

P10,012

# SPEECH OF HON. H. G. DAVIS

Delivered at the Capitol Rink, in the City of Wheeling, on Saturday Night, October 9th, 1886.

## Democratic and Republican Government Compared—Indisputable Facts and Figures from the Last Decade of the Two Parties—Every Issue Fully Discussed.

Following in the full text of the speech delivered at the Capitol Rink Saturday night by Hon. Henry G. Davis:

The world has made more progress in this century than all time before. We cannot succeed if we stand still while the rest of the world moves on. In politics as in business, we ought to learn and profit by the past. We ought not to think so much of the old moon that we cannot receive light from the new. Do not think that things cannot be done because they have not been.

A school-boy once said to his companions: "I am going to try to do"—so and so. His companions at once said: "It is of no use to try; it never has been and cannot be done." His reply was: "I believe it can and I will try it." And while the boys were discussing the question, a shout went up: "By George, he's done it!"

Have you thought what wonderful progress has been made in the last fifty years, especially in steam, railroads, telegraphs, telephones, mowing, reaping, and many other machines?

We ought to do things in the right way and at the right time. Do not oppose or favor a measure because this or that party presents it, but let us adopt that which is good, coming from what source it may.

There are a number of political questions in which we all are deeply interested, the most important of which are:—

- The general welfare of the people;
- Tariff;
- Taxation—State and Federal;
- Railroads and their control;
- Capital and labor;
- Prohibition and license tax;
- Centralization of power;
- Local or Home Government.

It would take too long to discuss all these questions in a single speech. I will talk especially upon the tariff and centralization, or local self-government. The other questions I shall briefly refer to.

I wish to avoid all personal reference or abuse. I do not believe in "mud throwing"; I know that there are good and true men in both the great political parties—Democratic and Republican—Judge Brannon and General Goff are your candidates for Congress, both good men; but I will discuss principles and facts connected with the parties—not men.

During my remarks I want to tell you why I am a Democrat. Republicans for years have said that the Democrats ought not to be trusted with political power; that they are "Bourbons," and look backward and not forward, and that the country cannot prosper under their rule. Mr. Blaine, Mr. Sherman and other Republican leaders have lately spoken and said this. From 1801, the days of Thomas Jefferson, to 1860 the country generally was ruled by Democrats, and during that period it grew in population and wealth more than at any time under Republican

rule, and the people were as happy and contented. Two of the leading questions, and almost the only questions that the Republicans talk and boast of, are the general prosperity of the country and the tariff, under their rule.

The Republicans say that Democrats are "Bourbons," and the country cannot prosper under them. It is fair to judge the future by the past; to do this, I have taken from the census of the United States, which you know is official, facts which I think have an important bearing upon the records and the people of the two parties, and ought to make Democrats content with their position. You will see from the figures which I will present that the prosperity of the country was greater under Democratic rule than under Republican. In making comparison I will take the last ten years of Democratic and Republican administration, namely from 1850 to 1860, and from 1870 to 1880. We cannot compare any other periods, except by estimating, so we must take the census decades:

Under Democratic rule, previous to 1860, our ships carried from 65 to 92 per cent of our foreign commerce; under Republican rule it decreased until it was in 1885 but 15 per cent. This shows plainly under which party our foreign carrying trade was most prosperous.

I will now call attention to the increase in wealth and population, commencing with the first census in 1790, and ending with the last census—1880.

WEALTH AND POPULATION—U. S.

Year.	Wealth.	Per Cent Inc.	Pop.	Per Cent Inc.
1790.....	\$ 750,000,000		3,929,214	
1800.....	1,072,000,000	43.	5,308,483	35.10
1810.....	1,500,000,000	39.	7,239,881	36.38
1820.....	1,882,000,000	25.	9,633,822	33.05
1830.....	2,653,000,000	41.	12,866,020	32.51
1840.....	3,764,000,000	41.	17,069,453	33.52
1850.....	7,136,000,000	89.	23,191,876	35.83
1860.....	16,159,000,000	120.	31,443,321	35.11
1870.....	30,069,000,000	86.	38,553,371	22.65
1880.....	43,642,000,000	45.	50,155,783	30.68

Note: The population, and wealth since and including 1850, is from census.

This shows that the increase in population in each decade previous to 1870 has ranged between 32 and 37 per cent. Between '60 and '70 it was 22.65 per cent, which is accounted for by the war. Between '70 and '80 the increase was 30.68 per cent, lower than it had ever been previous to 1860, and this notwithstanding the large emigration that has come into this country during the past ten years.

Now take the increase in wealth and we will find that previous to 1860 the increase

of wealth in the country was, each decade, between 25 and 89 per cent. Between '50 and '60 the wealth increased 120 per cent, and between '70 and '80 but 45 per cent. So in the last ten years of Democratic rule the country increased in wealth nearly three times as much as during the last ten years of Republican rule. I present a table taken from the census, comparing the true and assessed valuation of property in the United States, between 1850 and '60 and between 1870 and '80:

WEALTH, OR TRUE VALUE OF PROPERTY—U. S.

Year.	Valuation.	Per Cent Inc.	Val. per Cap.	Per Cent Inc.
1850.....	\$ 7,136,000,000		\$ 308.	
1860.....	16,159,000,000	120.	514.	66.
1870.....	30,069,000,000		780.	
1880.....	44,642,000,000	45.	870.	13.

ASSESSED VALUATION FOR TAXATION.

Year	Valuation.	Per Cent Inc.	Val. per Cap.
1850.....	\$ 6,024,666,909		\$ 268.
1860.....	12,084,560,005	100½.	384.
1870.....	14,178,986,732		367.
1880.....	16,902,993,543	19.	337.

It will be seen that in 1850 the wealth per capita was \$308; in 1860, \$514, showing an increase of over 66 per cent. From \$780 in 1870 to \$870 in 1880, the increase per capita was 13 per cent, being greatly in favor of the decade between '50 and '60. Take the assessed valuation of property for taxation and the difference is still greater. The increase from '50 to '60 was over 100 per cent, while between '70 and '80 it was but 19 per cent. The increase, in actual amount, between '50 and '90 was six billions, and between '70 and '80 it was two billions, eight hundred millions. These figures are very remarkable, but bear in mind that they are official and taken from the Census of the United States.

It has often been said that the Southern States were retrograding, and that the Northern and Northwestern States were the prosperous and advancing states. I will make a comparison,—not including the six doubtful states, which vote sometimes Democratic and sometimes Republican,—namely: New York, New Jersey, Connecticut, Indiana, California and Oregon. I have here, and quote from, a table prepared by myself, from Official records, which shows that the sixteen Southern or Democratic states have increased in population between '70 and '80, 33½ per cent., while the increase of the Northern and Western Republican states has been 30½ per cent;

POPULATION.

States.	Pop. 1870.	Pop. 1880.	Inc. per Ct.
16 Southern, Dem.....	13,877,615	18,507,304	33.33
16 Nor'n and West'n, Rep.	16,119,774	21,009,566	30.33
6 N. Y., N. J., Ct., Ind., Cal. and Or., doubtful.	8,158,116	9,854,450	20.8
3 Del., Md. and W. Va. D....	1,347,923	1,700,008	26.1
3 Me., N. H., and Vt., R....	1,275,766	1,328,213	4.4
3 Ga., Mo. and Tex., D....	3,723,983	5,302,309	42.4
3 Mass., Penn. and Ill., R	7,519,193	9,143,847	21.6
6 Del., Md., W. Va., Ga., Mo. and Tex., Dem.....	5,071,906	7,002,317	38.
6 Me., N. H., Vt., Mass., Pa. and Ill., Rep.....	8,794,959	10,472,060	19.

Delaware, Maryland and West Virginia, three Southern Democratic states adjoining each other, as compared with Maine, New Hampshire and Vermont, three Northern or Republican states, which also adjoin, both groups having about the same population, the former have increased 26.1 per cent, while the latter have increased 4.4 per cent. Comparing the three largest Democratic states, Georgia, Missouri and Texas, with the three largest Republican states, Massachusetts, Pennsylvania and Illinois, we find that the former have increased 42.4, and the latter 21.6 per cent. Now if you take the six Democratic and the six Republican states just named, three small and three large of each, you will find that the Democratic states have increased 38 per cent and the Republican states 19 per cent. If you make a comparison of the population and wealth of Pennsylvania and Massachusetts, which are both large manufacturing and Republican states, you will find they increased more between '50 and '60, under Democratic rule and tariff, than they did between '70 and '80 under Republican rule and tariff:

POPULATION AND WEALTH OF PENN. AND MASS.  
PENNSYLVANIA.

Year.	Pop.	Inc.	Wealth.	Inc.
1850.....	2,311,786	20.5	\$ 722,486,120	89.
1860.....	2,906,215		1,416,501,818	
1870.....	3,521,951		3,808,340,112	
1880.....	4,282,891	21.6	5,393,000,000	41.6

MASSACHUSETTS.

Year.	Pop.	Inc.	Wealth.	Inc.
1850.....	994,514	24.	\$ 573,342,286	42.
1860.....	1,231,066		815,237,433	
1870.....	1,457,351		2,132,148,741	
1880.....	1,783,085	22.35	2,795,000,000	31.

The increase in the population of Pennsylvania between '50 and '60 was 20.5 per cent.; in wealth, 39 per cent.; between '70 and '80 the increase in population was 21.6 per cent.; in wealth, 41.6 per cent. In Massachusetts the increase of population between '50 and '60 was 24, and in

wealth 42 per cent.; between '70 and '80 the increase in population was 22, and in wealth 31 per cent. So even the great manufacturing and tariff States increased more in population and wealth between '50 and '50 than between '70 and '80.

I have here a table which shows that the population of the United States increased between '50 and '60, 35½ per cent., and between '70 and '80, 30 per cent. In the twenty years between '40 and '60, the increase was 84 per cent., and between '60 and '80, 59½ per cent:—

POPULATION—U. S.

Year.	Pop.	Per Cent Inc.	Per Cent Inc.
1850.....	23,191,876	35½.	1840 to 1860
1860.....	31,443,321		
1870.....	38,558,371	30.	1860 to 1880
1880.....	50,155,783		

I also have a table of the railroad mileage of the country at at different periods:—

RAILROAD MILEAGE—U. S.

Year.	M'ge.	Per Cent Inc.
1850.....	9,021	2.31
1860.....	30,635	
1870.....	52,914	77.
1880.....	93,671	

This shows that the mileage increased from 9,021 miles in 1850, to 30,635 miles in 1860, per 231 per cent. Between 1870 and 1880 it increased from 52,914 to 93,671 miles, or 77 per cent.

Now, if you compare the wealth of the sixteen Southern with the sixteen Northern States heretofore mentioned, between 1870 and 1880, you will find that the Southern States increased in wealth 54, while the Northern States increased 53 per cent, the six doubtful States 27 per cent. A comparison of Delaware, Maryland and West Virginia with Maine, New Hampshire and Vermont shows that the former increased 31 and the latter 34 per cent. Take, as we did with the population, the three largest Democratic States, Georgia, Missouri and Texas, and compare their wealth with that of the three largest Republican States, Massachusetts, Pennsylvania and Illinois, and you find that the former group increased 63 and the latter 40 per cent. The six last-named Democratic States, compared with the six Republican States, show an increase of 56 per cent. for the former, against 39 for the latter.

Under Democratic tariff, between '50 and '60, the manufacturing interests advanced more rapidly than between '70 and '80 under Republican tariff. During the former period the increase of capital invested was 90 per cent, while during the latter it was 31 per cent. The increase in the number of hands employed during the first decade was 37 per cent, as against 33 per cent during the latter period. And the value of manufactured products increased between '50 and '60 72 per cent, and between '70 and '80, 27 per cent.

AGRICULTURE.

It is a well known fact that more than half the people in this country are engaged in agriculture,—in fact it is the most important of all the industries; and while manufactures, wealth and population increased more rapidly between '50 and '60 than between '70 and '80, agriculture was not neglected.

FARMERS AND FARM LABORERS.—U. S.

Year.	Farms.	Increase. Per Cent.	Persons Employed.	Increase. Per Cent.
1850	1,449,073	41	2,400,583	34
1860...	2,044,077		3,219,574	
1870...	2,659,985		5,922,471	
1880...	4,008,907	50	7,670,493	29

We notice that the increase in the number of farms between '50 and '60 was 41 per cent; in the number of persons employed, 34 per cent. Between '70 and '80 the increase in farms was 50, and in the number of persons employed, 29 per cent.

The figures I have presented show that the country was more prosperous, and that the increase in population, wealth and manufacturers, &c., was greater between 1850 and '60 than between 1870 and '80.

TARIFF.

As some of you are aware, I was a member of the National Democratic Convention in 1884, and one of the sub-committee on resolutions or platform, and had considerable to do with the formation of the tariff plank in the platform adopted by the convention. I will quote the essential parts of the platforms of the two parties, relating to the tariff. One, I think, is about as strong the other as to the protection of home industries; in fact, I doubt whether any man who has not recently read, or is not familiar with the two platforms, can tell by reading them which is the Democratic or the Republican. In reading I will omit the names of the parties:

1.—“The necessary reduction in taxation can and must be effected without de-

State.	WEALTH.		Pr In Ct.
	Wealth, 1870.	Wealth, 1880.	
16 Southern, Dem.....	\$ 5,559,511,786	\$ 8,569,000,000	54.
16 North and West'n, Rep.....	14,108,809,313	21,594,000,000	53.
6 N. Y., N. J., Ch. Ind., Cal. and Or., Doubtful.....	10,174,955,334	12,959,000,000	27.
3 Del., Md. and W. Va., Dem.....	981,581,300	1,314,000,000	41.
3 Me., N. H. and Vt., Rep.....	886,129,336	1,118,000,000	34.
3 Ga., Mo. and Tex., Dem.....	1,712,144,646	2,809,000,000	63.
3 Mass., Penn. and Ill., Rep.....	8,002,169,432	11,280,000,000	40.
6 Del., Md., W. Va., Ga., Mo. and Tex., Dem.....	2,643,725,946	4,123,000,000	56.
6 Me., N. H., Vt., Mass., Penn. and Ill., Rep.....	8,893,298,768	12,398,000,000	39.

Perhaps the most surprising statistics which I present are those of the manufactures:

Year.	Capital invested.	Per Cent. Inc.	Hands Employed.	Per Cent. Inc.	Value of Manufactured Products.	Per Cent. Inc.
1850..	\$ 533,245,351	90	557,059	37	\$1,019,106,616	72
1860..	1,099,355,715		1,311,246		1,855,851,606	
1870..	2,118,298,769		2,054,095		4,292,325,442	
1880..	2,790,272,605	31	2,738,885	33	5,369,379,191	27

MANUFACTURES.—U. S.

prising American Labor of the ability to compete successfully with foreign labor, and without imposing lower rates of duties than will be ample to cover any increased cost of production which may exist in consequence of the higher rate of wages prevailing in this country."

2.—"The \_\_\_\_\_ pledges itself to correct the inequalities of the tariff and to reduce the surplus by such methods as will relieve the tax-payer, without injury to the laborer or the great productive interests of the country."

You will notice there is but a slight difference between the two platform,—in fact the parties could exchange, and the Republicans would claim they were for protection and the Democrats were not. The first clause I read was for the Democratic and the second for the Republican platform.

In another portion of the Democratic platform the party is pledged to revise the tariff "in a spirit of fairness to all interests." This provision I was particularly anxious should be a part of the platform, for the reason that there were Democrats and Republicans in Congress who were disposed to deal unfairly with the great interests of West Virginia,—namely:—coal, iron and lumber, to which I will call attention at the proper time during my remarks.

The tariff has been a leading question from the beginning of the Government. On tariff, I am a liberal Democrat,—for tariff with incidental protection and agree with the following quotations from former Democratic Presidents:

Mr. Jefferson said in his letter to Benjamin Austin of Boston, in 1816, speaking of free-trade, manufactures, etc. "I am proud to say that I am not one of these (meaning free-traders). Experience has taught me that manufactures are now as necessary to our independence as to our comfort."

Mr. Madison said in a special message to Congress, May 23, 1809: "It will be worthy at the same time of their just and provident care to make such further alterations in the laws as will more especially protect and foster the several branches of manufactures which have been recently instituted or extended by the laudable exertion of our citizens."

Andrew Jackson, in his letter to Dr. Coleman of North Carolina, August 26, 1824, said: "In short, sir, we have been too long subject to the policy of British merchants. It is time we should become a little more Americanized, and, instead of feeding paupers and laborers of England,

feed our own; or else in a short time, by continuing our present policy, we shall be paupers ourselves."

I could quote in favor of tariff from Presidents Monroe, Polk, Buchanan, &c., but have not the time.

The issue between Jackson and Clay was: tariff for expenses of Government, against protection, for the sake of protection. There have been between seventy and seventy-five different tariff bills passed by Congress; the first was written by Mr. Madison, and passed July 4th, 1789. It provided for a duty on iron of seven and one half per cent; nails, one cent per pound; glass, ten per cent; boots, fifty cents per pair, &c.

During the late war there were about 4,000 articles on the tariff list; now there are about 1,500, and the duty ranges from five to two hundred per cent. The average duty in 1885 was forty-seven per cent. The first direct tax was in 1798, and lasted two years; the next in 1813; and the next in 1862.

Many leading Democrats and some Republicans are what are called free-traders, but the great majority of both parties are for tariff with incidental protection. While we have to raise about \$300,000,000 annually to support the Government, we must have tariff. I favor a tariff, with incidental protection, to support the Government, including principal and interest of the public debt, pensions, internal improvements, etc., and think that tariff revenue should be so levied as to give protection to American labor and capital.

The entire amount of direct tax collected since the beginning of the Government has been small, only \$27,989,292.51. The Constitution of the United States says: "All direct taxes shall be apportioned among the States according to their respective numbers." If you tax direct, according to the Constitution, and estimate \$200,000,000 to be collected annually from customs duty, the following are the amounts that would be collected from the States named:

States.	Wealth.	Total Local and State Tax.	Share of \$200,000,000 b's'd on pop
Alabama .....	\$378,000,000	\$2,061,978	\$5,040,000
Connecticut..	852,000,000	5,365,739	2,480,000
Florida.....	95,000,000	605,180	1,060,000
Rhode Island	420,000,000	2,693,715	1,100,000
West Virgi'a.	307,000,000	2,056,979	2,480,000

This table shows that Alabama, with less than one-half the property would have to pay more than double the tax of Connecticut, Florida, with less than one-fourth of the wealth would have to pay

about the same United States direct tax as Rhode Island. West Virginia would have to pay more tax to the United States than she does for State and local purposes.

#### WEST VIRGINIA AND TARIFF.

West Virginia is most interested in coal, iron, lumber and wool. Let us see how the Democratic tariff of 1846, and Republican tariff of 1883 effect those three articles:

Coal.	Duty in 1792.....	\$ 1.25 per ton
	“ “ 1828.....	1.68 “
	“ “ 1846, equal to.....	1.80 “
	“ since 1873.....	.75 “
Iron.	Duty on pig iron, 1828.....	\$14.00 per ton
	“ “ 1846.....	12.00 “
	Present duty.....	6.72 “
	Duty in 1846 on most all grades of iron 30 per cent.....	\$20 to 22.50 “
	(Estimating value at \$70)	
	Present duty on common bar iron.....	18 to 20 “
	Duty previous to 1846, on cut nails.....	3 to 5 cts per lb
	“ 1846.....	2 “
	“ 1886.....	1½ “
	on cut nails.....	1½ “
	(Estimating value at \$15 per M. feet.)	
Lumber.	Duty in 1842, 20 per cent.....	\$3 per M
	“ 1846, 20 “.....	3 “
	Present duty 6 “.....	1 “
Wool.	Duty in 1846, Unmanufactured, 30 per cent.....	9 c. per lb
	Duty in 1886, Unmanufactured, 10 per cent.....	10 “
	Duty in 1886, Unmanufactured, averaged.....	10 “

Year.	Avg. duty, all articles	All articles imported
1850 to 60	22.8 per cent	19 per cent
1870 to 80	41.8 per cent	30 per cent

Articles.	1846.	1883.
Glass.....	30 per cent	35 per cent
Cut glass.....	40 “	45 “
Cotton Goods, shirts and drawers.....	20 “	40 “
Woolen goods, clothing, wearing apparel of all kinds.....	30 “	35 p.c. & 40 c. lb
Blankets and hats.....	20 “	35 p.c. & 10 c. lb
Manufacturers of leather.....	30 “	30 p.c.
Flannels.....	25 “	35 p.c. & 10 c. lb
Stockings, (cotton).....	30 “	40 p.c.

N. B. The classification changes greatly in the two bills, but is assimilated as nearly as possible.

It will be noticed that the duty on coal is seventy-five cents, which is less than it was at any time previous to 1860, Pig iron, it will be seen under the Democratic tariff of '46, was \$12; it is now \$6.72. Common bar iron in '46 was \$20 per ton; it is now \$18. The duty on nails, previous to 1846 was from two to five cents per pound; under the tariff of 46, two cents; now 1½ cents. Lumber under the tariff of '46 was \$3 per thousand; now \$1. This shows that for the products of West Virginia there is less protection now than previous to 1860; and when you take things we consume, or wear such as blankets, hats &c., we find that the duty in

'46 was 20 per cent, and now it is 35 per cent, and ten cents per pound. Clothing in '46 was 30 per cent, and now it is 35 per cent, and 40 cents a pound. While the general tariff duties are about twice as much now as they were in 1846, especially articles, that we are most interested in—namely, coal, iron, and lumber, are taxed less now than previous to 1860.

#### LABOR AND CAPITAL.

Labor and capital ought to be and must be friends, if either or both prosper. They ought as man and wife to work for one another. A man's body and limbs must work together, or he will perish. Labor and capital are like the wings of a bird; cripple one and the bird cannot fly. It requires capital to prepare the way for labor to work.

Who is the capitalist? Is it the man with house and lot, a cow, pig, etc.?

Labor and capital each have rights that must be respected, but they should not undertake to force each other. Labor, as well as capital, has a right to organize and protect itself; but no man has a right to say to another he shall or shall not work.

Are you to be proscribed, condemned and kept out of office because you are good, worthy, intelligent, and industrious, and have accumulated property, and men put in office who are unfit and have little sense or ability?

Law and order are essential to the prosperity, welfare and safety of the people, and the Government. Evil and wrongdoers are sure to come to grief. A few years ago Dennis Kearney, ruled with an iron rod the State of California; he is now an outcast and has a hard time to get a living. Martin Irons, a few months ago, had power to cause and keep in progress the great railroad strike of the Southwest; he is now wanted by officers of the law. You know the fate of the labor rioters of Chicago, Cleveland, Milwaukee, St. Louis and New York.

#### PENSIONS.

The United States pays more pensions than all the world, as is shown by the following:

#### PENSIONS—U. S.

The United States has paid in pensions nearly.....	\$900,000,000
Before 1864.....	\$ 87,654,484.79
Since and including 1865.....	748,534,393.54
1885-6.....	63,404,864.03
Appropriated for 1886-7.....	76,075,200.00

This is more than the world pays. Some of the leading countries pay as follows:

1885.

Great Britain, about.....	\$15,300,000
Germany.....	11,800,000
France.....	10,700,000
Austria-Hungary.....	7,800,000
Estimate for balance of world.....	24,000,000
Total.....	\$69,600,000
Number of pensioners on the roll in 1885.....	345,725
Increased in 1885.....	22,369
Pensions allowed since 1861.....	621,754

WEST VIRGINIA.

Since the formation of West Virginia, in 1863, there has been a steady and marked improvement in the general condition of the State and its people, and it has never been in a more healthy and prosperous condition than it is now.

SCHOOLS.

Year.	No. sch. Houses.	Teachers.	Disbursements for schools.
1870.....	2,113	2,405	\$ 470,129
1880.....	3,557	4,134	707,562
1885.....	4,157	4,811	1,172,570

The irreducible school fund has more than doubled since 1870.

There are five normal schools which were built and are supported by the State.

Previous to 1870, the Republicans used school funds for State purposes and paid no interest. In 1870 Judge J. M. Jackson and myself made a report to the Legislature, showing a deficit of \$92,552.10, of which there was taken from school funds \$60,528.34.

The public institutions of the State are in fine condition. The expenditures on the same since 1865 have been as follows: Total expenditures, \$1,586,813; Insane Asylum, \$689,517; Penitentiary, \$371,592. The balance was expended on the State Capital, University, Institution for the Deaf, Dumb and Blind, &c.

POPULATION AND WEALTH—FROM THE U. S. CENSUS, 1880.

Year.	Pop.	Increase.	Wealth, true value.	Increase.
1870...	442,000	40 per cent	\$190,000,000	61½ per cent
1880...	618,000		307,000,000	

West Virginia's taxes are much lower than the most of States. And as railroads and manufacturing establishments increase, other taxes will be reduced. The amount of tax paid by railroads in West Virginia in 1885 was \$174,113.75.

COAL.

West Virginia's coal product in 1882 was 2,000,000 tons; in 1884, 3,000,000 tons; in 1885, 3,483,000 tons.

I have stated that seventy-five cents is the present duty on coal, which is lower

than it has ever been before. We are especially interested in the duty on coal. West Virginia will lose largely, and no person be benefitted by a reduction of the duty. Those who will gain are the manufacturers, gas companies, etc., in the eastern cities. They, of course, are in favor of low duty on coal, but no West Virginian ought to be.

Coal is West Virginia's greatest interest; The State is full of it. The number of persons engaged in mining coal is 6,000 or 7,000; capital invested, \$5,000,000 to \$6,000,000. If the coal trade is good it will greatly help to build railroads. Number of manufacturing establishments in the State in 1880, 2,375; capital engaged, \$13,883,390; persons employed, 26,288.

RAILROADS.

West Virginia wants more railroads, and ought to be fair to them; but railroads must be fair to the people. The roads and the people each have rights, and each ought to be just and liberal to the other. We want more railroads, and must have them. When the whole country was without them, then all were equal. But now other states have a far greater number of miles than ours, and we must catch up or we are behind the times. Our coal, timber, iron ore, &c. &c., are worth but little without railroads—and not much with them unless they act fairly and liberally towards the people.

When railroads are built the money comes from other states. No matter whether or not they pay, they are a permanency and are taxed, and thus help the people, as the following figures go to show:

MORGAN CO., ASSESSMENT OF 1885.

Property.	Ass'm't.	Tax, 1885
Real Estate.....	\$ 797,561	
Personal property.....	421,037	
Total.....	\$1,218,597	\$15.711
Railroad property.....	822,552	9,662

The above shows that railroads pay more than two-fifths of the entire tax of Morgan County. They pay one-seventh of the tax of Hampshire County, and one-fourth of the tax of Mineral county.

Twenty-six of the thirty-eight States have railroad commissioners, and I hope the next Legislature will give West Virginia a good and fair railroad commission.

As to Prohibition, I think well regulated and high license law is the best remedy for intemperance; but if I was a member of the Legislature and the question came up for consideration, I would vote to submit it to the people.

## UNITED STATES TREASURY ACCOUNTS.

A few years ago, a committee, of which I was chairman, of the United States Senate, made an examination of the books of the Treasury Department. We made a report to the Senate, in which the Republican members of the committee substantially agreed, which was adopted by the Senate. Among the discrepancies found and reported by the committee were the following:

## TREASURY ACCOUNTS—U. S.

Pensions reported, 1865.....	\$ 9,291,610
“ “ 1870.....	16,347,621
Increase.....	7,656,010
Loan and Treasury Notes, 1863.....	753,489,000
“ “ 1870.....	814,000,000
Increase.....	56,000,000
Revenue collected, 1863.....	333,714,000
“ “ 1870.....	323,000,000
Decrease.....	10,000,000

Debt statement changed in 1870 as follows:

Finance report, 1862, increased.....	\$ 10,000,000
“ “ 1863, “.....	20,000,000
“ “ 1864, “.....	75,000,000
“ “ 1869, “.....	99,000,000

Alterations and changes on Treasury Books:

Three books in Register's office.....	428
Six books in Secretary's office.....	2,039

Alterations and erasures..... 2,515

Some of the most important Treasury warrants, transferring many millions, were lost and could not be found. While the Republicans on the committee did not agree upon all the changes, alterations and erasures as reported, all admitted changes had taken place, and the debt increased \$116,-104,081.

These changes and alterations all took place between 1860 and 1870; before and since that period no alterations or change have been known.

An examination is now going on and a partial report has been made, covering upwards of \$13,000,000 in defalcations and deficits of recent occurrence.

## INTERNAL REVENUE

The figures given below, from the report of Commissioner Miller, recently published show that under the same law the revenue collected for 1886 is an increase over the preceding year, and the expenses decreased—showing that under Democratic administration the revenue is better collected and at less expense.

## INTERNAL REVENUE.—U. S.

Total Internal Revenue, 1886.....	\$116,902,845.54
Total Internal Revenue, 1885.....	112,421,121.07
Increase in 1886.....	\$4,481,724.47
Cost of collection in 1886, about.....	\$4,300,000
or \$155,000 less than in 1885.	

Amount of tax collected on liquors.....	\$86,000,000
Amount of tax collected on tobacco.....	26,400,000
Total Revenue in West Virginia.....	486,062.88
Total Revenue in Maine, Rhode Island and Vermont.....	222,385.68
Total Customs Revenue, 1885.....	181,471,939
Total Internal Revenue, 1885.....	112,489,725
Total Net Revenue of United States, 1885.....	\$23,690,706

## EXPENDITURES AND REVENUE.

The Democratic party is the party of economy, and the expenditures of the government, per capita, have been less under Democratic rule than under Republican, as the following figures will show:

## NET ORDINARY EXPENDITURES—U. S.

Year.	Expenditures.	Population.	Exps per Capita
1850.....	\$ 44,604,718.26	23,191,876	\$1.92
1860.....	63,130,598.39	31,443,321	2.00
1870.....	309,653,560.75	38,558,371	8.03
1880.....	267,642,957.78	50,155,783	5.33
1885.....	260,226,935.11	55,000,000	*4.73
1886.....	242,483,138.50	56,000,000	*4.33

\*Estimates.

Decrease in expenditures, 1886, about.....	\$18,000,000
Increase in revenue, 1886.....	13,000,000
Reduction of public debt 1886.....	93,097,000
“ “ 1885.....	63,494,000

You will notice that I have taken each decade from 1850 to 1880, and the last two years, 1885 and 1886, and that the expenditures in 1850 under Democratic rule, were per capita, \$1.92. In 1870, under Republican administration, they were \$8.03.

You will recollect that in 1880 the Senate and House of Representatives were Democratic, though the administration was Republican; and the expenditures per capita, were reduced from \$8.03 in 1870 to \$5.33 in 1880. In the last two years you see there was a still greater reduction, which is owing to a Democratic House and administration.

In the first full fiscal year of President Cleveland's administration the expenditures were less than in 1885, by.....	\$18,000,000
The revenue under the same law was increased.....	13,000,000
The reduction of the public debt, in 1886, as the figures show, was.....	93,000,000
While in 1885 it was.....	63,000,000
The ten regular appropriations for the current year (1886) are less than last year by.....	5,661,195.74
The Senate increased the bills passed by the House.....	13,383,855

This shows less expenditures and larger payment of public debt under Cleveland than under Arthur.

## PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS—1880 AND 1884.

It is generally asserted by Republicans that the Northern and Northwestern States are Republican, and the Southern States Democratic; that the

Southern Republicans are not allowed to vote, and that the Democratic vote is most in the South. You will see from the following table that, at the last election, in the twenty-two Northern States Blaine had 53 per cent. of the vote and Cleveland 47. Of the vote of the sixteen Southern States Blaine had 42 and Cleveland 58 per cent. This table will give some interesting facts in regard to the returns of elections. It is worth an examination. Time will not permit me to more fully explain it:

PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS,—1880 AND 1884.	
Blaine's vote, 22 Northern and Western States.....	3,587,820
Cleveland's vote, 22 Northern and Western States.....	3,194,369
Total Northern vote.....	6,782,189
Blaine's per cent. of 22 Northern States.....	53
Cleveland's per cent. of 22 Northern States.....	47
Blaine's vote, 16 Southern States.....	1,260,514
Cleveland's vote, 16 Southern States.....	1,716,648
Total Southern vote.....	2,977,162
Blaine's per cent. of 16 Southern States.....	42
Cleveland's per cent. of 16 Southern States.....	58
1876.—Tilden's majority over Hayes.....	250,000
1880.—Garfield's majority over Hancock.....	7,018
1884.—Cleveland's majority over Blaine.....	62,683
Total vote in the United States in 1884.....	10,048,061
Cleveland (Democrat) received 4,911,017, or 48.87pc	
Blaine (Republican) received 4,848,334, or 48.25pc	
Butler (Greenback and Labor) rec'd 133,825, or 1.33pc	
St. John (Prohibitionist) rec'd 151,809, or 1.50pc	
Northern and Western vote for Cleveland and Blaine.....	6,782,189, or 69 $\frac{1}{2}$ pc
Southern vote for Cleveland and Blaine.....	2,977,162, or 30 $\frac{1}{2}$ pc
Weaver's (Greenback) vote.....	1880, 307,306, or 3pc
Neal Dow's (Prohibition) vote 1880, 10,305, or 0.10pc	
Ohio, Pennsylvania and New York 1884.....	1885
Prohibition vote.....	51,368   73,996
West Virginia, in 1884, gave Wilson a majority of.....	5,000 votes
And Cleveland a majority of.....	4,221 votes

#### CENTRALIZATION.

The centralization tendency of the Republican party may lead to bad results. Local self-government is essential to the freedom of the people. Ireland is now contending for "home rule"; Rome was a great republic and lost her liberty by the country districts giving up local self-government and allowing power to centralize in Rome.

The political parties first divided on the question of centralization,—Jefferson for the people ruling and Hamilton for the strong government. To-day the Democrats are for the people ruling, and the Republicans for strong government. Let me illustrate what centralization of power in Washington has done, and may do again:

In 1876 the Democrats elected Tilden by 15 or 20 electoral votes, and 250,000 popular votes. A few Republicans in Wash-

ington confiscated the votes of three States and seated Hayes, whom the people rejected. Tilden was elected and Hayes got the office. How was this done?

Chandler, Secretary of the Interior;  
Cameron, Secretary of War;  
Robeson, Secretary of the Navy;  
Grant, President and Commander of the Army.

Chandler was chairman of the National Republican committee, and in connection with the others, sent his celebrated telegram which told all the Republicans in the country to claim the election of Hayes. Cameron and Grant collected the army around Washington. The result was the seating of Hayes, when Tilden had been elected.

I do not not say that all the good or best men of the country are Democrats or Republicans, but I do say that Democratic principles are nearer right than Republican principles. The "butcher and sheep story" will illustrate: A butcher cut a sheep into halves and hung one on either side in front of his door. When he came to look for the mutton one half was gone. The butcher said to several persons who were standing by that the fellow who stole the half sheep was a Democrat. One of them, a Democrat, became indignant and said: "How do you know?" The butcher answered: "A Republican would have stolen it all."

Had it not been for the Democratic party no man can tell how far the Republicans would have gone centralizing power during and after the late war.

#### CONCLUSION.

The two great political parties were formed under Hamilton and Jefferson, and the Democratic party has continued from that day to this. Under Democratic rule this nation grew in population, wealth and extent as no country has ever done. Under Democratic rule you did not hear of great frauds and rings, such as the post-offices, navy, whisky, Custom House, Indian, public lands, &c., &c.

Under Democratic rule, Florida, Louisiana, Texas, and all the country west of the Mississippi came to us. Under Democratic rule, the country grew great and business prospered.

I have shown that under Democratic rule the United States Government and our State expenses were less; population and wealth increased more and faster; less frauds.

The Democratic party was out of power 25 or 30 years and still lived and stuck to principle.

The Republicans told the people that if a Democratic President was elected,

The public debt and credit would be impaired;

Pension roll reduced and not paid;

Rebel pensions and war debt paid;

The Treasury empty;

Amendments to the constitution repealed;

Taxes increased;

Tariff reduced and manufactures stopped,

and the country generally would "go to the dogs."

Cleveland has been President nearly two years and none of the Republican predictions are realized; in fact the country is more prosperous than under Republican rule.

Many political parties have come and gone; the Democratic party has outlived them all and I believe will be at the funeral of the Prohibition, Labor, Greenback and Republican parties.