

made its own and is organized to maintain and defend, and this the President has attacked with a vigor and courage which makes him above any other man in public or private station the personal embodiment of the principle of tariff reform. Upon the one hand and upon the other, therefore, in respect to administrative reforms in the departments and in the public service, and in respect to the revision of the tariff laws, Mr. CLEVELAND represents and leads the popular demand for a just conduct of the public business. He represents it so conspicuously in his own person that no timid paltering with phrases in the convention platform, no words that speak without heart for things half desired or wholly abhorred, not silence, even, upon the one great issue, could alter the meaning of his candidacy or rob it of the reforming purpose his achievements and his convictions give it. In a sense never so truly applicable since the renomination of LINCOLN in 1864, the man is the platform.

He is a man the people know. They know and trust him where as yet, though not without sufficient knowledge, they do not fully trust his party. No other Democrat whom the St. Louis Convention could have named could command the confidence, the support, or the votes that he commands; and how puny and impotent now seem all the demonstrations that have been made to prevent his renomination, how discredited and harmless even for revenge are the petty and malicious spirits that have continued to resist the party's choice. Mr. CLEVELAND'S ability to administer with fitting dignity the great office of President of the United States has been tested. The record of his Administration is open to the people. It has been scrutinized by friends and by foes alike with a minute attention which has left no defects unconcealed, and has made known many virtues which even his adversaries have applauded. It is faint praise of him to say that he has been scrupulously faithful to the laws of the land, but he has been much more than this. He has been vigilant in the performance of his duties to protect the individual from the oppression of ill-regulated power, corporate or otherwise, and to shield the people from an injudicious or wasteful exercise of the legislative function. He has not at all times chosen or has not been able to abide by the spirit or by the terms of his early assurances in regard to the civil service, and no one has criticised his failures in this direction more frankly than ourselves. The record of Mr. CLEVELAND'S deviations from the path he marked out for himself is before the people, to be studied and judged by them. It calls for no words of excuse or palliation. In the words of the President himself, "it is a condition that confronts us, not a theory." But upon the other hand, no President has ever done so much to advance the reform of the civil service and make it permanent. None has ever contributed so much by his words and his work to give the reform a secure footing in the favor of the people.

By Mr. CLEVELAND'S public virtues and public defects, then, the people must take him and judge him as a candidate for the Presidency. His courage in the assailing of abuses is known. His message on the protective tariff aroused the people as they were aroused by LINCOLN'S first call for troops. His great ability is now candidly recognized. His perfect honesty and sincerity are no longer questioned save by reckless and malignant partisans. His successes and his failures, his titles to applause, honor, and respect, and his acts that have called for censure or justified want of confidence are recorded in an open book. The most cursory examination reveals the vast predominance of the entries which stand upon the credit side of the account. But above and overshadowing everything else upon the page stands the President's tariff message, constituting him the leader in an aggressive warfare to make an end of extortionate customs taxes, and furnishing the issue of the canvass. Upon the President's record, and upon that issue we cannot believe the judgment of the people at the polls will be other than favorable, nor can we doubt that the Independents of 1884 with substantial unanimity and with very large accessions will cast their ballots for the Democratic candidate.

MR. CLEVELAND'S RENOMINATION.

The St. Louis Convention presents to the people a candidate and a principle. Of the candidate they have already once recorded a favorable judgment. The principle is now first put before them as the dominant issue of a national contest. Against the renomination of President CLEVELAND no dissenting voice has been raised at St. Louis. In its form and in its spirit, being made without a call of States, by a shout of acclamation, amid a scene of extraordinary enthusiasm, and in response to a demand in which the Democracy of all the States have joined, this renomination of Mr. CLEVELAND is without precedent in the history of the country. He is called to the candidacy by his party speaking with a single voice, and not only his own conspicuous merits and proved strength, but the traditions of Presidential renominations justify the choice and constitute an augury of triumph. Of Presidents who have been a second time put in nomination, WASHINGTON, JEFFERSON, MADISON, MONROE, JACKSON, LINCOLN, and GRANT were re-elected, and only JOHN QUINCY ADAMS and MARTIN VAN BUREN failed of re-election.

The principle which the convention presents for popular ratification is the honest conduct of the public business. This principle is broader than civil service reform, it is broader than revenue reform. It includes them both and other reforms with them. The dishonest conduct of the public business includes the debasement of the Federal service through spoils-seeking and spoils-giving equally with the exaction of war taxes in time of peace, not for the benefit of the whole people, but for the enrichment of the protected few. Both have been the policy and the practice of the Republican Party, and by both the people are cheated, and their public rights and their just private gains. The public business has been honestly conducted by GROVER CLEVELAND through the Administration which is now drawing to its close, so far as he was free, within the limits of the Executive power, to conduct it upon lines of policy laid down by himself. Outside those limits, within a sphere where the responsibility for well or ill doing belongs almost solely to the National Congress, lies that monstrous system of pillage by statute which the Republican Party has