for Fremont, entered the military service at the outbreak of the war and became a brigadier-general of volunteers, serving with distinction throughout the struggle. After the war he devoted himself mainly to railway interests, being one of the railroad commissioners of Massachusetts, and in 1884 being elected president of the Union Pacific. Throughout this time he has taken a lively interest and occasionally an active part in politics, and his known ability and independence of character give special value to an article by him in the Forum for July entitled "What Mr. Cleveland Stands For."

The question Mr. Adams proposes to answer is why many like himself, who have ceased to call themselves Republicans but yet do not call themselves Democrats, now come forward and earnestly advocate the election to the presidency of the candidate of the Democratic party. His answer is: "We do so simply because that candidate is ex-President Cleveland."

THE ISSUES OF THE CANVASS.

What are the political issues of the impending canvass? Some of them are old, as old as the National Government, and likeiv long to continue; others are new and of a passing character. These issues, new and old, may be enumerated somewhat as follows: 1. The economic and commercial system, commonly known as protective, based upon the idea that it is the business of government artificially to foster, or even call into existence, various branches of industry. 2. The purification and reform of the civil service; or, as Mr. Carl Schurz once tersely expressed it, "the disestablishment of the spoils system," the system which the Jacksonian Democracy introduced. 3. What is known as the "currency question," now taking the form of a demand for the free coinage of silver at the national mint at an artificial ratio with gold. 4. The pension system.

What is the attitude of Mr. Cleveland so far as these issues are concerned? He has been called upon officially to confront them all, and on no occasion, so far as I know, has he failed to make his position understood or to give the party of which he was the head a distinct, recognized and creditable lead. He has not shuffled or vacillated; his voice at least has, upon these issues, emitted no uncertain sound. In this respect the line of responsible public action he has pursued has been in most agreeable contrast with that usually pursued by politicians, not only of the present but of all time. In high public position he has stood forth a clean-cut political character—a man with the courage of his convictions.

CIVIL SERVICE REFORM.

Take his course on the question of civil service reform, that one of the issues enumerated in regard to which his record may seem to be most open to attack. Under the lead of Grover Cleveland the Democratic party came back into power in 1885 after twenty-eight years of exclusion from it. It is no exaggeration to say that those calling themselves Democrats were then simply ravenous for spoils. No more severe pressure for a general turning out of officials and a new distribution of places was probably ever brought to bear upon the head of a government than was brought to bear upon President Cleveland. I have not the figures before me, nor do I care to look them up, but I think it will be found that the removals during President Cleveland's administration were fewer in number and less dictated by partisan or political considerations than those of President Harrison, who succeeded him. Yet President Harrison represented a party which, when Cleveland was inaugurated, had been in power for over a quarter of a century, filling every office in the gift of the Government, and many of these officials had held over notwithstanding the change which took place in 1885. President Harrison also represented the party which claims to be and which should be essentially the party of civil service reform. Yet, so far as the use of party power for political purposes is concerned, the admini tration of Grover Cleveland will have little to fear from a comparison of its record with that of Benjamin Harrison. It may well be that in this matter there is little to choose as between the politicians of the two great parties; but in view of the record it cannot but be conceded that Mr. Cleveland, in the trying position in which he was placed, acquitted himself as creditably as any man could have been expected to do. Upon the issue of a reformed civil service he showed himself as much in advance of both parties as it was wise or prudent for the recognized leader of one of those parties to be. He may not have been—probably he was not—on the skirmish line; but then a general in command is not in his proper place on the skirmish line.

THE TARIFF ISSUE.

On the next issue, that of protection, whether the critic be a protectionist or otherwise he must still admit that President Cleveland's course was most creditable to him. Indeed, it may well be questioned whether any President, in dealing with an important question of public policy, ever acted from higher or more disinterested motives than did Cleveland when he took the course he did in his annual message of 1887. Before that message was sent in it was generally conceded that all the President had to do to secure a re-election was silently to bide the time. The course of events and the drift of public opinion were in his favor. The terrible results his opponents had so confidently predicted from a return of the Democratic party to power had not come about. The country was at peace and very prosperous; the South was pacified and loyal; the Treasury was overflowing. All things indicated popular confidence in the administration and unwillingness to disturb it. Nevertheless, when President Cleveland, after the most thorough and careful investigation he could make, had convinced himself that the tariff system needed modification, he did not hesitate to cast all further ulterior considerations aside and boldly to indicate his opinion. It is of no sort of consequence whether his so doing was "good politics," as it is called, or "bad politics;" it is no sort of consequence whether, as a question of party strategy, it was a success or a failure; it is no sort of consequence whether by doing as he then did President Cleveland showed skill as a political leader or committed a serious political blunder, his course none the less showed character and courage; and the Anglo-Saxon race has always evinced a proclivity for men of character and courage.

It was the same with the question of silver coinage. That issue was and is unmistakably before the country and has got to be fought out. It was unnecessary for ex-President Cleveland, as he then was, to express in February last any opinion upon it. It was perfectly within his power, by preserving a discreet silence, to hold himself in position where those in favor of a free coinage of silver and those who were opposed to it could equally lend him their support. He might have dodged the issue. Nevertheless, here again the courage and character of the man asserted themselves. His letter of February 10, 1891, to the Cooper Union meeting, was, as I look upon it under all the circumstances of the case, one of the most creditable utterances that ever came from an American public character. He did not want to have his position misunderstood. He did not propose to stand before the country in any false or uncertain attitude. So again his voice when heard emitted no uncertain sound.

THE PENSION GRAB.

Finally, the question of pensions. On this subject I speak with some degree of feeling, because, having served through nearly four years of the civil war, I, in common with many others who did the same, feel a sense of humiliation, I may almost say of degradation, in seeing the uniform we once wore turned into a mendicant's garb, and the garb of a very impudent and persistent mendicant at that. Under the administrations which preceded that of Cleveland the pension legislation had, as we thought, been already carried to excessive length. Grant and Garfield, we knew, were of the same opinion. Under it every man who had any reasonable claim to public consideration had received recognition, or the way to recognition was open to him. My own experience, I presume—and, indeed, I know—had in a small way been that of nearly every one else who was in immediate command of men during the war. We had seen every dead-beat and malingerer, every bummer, bounty-jumper and suspected deserter we had ever known or heard of rush to the front as the greedy claiment of public bounty. If there was any man whose army record had been otherwise than creditable to him, we soon heard of him as the claimant of a back pension of many hundreds of dollars or as being in the regular receipt of his monthly stipend. On the other hand, those good and faithful soldiers who, in the day of trial, had been found in the front rank in the presence of the enemy—those men had, since the flags were furled away, developed, as a rule, the same characteristics as citizens which had distinguished them as soldiers; self-respecting and self-sustaining, they were reluctant to trade on the patriotism of their younger and better days as on a beggar's claim. They had supported the brunt of battle then, and they were able to support themselves now. Thus there were of us those who felt that this wretched largess business, this trading of political hucksters on patriotic self-sacrifice, had gone quite far enough. We therefore felt a keen sense of relief when in February, 1887, President Cleveland sent in his veto of that dependent pension bill, which put a premium on self-abasement and perjury.

THE "PROTECTED INTERESTS."

But President Cleveland's cogent reasoning in that message failed to commend itself to the army of pension agents, the circulars from whose offices at Washington cumbered the mails and our desks. The Republican party, that party to which we had belonged until it completed its work, took the same view of the subject. Accordingly, so far as could be judged from the outside, the issue made by that party in the campaign of 1888, which resulted in the election of Harrison, was distinct and simple. It set itself in direct opposition to the public policy which President Cleveland had enunciated as respects what may be called the "protected interests" of the country and the pension agents. It turned to those two powerful and wide-spread organizations, saying to the first: "If you will elect our candidate to the presidency and return us to power you can come to Washington and demand such an increase of your protective duties as you shall see fit, and we will see that it is given to you." It then turned to the army of claim agents in and about the Pension Office, saying to them: "If you will elect our candidate to the presidency and cause the administration of the country to return into our hands we will allow you the free plunder of the Treasury. President Cleveland, as you see, bars your way to it."

THE TREASURY LOOTED.

The result was that by a narrow vote President Cleveland was defeated and General Harrison elected to succeed him. The Republican party returned to power. After it returned to power the record shows that it was as good as its word. Its promises were carried out. The protected interests swarmed to Washington and in due time the McKinley tariff bill was reported and passed. In it the demands of every producer, so far as appears, who wished to fatten at the expense of the consumer, were gratified. He had to but ask and it was given. On the other hand the horde of claim agents ran riot in the Pension Office under "Corporal Joe" Tanner until the Treasury, which President Cleveland left only too full, bade fair to be empty. The record in this respect is one of which the quondam soldiers of the republic cannot well feel proud. The Treasury was looted.

WHY WE VOTE FOR CLEVELAND.

Those who feel thus on the questions now before the country feel also that the issue involved in the present canvass is by no means a vital one. Whichever way it goes, the United States will prosper and go on in its course of irresistible development along the lines marked out as the result of the discussions of the century just closed and of the irreversible course of its events. * * * * Such being the case, those who feel as I feel, caring far more for country than for faction—for things than for names—see in Mr. Cleveland a man both true and tried, a political leader far in advance of his party, a public character with the courage of his convictions, a statesman whose views on every political issue are definite and well known, a possible President, who, if elected, can have no ulterior political ends in view, for he cannot be a candidate to succeed himself.

Opposed to Mr. Cleveland, we see the partisan candidate of a political party, the recent record of which has not served to fill us with admiration. Our pride and patriotism are not stirred at the mention of the diplomatic victories achieved by it in its disgraceful Chilian fiasco; nor does its policy of taxing every human being in the country in the name of protection in order to call into existence an industry in tin plates commend itself to our business judgment, any more than the proposition that a natural and economical desire to buy "a cheap coat" indicates "a cheap man;" while, moreover, we look with absolute and unspeakable disgust, not unmixed with alarm, upon the noisy crowd of thieves and mendicants who, under the lead of an aggressive, well-organized staff of pension agents, constitute the acknowledged camp-following of the latter-day Republican organization, and, as such, beset the doors of the Treasury. Finally, if the published utterances of ex-President Cleveland upon all the leading issues of the day constitute what is now Democracy, then I and those who feel as I do must for the time being submit, for the reasons I have given, to be accounted Democrats. So far as the nominee for the presidency is concerned, we certainly propose next November to vote as such.

MONKEYS PICKING CHERRIES.

A New York State Farmer Employing Cheap Labor.

There is an ancient saying, current among sailors, that monkeys can speak, but refrain from doing so lest they should be compelled to work. Aaron Howells, who owns a cherry farm near Goshen, N. Y., remembered this when, a year ago, he began to teach a couple of large monkeys to pick his fruit.

The influx of California fruit to the Eastern markets has gradually so seriously reduced the profits of the growers on the Atlantic seaboard that it became evident that the wages of hired pickers would eat it nearly all up. Incidentally Farmer Howells mentioned this to his cousin, who is the captain of an East India trader sailing from Boston. Captain Howells replied that on some of the islands near Siam he had seen monkeys who had been trained to pick fruit, and did their work well. He saw no reason why the creatures should not be similarly utilized in Orange county.

Farmer Howells was very sceptical, but when, on his cousin's return from his next voyage, he brought home with him two very big Siamese apes he began to instruct them at once. They learned very rapidly, and now the owner thinks they save him at least fifty cents a day each. They climb better, pick more and eat less than the boys. Each monkey has a bag that contains about five pounds of fruit slung around his waist.

"They go up the tree like a rocket," said Mr. Howells, "and when their bags are full they come down like the stick." A heap of empty sacks on the grass is waiting for them, and they help themselves and return to their work. Moreover, with their toil, the farmer thinks, they have broken their silence, and though he cannot yet understand what they say, he is quite sure that they hold animated conversations with each other.

They certainly chatter away, and that there is a spirit of rivalry between them is evident. When one plucks more cherries than the other he is somewhat offensively triumphant, and his companion is proportionately dejected.

Mr. Howells encourages competition by giving the more successful monkey something extra for his supper.

The Best Medicine for Bowel Complaint.

Mr. A. J. Darnell, of Matilda, Bedford county, Va., says: "I have tried Chamberlain's Colic, Cholera and Diarrhœa Remedy for colic several times, and it has always given relief in a short time. My mother used it for bowel complaint and it cured her in a very short time. Mr. J. H. Rice was at my house and was taken with a pain in the stomach. I gave him a dose of your remedy, and he was relieved in a few minutes. It is the best medicine I ever tried. Any one who wants information regarding it can write to me." For sale by Owens & Minor Drug Company, 1007 east Main street.

Mr. John Hungerford

Proprietor of the fine livery stable at the West End hotel, Elmira, N. Y., says Hood's Sarsaparilla goes way ahead of anything he ever took for troubles with the

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with which he suffered for a long time, until he took Hood's Sarsaparilla and was completely cured. Other members of his family also take

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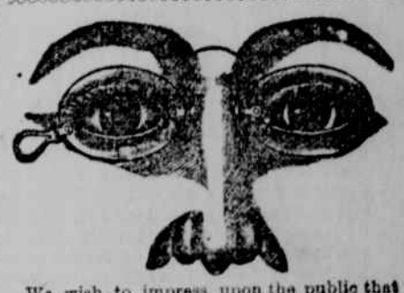

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