



Gen. Bratton's Speech.

The situation demands the earnest and thoughtful consideration of the people of this entire country and particularly of the people of this State, the voters on whom, at last, more than upon the mere personnel of their officials, depends not merely the policies of our administration of government, but the character of the institutions under which we live.

Although my life has been spent rather in thinking and doing, to the neglect of that cultivation of the gift of speech which enables men to express clearly, forcibly and attractively their thoughts and ideas, I am here to contribute, as best I may, to that agitation which will aid us in performing intelligently our duty as citizens. But were I possessed of the fiery eloquence of McDuffie, or the cultured rhetoric and diction of Preston, they would be devoted, as my humble effort will be on this occasion to that fair and frank statement which will tend to divest the minds of my countrymen of all prejudice and passion, and enable them to look the situation calmly and squarely in the face.

THE EVILS OF ONE-PARTY CONTROL.

For the past eight or ten years we have been subjected to the evils of one-party control, against which not even the increased responsibility and danger incurred by the fact that it is also one-party control could guard us.

The aspiring talent of a party whose nomination is election finds the acquirement of political methods more important, certainly as a first step, than the mastery of political principles, and, once in the that field, pride of opinion, desire for success and the heat of the conflict lead to excesses not dreamed of when it entered.

The result is that we have made great progress in political methods and absorbed in personal contention and partisan strife, are losing sight of the great purpose of our organization and drifting away from its cardinal principle.

Unable to find a way to combat the evil which seems inherent in one party power, I was content, as long as it was confined to "conventions of politicians," to enter the silent protest of having nothing to do with these combinations, relying on the solid array of our people, which enable them to defy and correct the use of perverted power by adverse administration of government, to easily enforce respect for the authority of our Constitution by our own officials. This partisan strife and contention, which up to this time has been confined to contests between temporary combinations for special or personal purposes, have made a decided step of progress in political methods by the organization within the party of a permanent political combination for not only specific but general political purposes—the principles, methods and purposes of this organization, and its effect on our common party and the great common interests of our people are matters on which there is a difference of opinion. For myself I think that in this headlong career of progress we have reached the danger line.

THE FARMERS' MOVEMENT.

Before I utter one word it is doubtless known that the Farmers' Movement, which did not command the approval of my judgement in its incipency, when it presented itself in its most inviting shape as an organization of the most independent of my fellow-citizens, the owners and tillers of the soil—a band of private citizens who had no favors to ask but rights to demand—cannot command it now after its recent culmination into a fully equipped political organization, pushing its campaign as independently of our common organization as any opposing party could. Such a proceeding is better calculated to command the approval of our dire opponents—the radicals—than of those Democrats who organized their party to promote and guard their dearest interests, and regard its sound integrity as of more consequence than the election of any man or any set of men to office.

The spirit in which it is entered upon affords material aid and comfort to our old enemies. The charges

of corruption—sweeping, not specified, but with a recklessness unprecedented in our history—do not simply please, but actually strengthen our opponents and actually weaken us.

THE PARTY NEEDS NO CHAMPION.

Now, I do not propose to assume the role of special champion of the administration of our party or State. They need none so far as I know. If they do it might be presumption in one who has had so little to do with either.

I desire to divest as far as practicable my mind of the situation of any personal consideration whatever and direct it to its bearings on our common interests. I will on this line, however, ask how, even if the charges are true, can this clamor which has been raised and caught up by our enemies and rang from end to end of this broad land, possibly conduce to our common interest? Is its tendency to reform, to purify and elevate us? Or is in the reverse? Is it not inflicting, on us, already the innocent sufferers, by the evil doing, if it has been done, the pains and penalties that should be visited upon the evil-doers? Is it not a political error that involves a fearful perversion of justice? No my friends, if our officials have willfully violated the law regulating the conduct of their offices, they are guilty of high crimes before the baseness of which any violation of a statute by a private citizen would pale into white innocence.

It would be the part of wisdom, plain practical sense, simple justice and our duty as Democrats, to arraign them before the Courts instituted for such purposes.

But these random shots fired into the multitude that strike innocent parties are audaciously reckless and dangerous to the public welfare, although they may be intended merely as shrewd political devices for the attainment of personal ends.

REPUBLICAN GOVERNMENT IN SOUTH CAROLINA.

But I would ask your attention to one charge because it takes us back to first principles, to which we cannot recur too often in periods of difficulty and doubt. This charge is so sweeping as to involve us all of the white race, and our ancestors to the third and fourth generations, in the darkness of Ethiopian ignorance, or a vile conspiracy against our own rights. It is the charge that we have not, and never have had, a Republican government in South Carolina. It has a familiar sound to those of us who are old enough to recall the experiences of those days of "Destruction and Reconstruction," when reckless Radicalism and fury and hate had full sway. The charge then was that we had never had a Republican form of government, and the consequential inference was that some power outside of ourselves was necessary to give it to us and arbitrary power was used to provide us for the first time with that blessing.

THE RULE OF THE STRANGER.

To give life and force to this reform, a band of reformers and progressions were sent among us and by appeals to class prejudice, vague unintelligible assumptions of benefits and advantages over the classes to accrue to them and a strong infusion of the dangers to liberty lurking in the hearts and presence of all who are opposed to these ideas, and denunciations of all such as "Bourbons, aristocrats and tyrants," they succeeded in arraying the numerically strongest class of our citizens and gaining possession of the government. To say nothing of the bitterness engendered by the "progressive" career of these "reformers," the evils of which cannot be remedied in generations, if ever, the result was, what it must ever be when such violations of the theory of our government are practiced, lawless confusion and chaos, inflicting fearful injury on all, but greatest on the class for whose special benefit and advantage it was ostensibly and so unwisely attempted.

While it is not for me to judge of the motives of any man, not even of these carpet-bag "reformers," whose actions we should and do justly execute, I would say that if their purpose was to bury us in the ashes of our ruins, under the weight of an organized minority, who were known

to have no conception whatever of Republican government, but reasonably expected to sympathize in vengeful hate and act with reckless passion, the gracious consideration of providing us with a Republican government was most diabolically adapted to its accomplishment.

THE REVOLUTION OF 1876.

Then we were suffering the pangs of defeat in war, scattered and helpless and at the mercy of lawless force, but contrary to expectation the maimed and mutilated fragments of unsuccessful war, with that indubitable tenacity to liberty which they are now accused of never having known, gathered themselves together, and with the aid of their sons and the encouragement of their wives and daughters, lifted the load, stormed the old fortress occupied by freebooters and despoilers, and planted on it their standard of constitutional liberty and established in it constitutional government. This is the only type of government that affords guarantee to the liberties of the people, for as long as they have the intelligence and manhood to maintain and enforce their Constitution, all the liberty to which they are entitled under it is absolutely secure. The agency which enabled us to establish and maintain such a government is the organization of the Democratic party. The "Republican form of government" was used to suppress and prevent its organization.

THE OLD CARPET-BAG METHOD REVIVED.

The charge now is practically the same, though it implies what the other did not—bad faith in our management under the Republican form of government that has been given us. With this addition, it embraces the same allegation, and the same consequential inference, that some power other than that at present organized by us must be invoked to consummate our blessings in that line. The same methods are used. The only difference consists in the source from which the charge emanates, the band of reformers and progressions spring, and the class of our citizens to be arrayed, taken. They are all from the ranks of the "Bourbons," "aristocrats" and "tyrants." And although I know that no such results are expected or intended, yet when we put the same causes to work, how are we to avoid the same or similar results?

If the purpose were, and I know it cannot be, the disintegration and final destruction of our party, our friends who have called it up again might be congratulated on its aptness for the business, for by fair construction, it is a simple and plain arrangement, not simply of its methods, but of the party itself and its principles, as a cheat and a fraud, which never have given, and do not now give us what we are entitled to—this Republican Government.

But I cannot attribute such a purpose to any sons of South Carolina, particularly those who are proud of the noble services rendered by them to their party, and the prominent part taken by them in its conflicts and triumphs. In the excitement of partisan strife, it is no unconscious Ting at the bridge that has given us safe passage thus far, which has a tendency to weaken and impair its efficiency. But I call your attention to this charge particularly, because it takes to first principles, a due consideration of which will throw some light on the question as to what sort of government we are entitled to, and whether we have it or not.

WHAT GOVERNMENT IS.

When our ancestors determined to exercise the sovereignty, which always and everywhere abides in the people, they deemed it best, in order to secure its untrammelled exercise, to cast off every semblance of personal or arbitrary power. They accomplished this by entering into a compact, which they framed and solemnly enacted into law. This law, the embodiment of their sovereignty—the Constitution—was enthroned as the ruler of the government established by them. Provision was made for the conduct of this Government, for the appointment of the various officials prescribed by law, and also rules and regulations for

the conduct of each and every office. Power was conferred really on the office, not on the individual occupying it, for one moment before he enters an office he is a private citizen, and one moment after he leaves it he is the same; but the power and authority of the office continue.

A GOVERNMENT OF THE PEOPLE.

It will thus be seen that so long as the offices are conducted in accordance with these rules and regulations the government thus administered is the sort of government to which we are entitled, call it what you may, and actually is a government of the people, by the people, for the people, and that is the sort of government our fathers fought for and won the right to establish—the sort of government that was maintained by the party of the Constitution in South Carolina for nearly a century, the sort of government we fought for in the late civil war, the sort of government we lost when the blessing of a "Republican form of government" was for the first time bestowed on us. It is the sort of government we regained when in the depth of our adversity we, ploughboy "Bourbons and aristocrats," of South Carolina arrayed ourselves on the lines of the Constitution and enforced its authority against overwhelming odds. This was our society organized into a State. Our State joined other States in another compact establishing another government for special purposes, subject to the same or similar rules and regulations made by the Government of the United States. The only material point of difference in the conduct of these governments is in the mode of providing for their maintenance.

So far as the conduct of the officials is concerned, they are equally subject to the supreme law, and when administered in strict accordance with it, are equally governments of the people, by the people, THE REAL SOURCE OF OUR PRESENT TROUBLES.

Our present troubles are attributable to mal-administration in the Federal Government. Its long continued control by the Republican party, which has never been capable of operating a constitutional government, has resulted in progressive encroachments on the sovereignty to which it owes allegiance. It was in its incipency intended to be a sectional party, and the administrations furnished by it were from the first wide departures from the track of the Constitution, and were in fact the government of the whole people by a section for a section. But the progressive spirit, of which it boasts, did not long rest there. It has made another stride in the conversion of constitutional power into personal or arbitrary force, and degraded even the government by a section into a government by a fraction of that section. It has ceased to represent or enforce even the will of a section of people of all classes, but is controlled by the money power of that section which it has concentrated into the hands of a few, by its iniquitous restrictions not on the production of wealth by our people, but on its just distribution. We are in danger of having an oligarchy fastened on us, an aristocracy, through the instrumentality of the Federal Government, not the State, which is in very deed the only protecting shield of our individual liberties against the encroachments of unlawful power.

THE ENCROACHMENTS OF FEDERAL POWER.

These measures of restriction upon the just distribution of wealth are the key to the stronghold of the enemy. They are exerting all their skill, stretching to the utmost limit the power of the government, to fortify and strengthen it on the one hand and to distract the assault which we are arraying against it on the other. There are increasing passions to an enormity to invite our attack to that point, and at the same time arraying the Grand Army of the Republic (to their disgrace) for its defence. They are distracting our producers from the true path of relief by promises of warehouses for the storage of their produce and advances at low rates of interest by the Government.

To say nothing about the constitutionality of those measures, they are both snares for the unwary and distressed producer of wealth, by the power that controls the party that controls the Government, and they propose to increase their array by as-

suming extraordinary jurisdiction over our Federal elections.

THE CHARGE OF EXTRAVAGANCE.

This new development of the Farmer's Movement is distracting us in a wrangle among ourselves on false and comparatively unimportant issues, and is in perfect accord with the skillful tactics of our unscrupulous foe and this when liberty itself is being jeopardized and its rescue is the great stake for which we are arrayed. Squabble and wrangle about State expenses when, exclusive of the debt we inherited from our carpet-bag friends, they will amount to less than 50 cents per capita!

According to the most reliable estimates that I can procure, our share of Federal taxes amounts to at least twelve dollars per capita, of which four dollars goes to the public treasury, and eight dollars to increase the hoards of the favored few. And this tax is not in proportion to property or wealth, but is rapied from the labor and industries of the country.

THE UNEQUAL DISTRIBUTION OF WEALTH.

The unrest of the people arising from the condition of their private affairs is not confined to this State and is not attributable to any cause within its borders or control. The condition is this, that notwithstanding the production of wealth is greater than ever before throughout the world, not only in the aggregate, but per capita, the workers who produce it are everywhere, for the most part, in straitened circumstances. The difficulty lies in imperfect distribution. The cause, of course, varies in different countries. In those of the Old World, under arbitrary rule, with their heavy hereditary favored list and expensive outfit, heavy exactions from the producers are necessary for their support. Over there the people, handicapped as they are by ironclad rule, have managed to interest their governments in the subject, and it has become not only a national but an international question in Europe, where the solution of the problem is attended with great difficulty, and involves changes in the character of the Government which cannot be effected without risk of destruction.

Here the situation is the reverse. The distribution is not merely imperfect, as it might be called, if caused by the necessities of government, but it is unfair and unjust, because it is effected to a large extent by perversion of the powers of Government.

THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY THE HOPE OF THE STATE.

We need no labor movements or Socialism to enlist the interest of government. All that is necessary is for our people to have the intelligence and manhood to enforce their Government to its constitutional limits and maintain it there. The only hope or practical mode of doing it is through the agency of the party of the Constitution, the Democratic party.

I should have said, while on first principles, that the only individual sovereign power which was retained by the people was that which would enable them to control the conduct of their Government and enforce the authority of the Constitution. That power is exercised through the ballot, and thus all voters are equals in power and influence to their control of their government, so far as human agency can make them so. There can be no aristocracy in this country without violation of the institutions under which we live. Here in South Carolina we are all Bourbons and aristocrats, or we are all common people.

AN APPEAL TO THE YOUNG MEN.

One word in conclusion to my young friends, on whom the direct calamity of our defeat in war has fallen, the deprivation of their facilities for education, you are sons of sires who have stood with me shoulder to shoulder on the bloody field of battle in defence of the Constitution, who in the depths of our adversity arrayed themselves solidly on its lines, and by their manhood and tenacity enforced respect for it. You are flesh of our flesh, bone of our bone and I appeal to you not to allow yourselves to be led away from the faith of your fathers.

A TARIFF REVOLUTION BEGUN.

Philadelphia's Toilers Rise Against McKinley's Bill.

News and Courier. PHILADELPHIA, Pa., June 3.—The business men's meeting for the purpose of protesting against the passage of the McKinley tariff bill was held at the Walnut Street Theatre in this city this afternoon. Alex. K. McClure presided, and the list of vice presidents included the names of many prominent business men of Philadelphia. The building was crowded, the tobacco, tin plate and woolen industries being largely represented. The speakers were

Congressmen McAdoo of N. J., Springer of Illinois, Bynum of Indiana, and Breckinridge of Kentucky.

To-night a mass meeting of textile workers, called for the same purpose as the afternoon meeting, was held at textile Hall in Kensington, a suburb of Philadelphia, in which most of the large woolen mills are located. The meeting was gotten up under the auspices of the Tariff Reform Club, the membership of which consists mostly of workmen in the mills, who are opposed to the proposed increase in the duty on imported wools. Messrs Springer, Breckinridge, McAdoo and Bynum were the principal speakers at this meeting. It was a tremendous affair. It is estimated that from 7,000 to 10,000 people, most of them workmen, participated.

In addition to the meeting at Textile Hall, where over two thousand people listened to the speeches of Springer, Breckinridge, McAdoo and Bynum, three overflow meetings were necessary in order that all who desired to hear and see the distinguished speakers might be gratified.

Early in the evening a parade of workmen took place. The line formed at Broad and Diamond streets and between three and four thousand men marched from there to the scene of the evening demonstration. John Moore, carpet weaver, presided at the Textile Hall meeting.

Two of the overflow meetings were held in the open air. At both of these the attendance was very large. A third overflow meeting assembled at Enterprise Hall. Each of the four speakers addressed all four of the meetings, their remarks creating intense enthusiasm.

The following preamble and resolution were adopted:

Whereas, both political parties have promised to correct the inequalities and discriminations of the present tariff law which, by placing undue burdens upon the raw materials of our industries and the necessities of life, destroy our opportunities for enlarged markets, restrict opportunities for work and reduce the wages of labor; and whereas, the party now in control in Congress, instead of redeeming its pledges and keeping faith with the workmen, is attempting to foist upon the American people a most iniquitous measure, commonly known as the McKinley bill, which, by increasing inequalities and discriminations, will strengthen monopoly, destroy our industries and crush labor; therefore we, the workmen of Kensington, in mass meeting assembled,

Resolve, That we cannot too strongly denounce the McKinley bill as a dangerous measure, nor too earnestly protest against its passage by the United States, and that we hereby give notice that we will not be satisfied with anything short of free raw materials, and such corresponding reduction of general tariff rates as will make living cheaper and give us a chance to enter foreign markets with our products, as well as to keep and control our own, knowing full well that only by these means can toilers be steady and get good wages.

When chairman Moore announced that he had a letter from Ex-President Cleveland, regretting his inability to attend, the demonstrative crowd went wild with cheers. When order was restored the letter was read, which was as follows:

A LETTER FROM CLEVELAND.
NEW YORK, May 29, 1890,
F. A. Herwig, Esq., President.

My Dear Sir: I desire through you to thank the Kensington reform Club, formerly known as the Workingman's Tariff Reform Association, for the courteous invitation I have received to attend the mass meeting on the evening of the 3rd of June. The terms in which the invitation is expressed convinces me that the question of tariff reform is receiving the attention it deserves from those most vitally interested in its just and fair solution.

I know that with the feeling now abroad in our land and with the intense existence and activity of such clubs as yours the claim presumptuously made that people at the last election finally passed upon the subject of tariff adjustment will be emphatically denied, and that our workmen and our farmers will continue to agitate this and all other questions involving their welfare and increased zeal and in the light of increased knowledge and experience, until they are determined finally and in accordance with the American sentiment of fair play.

I use no idle form of words when I say that I regret my engagements and professional occupations will not permit me to meet the members of your club on the occasion of their

mass meeting. Hoping that those who are fortunate enough to participate will find it to their profit, and that the meeting will in all respects be a great success, I am yours very truly,
Grover Cleveland.

REV. THOMAS DIXON.

He Lashes the New York "Mail and Express" Because of Its Sectionalism and Hatred of the South.

New York Sun.

The Rev. Thomas Dixon, Jr., spoke Sunday morning to the members of the Twenty-third Street Baptist Church on "The Sectional Newspaper," which he denounced as a national curse and a disgrace to Christianity. "It has no mission to perform," he said, "because the causes which separated this country into sections have disappeared. Talk about the Confederate flag! Why, I was born in the South and lived there twenty-three years, and I never saw a Confederate flag."

Speaking of the recent flag editorials in Col. Sheppard's newspaper the preacher said:

"The *Mail and Express* so distorts and falsifies the facts as to make it appear that the only flag to be seen was the Confederate flag. This was done with the deliberate purpose of deception. It deals in vituperation, abuse, epithets. The words traitor, rebel, and such are very ready for use they are ridden to death. Such is the resort of small natures. Think of Abraham Lincoln, whose life meant 'charity toward all, malice toward none.' Think of him and then think of this foul tirade of abuse. Think of General Grant. Hear the message that he sends from Mount McGregor: 'I have witnessed since my sickness just what I wished to see ever since the war—harmony and good feeling between the sections.' Shall vandals destroy this harmony and good feeling? The man who would seek to destroy it, in the face of this message of peace and of fraternity that comes to us from the lips of the great chief, is unworthy the inheritance of such a man, and for such a reviler to dare to pay tribute to the grave of Grant is the height of sacrilege.

Such a paper assumes a pious whine, nauseating in the extreme, and poses as a representative of Christianity. It could not live without the assumption of some moral force; it would not be tolerated, and so it steals the liver of heaven. In the name of God and of truth, of honesty and integrity, I, for one, repudiate this so-called newspaper as in any sense representative of Christianity. The God that presides over the editorial office of the *Mail and Express* and such papers is not my God. I do not know Him, I never knew Him, I do not want to know Him. About as near as I can make it, his God is the devil, whom I fight and fear, with this exception, that the devil is shrewder and more artistic in his methods. [Applause.]

Hear this quondam editor shriek for an army of men to march on Richmond! For what? To rob the dying of the dead. Such men are neither brute nor human; they are ghouls. Twenty-five years have rolled away since those awful days of the war. Peace and prosperity onward flow over the mountain and plain and sea. And now in the midst of all these things this little tin soldier wakes up suddenly and wears the ears of heaven and earth with his little tin horn. [Applause.]

Keep such papers from your homes as you would a pest. If you want vicious literature, use the bald vulgarity of Swift or the naked realism of Zola. It will be less dangerous than the hatred and malice and falsehood of such a sheet wrapped up in a Scripture text.

Men of the North and men of the South, we are brethren. Let us hear to-day the voices of the heroic dead. They'll speak for peace and for harmony. The brave and true never fight after the battle is closed. The time has come for us to take each other by the hand and crush those influences that seek to perpetuate strife for a base, ignoble purpose. God help us that we may have, in deed and truth, one glorious, united nation.