The Disintegration of the South a Certain Result of the War.

STATES' RIGHTS NOW FORGOTTEN

In the Mad Eush of Southerners Toward the Other Extreme.

PATERNALISM IS THE PRESENT PET

FROM A STAFF CORRESPONDENT. NEW YORK, May 22 - "The evidences of disintegration are everywhere apparent in the South," said the distinguished editor of a Charleston, S. C., paper, to me the other day. "The situation is to be regretted, but it cannot be ignored."

When we talk of political disintegration in the North it is usually in immediate view of local differences, or in connection with the struggle of powerful factions between ambitious leaders. These are mere political ebullitions and do not touch the more vital principles of government. The situation in the South is of an entirely difterent character.

While in South Carolina, recently, I talked with a good many politicians of the rolling class. Conservative men there view the outlook with much concern. An overwith the Alliance movement. The same is true of the Georgia Democracy. In both States the local governing element is strongly for free coinage, but coupled with it are the political idiosynerasies of the Alliance

of the West and Northwest. From States' Rights to Paternalism. One of the most interesting phases in this situation is the remarkable evolution of great peoples from the condition of radical States' ghts to the most radical paternalism within a quarter of a century. It is interesting in the first piace because of the suddenness of this transformation of Calbounism into Perferism. In the next place, because these Southern people cling to many of the earlier traditions of home rule while joining hands in the evert efforts to accomplish the pro-South Carolinian himself admitted that he could and understand it. Hence he looked upon it as the sign of party disintegra-tion. From his point of view the dissolution of the political particles means a new political alignment. But whether that new

ignment would take place immediately, or hether it would be the slow process of whether it would be the slow process of years, was something beyond him.

It would be a singular thing in our national political history if the States that were for many years the most rabid adherents of the doctrines of States' rights should be the first to make a material outbreak for paternalism. Yet these "evidences of disintegration" plainly point that way. The Farmers' Alliance movement is away from democracy as defined by the words and acts of the fathers of the Republic, and toward agrarianism—away from the strict constitutional construction school of which South Carolina was long the embodiment and toward a paternal system of government.

A Good Many Steps in One Direction. A Good Many Steps in One Direction. t is not the entire distance, it is true; but

Alliance success would mean a good many steps in that direction. Two members of the apreme Court, in confunction with those oloined in the recent O'Neill opinion, could move us along toward the Alliance al with scarcely more accelerated speed. We are wont to sneer at a third party ovement because of the incongruous elements that go to make it up and the apparent hopelessness of its prospects. Nobody can study the character of the Alliance in Southern States and sneer at it. This, for the reason that it embraces the best elements of the locality wherein it thrives and because they represent an autile revolution. to are now willing and eager to throw own all the barriers erected by the Consti-tion for the preservation of the autonomy f the States and rely upon one general gov-rument to maintain their local and individual rights. There are plenty of believers in paternalism in the North and West, and hey do not strike us as peculiar. But, dear met when we encounter such men in the south and in such numbers that they practically control State affairs—what then?

A Permanent Dissolution of Principles The South has been the bulwark, the shield, e bomb-proof of Democracy, both in the mited party and in the broader sense. If the South gives way to this modern pressure of nationalism, who will have the courage to

The "evidences of disintegration" in South Carolina are not the evidences of the disintegration of a local party organization "to be regretted" by my South Carolina friend, but the evidences of the disintegration of governmental ideas that seriously affect the whole people of the United States. If it were a more wrangle of warring factions, such as we have here in New York, the process of disintegration might be "regretted" by the politicians, but it would be of no material importance to the people at large, only so far as it might affect the choice of a freshient. The Southern disintegration, however, is in the permanent dissolution of fundamental principles, and as such is worthy of the careful study of the political economist. It is especially important in that it is aging on in the States where those principles were the strongest and were adhered to from generation to generation most tenancusty. It is not an challition—it is revolution.

It know the general impression proveils The "evidences of disintegration" in South

I know the general impression prevails that the Farmers' Alliance movement is but a temporary caze, and that it will passaway as the Greenback craze and the Granger movement passed away. No matter, But will a follow that the ruling classes of South Carolina who have abandoned their time honored Democratic principles will return to their former way of thinking.

Merely a Process of Education. This is a process of education. Men do not believe in States' rights to-day, abandon that for mationalism to-morrow and return to States' rights next week. They may vote with this party or that while in a minority, but it is generally with the party that more menriy represents their way of thinking. It is therefore immaterial to the present issue whether or not the Alliance movement peters out now or next year. The material inct remains that the disintegration of political particles and lines of traditional thought, if I may apply that process to other than a substance, has taken place. It can be no more undone than you can spill water on the ground and gather it up again. Let us grant that the Alliance is ephemeral. These men will assist in forming new parties, in constructing other platforms. With the floodgates of liberal thought thrown wide open they will not be likely to carb the expression of their preferences. As a strong minority party they already exert a mighty influence upon national affairs. Political leaders are in haste to cultivate them and to cater to them. They are the party of all demagogues. No extremity is too extreme for men who want office. to States' rights next week. They may vote The influence of the South upon national recruitmental affairs has hitherto been of a suscreative nature. The tendency of the others statesmen has been until quite results to conservatism. They have unitarily been arrayed against change. They were been the breeching to the Democratic irness and have held back habitually from a disposition to run the governmental achies out of well accepted roads.

A Change to Be Anticipated, The rise of Western influence and the increased rate of speed consequent upon Western domination left them little else but breeching. Now that this breeching is on the point of giving way what may we not

expect? Change.

Will that change from the present be as great 49 years bence as that which has taken place since 1833? And will we 40 years hence look back on this change with as little look back on this change with as little regret as we now yiew that which has occurred during the last four decades? This no living man, however wise, can answer.

Government is both the process and the result of evolution. It goes on and on as the earth goes 'round the sun. It was yesterday, is to-day and will be to-morrow—but is never the same for an instant. Human thought can no more conceive what we will be half a century hence than it could have conceived 30 years ago what we would be to-day. The springs of human action are the same. Like causes produce like results. Yet the evolution of Government is subtle and because of its subtlety irresistible. Absolutism lades into socialism by the same imperceptible degrees that truth tades into false-hood. We can neither tell where the one

LICKED OUT OF A RUT. ends nor where the other begins. We are physically and mentally conscious of the physically and mentally conscious change only after it has occurred.

In the Van of Suman Progress We know now that Imperiatism in fact is political monstrosity, that constitutional government is a necessity, that a republican form of government is a demonstrated suc-cess—and many thousands more are annually added to those who believe socialism the perfection of human society. Here in

the perfection of human society. Here in America we flatter ourselves with the belief that we are in the van of human progress. Pull of confidence in the future we are eager for new departures, prone to listen to new theories, willing to try new methods—open for any proposition called improvement. In fact, we follow those who will do anything except leave things as they are. With our conservative Southern States assimilated, every section, every party, every State, every faction, comes in competition, ohe with another, for change.

The rage for change now permeates the most conservative organizations. Were there no conflicts as to what these changes should be the Government would be revolutionized within four years. In the competitive struggle for change, however, the modification of our governmental system goes steadily on. We have become accustomed to the idea change. We have become educated to the notion that we must keep moving—backward or forward; but that we must not stand still. We indorse parties promising change, and elect men only who can present theories of what form the change shall take. Fortunately, these theorists are rendered practically powerless by their own numbers and conflicting opinions.

Conservatism Whipped Out of the South. The general sentiment of the ruling classes, North, South, East and West, is now that what did very well a generation or so ago is not the best thing for us to-day. The South alone for many years took the affirm-ative, and sent to the National Lexislature, whelming majority of the Democracy of their wisest men to maintain the status quo. South Carolina have identified themselves The Democratic party became great, as the so called anti-progressive party. With the South for its backbone and Wall street for its sinews, it gathered to its fold the entire conservative thought of the country, and largely retained it, too, after it had by polit-ical blunders that rose to the dignity of crimes forfeited every right to public sym-

But the conservatism was whipped out of the South, and the Democratic party pulled down the barriers against change and down the barriers against change and sought public approval as a party of progress also. Abandoning all else, it was driven, in general terms, to the issue of 10 percent on imports and on that difference in customs duties alone now appent to the country. That is to say, the difference between existing duties as a whole and what the Democratic party would have adopted as a whole, is about 10 per cent on the schedule.

A Logical Result of Methods, It doesn't matter whether this is exact or not; whatever the difference, it became by solemn declaration the dividing line be-tween the two great parties. The "logical candidate' was both the cause and the effect. In view of all this, what wonder that South Carolina sees no reason why she should adhere to time-honored notions—that she should longer trail along in the track of Northern Democracy? What is strange in this disintegration in Georgia? Why marvel at the hesitation of Ainbanna? If Democracy has become merely the synonym of an uncertain revenue basis and a particular man for President there is no only of an uncertain revenue basis and a particular man for President there is no longer any valid reason why any man should follow it, except so far as it satisfies his desire for the one and his admiration for the other.

Charles Theodore Murray.

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A Bushel of Wheat,

It may not interest a woman as such, bu when it is ground into creamy white flour it means a good deal. It's the wheat in the flour, the bushel of wheat after all, that because they represent an entire revolution of local governmental ideas. You there find men on every hand who fought, or whose atters fought, for the supremacy of the state authority over national authority, but who are now willing and eager to throw should interest her most, for on it depends the flour that interests her. Now, every bushel of wheat that goes into the flour chase. Every bushel is carefully inspected and rejected unless up to the standard. That is the beginning. Then every move as it passes into flour is watched as jealously as you watch your own baking. Fine wheat and experienced milling produce fine flour, as the women using the Marshall Kennedy Milling Company's flours have discovered. Camellia is their choicest brand. Bayard Amber is next. It is the whitest, purest, richest family flour at a medium price in the market, and is especially made to meet the demand for a good flour at a low price. Like Camellia it is recommended as the best flour for the price your grocer sells. Ask for the M. K. M. Co,'s flours.

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ARROWSMITH—On Sunday morning, May 22, 1892, at 1 o'clock, Lena Arrowsmith, in her 28th year. One by one earth's ties are broken

As we see our love decay; And the hopes so fondly cherished Brighten but to pass away.

One by one our hopes grow brighter As we near the shining shore; For we know across the river, Wait the loved ones gone before. The funeral will take place from the resi dence of her husband, No. 26 Buena Vista street, Second ward, Allegheny, on Tuesday

AFTERNOON, May 24, 1892, at 2 o'clock. BREWSTER—At his residence, No. 1011 Carson street, on Saturday, May 21, 1822, at 2 P. M., Dr. A. D. Berwster, aged 56 years. Funeral takes place on Tuesday After-Noon, May 24, 1892, at 2 o'clock, from the Ninth U. P. Church, corner Fourteenth and

Bingham streets, Southside. Friends of the family are respectfully invited to attend. 2 BRICKLEY-On Saturday, May 21, 1892, EDWARD BRICKLEY, aged 23 years. CUNNINGHAM — On Saturday, May 21, 1892, at 1:20 P. M., Robert Cunningham, aged 44 years, 10 months and 8 days. HAGAN-On Friday, May 20, 1892, at 10.30 P. M., Saban H., oldest daughter of C. P. and Annie Hagan, in her 27th year.

MAY—At his residence, No. 98 Taggart street, Allegheny, on Sunday, May 22, 1892, at 9:40 A. M. JOHN S. MAX, aged 34 years. Funeral services at St. Joseph's Church on TUESDAY at 9 A. M.

MEYERS—In Chicago on Sunday, May 22, 1892, at the residence of her son, William H. Meyers, Mrs. CATHARINE MEYERS. Funeral on Tuesday, May 24, 1892, at 9 a. M., at Sacred Heart Church, East End. Friends of the family are respectfully invited to attend.

PROUDLEY—On Sunday, May 22, 1892, at 2:15 F. M., HARVEY HOWARD PROUDLEY, aged 50 years 8 months and 15 days.
Funeral on Tuesbay, May 24, 1892, at 4 P. M., from his late residence, No. 293 East street Allegheny City, Pa. Friends of the family are respectfully invited to attend. ROGERS—On Sunday morning, May 22, 1892, at 1:35 o'clock, PATRICK ROGERS, aged 5:

years.
Funeral from residence of his sister-in-law, Mrs. Grace Rogers, corner Kearney's alley and Reed street, on Tuesday Morning at 8:30 o'clock. Services at St. Bridget's Church at 9 A. M. Friends of the family are respectfully invited to attend.

RUOFF-On Saturday, May 21, 1892, at 10:25 A. M., Joseph Ruopp, aged 36 years and 2 Funeral from his late residence, No. 1919 Sidney street, Southside, on MONDAY AFTER-Noon at 20'clock. Friends of the family are respectfully invited to attend. 2

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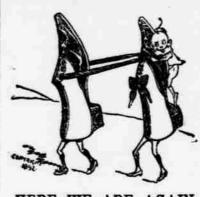
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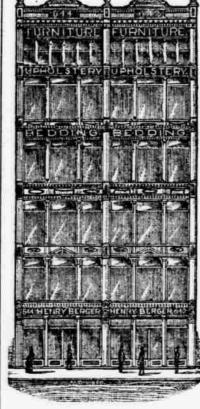
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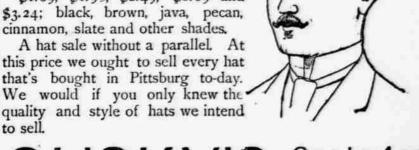
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