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Republican Extravagance Exposed. Necessity of Reform and Change of Administration.

SPEECH OF HON. HENRY G. DAVIS.

Before the Tilden and Hendricks Club, at Keyser, W. Va, Saturday, Sept. 2d, 1876.

Your presence here, the formation of this club, and the interest the people of this county take in political affairs, indicate that they are in earnest, and are thoroughly in harmony with the great reform movement inaugurated by the Democratic party, throughout the state and country, which if followed up must insure success which never seemed so necessary to the future welfare of the people and the government.

The approaching Presidential and the State Campaign is one of the greatest importance and the country appears reaching results. The outlook for the success of the Democratic party on which depends the restoration of the Government to its original landmarks is most encouraging. And unless there is a repitition of Federal interference in the south, of bayonet rule, and heavy expenditures of Government money in some of the large cities of the Union to influence votes, a fair election and success is assured. The people appreciate that they are not only called and ultimately the liberties of the peo-

upon to decide pending issues. but must say whether or not in the future Centralization, personal Government, extravagance, corruption in office, shall continue, the existence and practice of which by the Republican party has not only brought the Government almost to the verge of disgrace, but, imperiled the liberties of the country; because Centralization and the evils that follow in its train, have preceded and mainly caused the downfall of all former republics The two great parties are nearly equally divided. They are to measure strength.

To my mind the Democratic party represents the cause of the people, the Government in its purity and the great principles upon which it was founded, honest administration of public affairs, economy, retrenchment, and reform; on the other hand the Republican party represents all that is destructive of good Government by the people, extravagance, centralization, corruption, the destruction of states and state lines

ple as guaranteed by the constitution. In many instances more than thirty The contest is unequal. On the side of the Republican party, there are 100,000 Federal office holders and emplyees fighting for official existence, whose leaders have not in the past and who will not in the future hesitate to use the whole patronage of the Government to promote the success of their cause. The honest and prudent will give these facts due weight, and when considered it becomes clear that the Democratic party is called upon for its best efforts and best exertions in the impending struggle, and its members if they succeed must watch and work from now until November with unceasing energy and vigilance.

The Condition of the Country.

without exaggeration, is alarming. Reform is the watch-word and remedy.

The Republican party has had control of the Government for the last sixteen years, four of war, twelve of peace; and in these twelve years since the war closed in 1865, what has it accomplished? Nothing in the way of progress and prosperity; nothing in the direction of curing the sad results of the war and restoring peace and harmony between the different sections of the union: nothing toward reform and honest Government. But on the contrary, every step has been backward, and the country has gone with rapidity from bad toworse until we find ourselves almost at the lowest depths of dispair and financial distress as a people and a nation. During this period, centralization and consolidation of power in the general Government has made alarming strides; constitutional liberty has suffered; the rights of states and individuals diminished; whole state Governments inaugurated by the people under the constitution have been overturned by Federal force, and Governments sustained by military power substituted; faithful, efficient and honest officers violently removed from the public service and their places generally filled by narrow partisans; taxes increased, officers multiplied, corruption and extravagance in every branch of the Government has grown to large proportions; our financial affairs are in confusion, managed for the most part in the interest of the bond holders; the Treasury Department has been invaded and without authority of law figures, reports, statements and records officially made have been ar-

years and been accepted and acted upon as accurate and correct, by reason of which the public debt has been increased hundreds of millions, the expenditures many millions, and the revenue decreased as many more. Indeed very little that is good in government and national morals has been encouraged during this period, while almost everthing that is bad has been aided and fostered by the Republican party. Corrupt associations for corrupt purposes usually called rings have exercised, in these twelve years, great influence in public affairs, and have enjoyed respectable standing with the administration and its followers to such extent that this period will go down in history as the era of rings, of which the following may be named as the most powerful: The whisky, Indian, strawbid, Real Estate Pool, Army, Navy, Post-trader, Moth Exterminator, Credit Mo-bilier, Washington City Custom House, Freedmans Bank and Bureau, Pacific and other Railroads, &c. These corrupt combinations or rings, have been so well managed and so much aided and encouraged by those in high places, because of personal interest, that notwithstanding the constant efforts of the Democratic party to expose and drive them from power they still exercise great influence in the administration of public affairs. Now turning from this hasty sketch of our political condition, and considering our domestic affairs, the view is no better. It is difficult to realize or describe the present depressed condition of the people and the business of the country. Every branch of industry has been crippled and many entirely destroyed; wages of all kinds reduced, rolling mills, iron furnaces and factories of all kinds have nearly all come to a stand still; the working of coal, iron and other mines has been generally suspended. The farmer can get but a meager return for his produce and most of that little goes to pay the heavy taxes that hang over the country like a dark cloud. Commerce is languishing, our steam ships are without emigrants and with but little freight and few passengers. By miserable and we might say almost criminal mismanagement of our financial affairs and partir an legislation, values are unsettled, property has shrunk almost one half, labor has been depressed, capital made timid bitrarily changed, after they have stood | hoarded because nothing is certain in

the financial world for a day. The currency has been contracted by unwisely attempting to force resumption of specie payments, and fixing a certain day to do so, thereby compelling all payments in gold; silver has by act of Congress been demonetized. In word all profitable business been brought to a standstill. Millions of people are without employment, hopeless and helpless, face to face with want and hunger, and winter before them The remedy for these evils in my judgement is a change of administration. It cannot be that the Republican party that has produced such results in twelve years, whose administra tion has borne such fruit, can or ought to be continued. Certainly it has forfeited all claim to the confidence of the American people.

I am aware that general charges and statements do not carry conviction, but facts and figures, though, some times dry and uninteresting do; and I will now proceed briefly to submit both in

support of what I have said.

Receipts of the Government prior to and since June 1861.

From an official statement of the Treasury Department made to Congress through ex-Secretary Boutwell showing the gross receipts and disbursements of the Government from its organization, to June 30th, 1875, dated August 10th, 1876, the following facts are taken:

Prior to June 30th, 1861, the total receipts were...... \$2,263,660,610,68 From July 1st, 1861, to June

30th, 1875...... 12,709,645,059,23 Difference.....\$10.425,984,449,23

That is to say, there was collected from the people in fourteen years of Republican rule, since July 1st, 1861, more than ten billions of dollars more than or about six times as much as was collected from the foundation of the Government to June 30th, 1861, a period of seventy-two years, and which is about four times the amount of the public debt, and yet out of this enormous sum collected there has been paid less than \$500,000,000 on the public debt; the balance of this enormous sum has been expended in paying expences of the Government, during this period.

to June, 1861, and from July, 1861, to June 30th, 1875. Expenditures of the Government

From the same official statement we have the following facts:

DISBURSEMENTS.

1875 12,566,892,569 53

Difference.....910,385,945,396 82 blierence.
hat is, the expenditures
from 1861 to 1775, a period of
fourteen years, were more
than ten billions greater
than and nearly six times
as nuch as from the foun-That is, as nuch as from the foundation of the government to June, 1861, a period of seventy-two iyears. Now if we deduct from the amount expended from July 1, 1861, to June 30, 1875, which is, as before stated, 12,566,892,569 58

The amount expended during the war and the administration of Mr. Lincoln, which was \$4,667,457. 921 22; the amount paid for pensions from 1865 to 1875, which was \$268,047,847 57. (see Finance Report, 1875, p. 575-6); the amount paid as interest on the public debt/during the same pe-riod, which was about \$1,-225,000,000 00; and the re-duction of the public debt duction of the public debt during the same period, which was \$448,363,587 99— (see Finance | Report, 1875, p. 575), which are war ex-penditures, and are ex-cluded, we have the sum

6,608,869,356 78

5,958,023,212 75

which has been expended during the ten years from 1865 to 1875 and the entire expense of Mr. Lincoln's administration during the War, as also all of the expenditures, incident to or growing out of the War, since its close, and up to 1875 being deducted.

That the difference may be more readily understood, I place the amounts

as follows:

The expenditures of the Government for the ten years from 1865 to 1875 after excluding all pensions paid, all interest on public debt, and the reduction of the public debt from 1865 to 1875 amounted to

war 1812, Mexican and Indian wars, pensions paid, and interest on the public debt, was...... 2,230,947,173 21

Difference.....\$3,728,076,039 54

That is to say, it cost from 1865 to 1875, ten years of peace under Republican rule, after excluding all expenses growing out of the war, nearly three times as much to operate the Government as it did to operate it from its foundation to 1861, a period of seventytwo years.

What six years of President Grant's while the increase in population was Administration has Cost, as compared with the Expenditures of the Govern ment prior to June, 1861.

From the statement of the Treasury Department referred to we find, as before stated, that prior to June 30th, 1861, the total disbursements were

\$2,230,947,172 21.

This amount includes, as before stated, the expenses of a remnant of our revolutionary war, of the war of 1812, all of our Indian wars, the Mexican war, all pension expenditures and interest on the public debt prior to 1861 from the foundation of the government.

According to the statement of the Treasury Department referred to, in six years of President Grant's adminis-President Grant's addition, from 1869 to 1875, tration, from 1869 to 1875,

Now, from this amount there should be deducted, as expenditures growing out of the war, the following items: Pension expendiexpenditures from 1869 to 1875, \$179,-234,405 46 (see Finance Re-port, 1875, p. 575); interest paid on public debt during same period, 6 years, about \$660,000,000 00; reduction of the public debt during the same period, about \$336,000,-

000 00 1,175,234,485 46

Difference.....\$2,832,623,903 75

In other words, it cost \$600,000,000 more, after deducting the expenditures growing out of the war, to carry on the government six years under President Grant, than all the expenditures of the government from its organization to 1861, a period of 72 years.

Statement showing the increased net ordinary expenditures of the Government from 1860 to 1874, excluding interest on the public debt, and the increase per capita.

Year.	Population.	Net ord, exp.	Per capita
1860		\$ 60,010,062 58	\$1 92
1874		194,217,210 27	4 51

Increase in population about 40 per cent. Increase ln expenses over 200 per cent.

It will be seen that this table includes only the net ordinary expenditures, and excludes the expenses on account of and interest on the public debt.

It shows that the net ordinary expenditures in 1874 were more than three times as much as they were in 1860, and the expenses per capita in- 1856. Out of this number suit appears creased more than 21 times as much, to have been ordered against three;

only about 40 per cent. If the expenses per capita had only increased with the population, they should have been only 40 per cent. greater than in 1860, or 76 cents more, making \$2.68 instead of \$4.51 per capita; but this is allowing too much, because as a rule the expenditures of the government should not increase in the same ratio as population.

Defalcations in the Internal Revenue Department.

Under a resolution of the House, the Secretary of the Treasury made a report dated February 18th, 1871, showing the balances due from collectors of internal revenue who were not then in office up to June 30th, 1870, which amounted to the sum of \$20,700,983 33. This covers the losses in one bureau, (the internal revenue,) a period of only about 8 years, from 1862 to 1870, and does not include defaulters in office.

Mr. Guthrie, in his official report to Congress as Secretary of the Treasury, in 1856, states that the loss in all of the departments of the government from 1789 to 1856, a period of sixty-seven years, was \$6,213,345 69 To this add the losses from 1856 to 1860, four years, which, after careful examination is estimated at \$3.666,654 31, and the total losses from 1789 to 1860 is \$9,880,000 00 in all departments of the government, a period of about seventy-two years

In the report of the Secretary of the Treasury made in 1871, above referred to, may be found a list of defaulting collectors, and the balances against them, from which I cite the following:

The aggregate balance at that date against

Lewis B. Collins, of Louisiana... Thomas Jones, of Ohio..... Joshua F. Bailey of New York (thirty-second district)..... D. E. Harbaugh, of Massach'ts... Barton Able, of Missouri.....

Alex. Spaulding, of New York... A. M. Wood, Sheridan Shook. " J. F. Bailey, N. Y., (fourth dist.)

745,026 64 436,474 73 687,490 53 309,586 19 333,575 70 652,305 46 635,742 97 592,763 07 263,227 72 260,427 27 439,489 65 443,169 21 602,769 53

Total.....\$6,936,811 38 The defalcations of fourteen collectors above named, amount to nearly \$7,000,000, or more money than Mr. Guthrie reported as actually lost from the beginning of the government to

but whether prosecuted to judgment or | cies pointed out by myself did exist; not, Congress and the country are without information.

Forcing Balances, and Changing Figures and Reports in the Treasury Depart-

In the early part of the session of Congress just closed, I called the attention of the Senate and the country to the fact that changes, alterations and discrepancies existed in the official finance reports to Congress, and introduced a resolution asking that a special committee of the Senate be appointed to investigate the same, which was voted down by the Republicans, and the resolution was referred to the Finance Committee of the Senate. After about five months delay, the Treasury Department, through the Finance Committee, made a report admitting that the changes, alterations and discrepan-

enue collected.....

Showing a decrease of

that official statements of the public debt made to Congress and standing on the books for more than thirty years in some instances, had been changed, remodeled and restated, and attempted to explain them away. I established the fact that by reason of these changes, alterations and forcing balances, the public debt had been increased in the aggregate \$247,000,000; that the expenditures had been increased and the revenues collected decreased many millions. In order to show that the official reports to Congress do not agree, but have been changed, I submit the following table showing the difference between the finance report for 1870 and previous report, and 1871 and subsequent reports, as to the public debt from 1862 to 1870:

whatever can be made. Here we find

that the amounts of the net revenue

27,776,14 collected during certain years have

	Public debt, finance	as stated in the report for-		
Year.	1871 and sub sequent re ports.		Increase.	Decrease.
1862 1863 1864 1865 1866 1867 1868 1869 1870	1,119,772,138 1,815,784,370 2,680,647,869 2,773,236,173 2,678,126,103 2,611,187,851 2,558,452,213 2,480,672,672	63	20,978,957 26 75,093,881 08 99,449,733 36 94,813,828 07	\$ 1,945,156 79 10,189,705 52 14,013,111 25 24,633,113 48
Total Difference or increase	\$19,272,555,561	57 \$19,023,595,208 63	\$299,801,439 98 248 960 352 94	\$ 50,841,087 04
From this it will be see finance report for 1871 not of from the finance report of 1 creases the public debt for between 1862 and 1870 more 000,000. I come now to the loans, a notes. The report of 1863 a quent reports, put the loans ury notes for the year 1863 amounts:	only differs 870, but in- r the years than \$248,- nd treasury and subse- and treas-	Report for 1868 st enue collecte Report for 1870 st enue collecte Showing a	ates net rev- d	112,687,290 95
In the report of 1863	778 690 901 57	For	decrease of R YEAR 1865.	1,884,417 02
These different figures are same year.	all for the	Report for 1866 st. enue collected Report for 1870 st. enue collecte	les nel rev-	333,714,605 08 323,092,785 92
CHANGES IN REVENUE COLLECTION TREASURED IN TREASURE	CTED AND	Showing a	decrease of	10,6 1 819 16
FOR YEAR 1862. Report for 1866 states net revenue collected	\$51,935,720 76	What explanations these enormous imagine, and I compared to the compared to th	differences lo not belie	ve that any

51,907 944 62

been determined and fixed for these years at certain and definite sums and reported to Congress in the annual reports for eight years without any difference or disagreement between the reports until 1870, when it occurs that these sums so determined, fixed and reported, are changed and altered to smaller amounts, showing that the net revenue was not what it had been reported by former officers for these vears, but was in the aggregate \$50,000,-000 less.

Indian Expenditure.

In the report for the year 1870 the expenses in the Indian Department for the year 1863 are reported in the statement of ...\$3,152,032 70

1868 these same expenses are reported for the same year at., 1,076,326 35

Increase.....\$2,075,706 35

To show that the reports as to the annual expenditures do not agree, I submit the following table:

the survey of the parties of	Total annual e stated in fine	xpenditures as	Increase in report of	report of
Years.	1869 and previ- ous reports.	1870 and subsequent reports.		1870 over 1869.
1860-61	\$ 85,3 7,313 08 570 841,700 25 895,796,630 65 1,298,144,656 00 1,897,674,224 09 1,141,072 666 09	565,667,358 08 899,815,911 25 1,295,541,114 86	4,019,280 60 8,759,107 28	\$ 5,174,342 17 2,603,541 14
Total Difference or increase	\$ 5,888,917,190 16	\$ 5,892,189,160 59		\$ 9,506,467 45

To show that the official finance reports to Congress do not agree with each other and with the books of the departments, I submit the following:

PENSION EXPENDITURES.

In the report of 1870 the expenditures for pensions are stated . \$16,347,621 34 9,291,610 48

Showing an increase in the report of 1870 over the figures in the report of 1869 of \$ 7,056,010 86

A few days ago I addressed a letter to the Commissioner of Pensions, asking him to furnish me a statement showing the amount paid for pensions from 1860 to 1870, inclusive, to which he replied as follows:

DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR, PENSION OFFICE, Washington, D. C., July 25, 1876.

SIR: In compliance with your request of the 24th inst., I have the honor to transmit the inclosed table of the amount paid for Army and Navy pensions from 1860 to 1870, inclusive.

Inclosed is also the annual report of this office for the year 1865; the copies for the year 1864 are exhausted.

Very respectfully, your obedient servant. O. P. G. STARKE,

Chief Clerk.

Hon. H. G. DAVIS, United States Senate.

In order that the difference between the books of the Pension Office and the finance report for 1870 may readily appear, I have prepared the following

Secretary's table, finance report for 1875......\$142,540,493 44 \$13,554,419 89

Increase.....

Letter of Com'nr of Pensions, Ju-ly 25, 1876............. 129,391,228 38 Decrease

405,154 83

Difference or inretary's table....\$ 13,149,265 06 \$13,149,265 06

This establishes clearly that the books of the Pension Bureau do not agree with the finance reports; and that the finance report increases the pension expenditures from 1860 to 1870 over the books, more than \$13,000,000 for that bureau, for the years named.

Bonds and Public Lands to Railroads.

The Government, under Republican administration, has given to the various Pacific railroads, in 6 per cent bonds, \$64,623,512 00 On which has been paid as interest, after deducting what has been repaid by companies 23,290,163 29

There have been granted to various railroads, of the public domain, since 1861, land grants amounting to 159,-486,766 acres, or about 250,000 square miles, an area greater than the States of Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, Rhode Island and Connecticut, New York, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Ohio and Indiana-12 average States of the Union.

It will be borne in mind that previous to 1861 there had not been granted for like purposes of the public domain. more than 10,000,000 acres.

Cabinet Changes.

It is a notorious fact that Secretary Bristow, and Post Master General Jewell were the two members of the Cabinet who were actively hostile to corruption and endeavored to make reforms and correct abuses. For the manly, honest and commendable efforts of Secretary Bristow and his subordinates to destroy the whisky rings, he incurred the ill will of this powerful combination, and its friends, and it seems they had influence enough to drive him from the Cabinet. Post Master General Jewell, Commissioner Pratt, Yarvan, Chief of the Secret Service, and many others shared the same fate.

Pension Frauds.

On pages 16 and 577 of the Finance Report for 1875, the pension expenditures are stated to have been for the year 1875. \$29,446,256 22 Now, taking the report of the Commissioner of Pensions for 1875, page 5, we find that the entire pension roll for 1875 amounted to...... 26,289,519 59

And on page 22 of the same re-port will be found a detailed statement by States, of the payment of pensions to the army in 1875 amounting to \$25,816.445 84, to which add the amount of navy pensions paid during that year, \$473,073 75, and we have the exact am't, which agrees with the official rolls on page 5, before stated; leaving a difference or bal, of

Not accounted for, except....... Amount paid the 58 pension agents, and their expenses, averaging each between \$8,000 and \$9,000, leaving a difference of\$ 2,658,288 77

3,166,696 63 508,407 86

unaccounted for, as the other expenses of the pension bureau are paid by a separate appropriation. A report of the committee on pensions to the House made in Febuary of this year, states that two clerks in the pension bureau Stiles and Caffrey were detailed to act as clerks to the Republican Congressional Committee, and drew their pay monthly from the pension fund al-though they never appeared at their desks in the pension office. It is also in evidence that detective Bell was employed to go to St Louis during the whisky trials and work in the interest of certain parties and against the Government, and was paid out of the pension fund. He was recommended by President Grant and appointed by Secretary Chandler.

Use of Public Money to Influence Elect-

It is a notorious fact that the Republican party, in various ways have made free use of public funds to carry elections. It is in evidence before one of the Committees of the House, that \$32,000 was paid from the Secret Service fund, in 1871-2 and 5, on the order of the Attorney General of the United States to John Davenport, to be used in the elections in New York city. It is a fact well established that a tax is levied upon all office holders, clerks and employees in the departments of the Government to raise election funds, and that post traders and other ap-pointees and contractors all made to contribute their quotas. It is in testimony that certain information was given by the Treasury Department to Henry Clews, a New York Banker, touching sales of gold, and information concerning bonds, by which he was enabled to make a large sum of money, in return for which it was understood that he was to contribute \$60,000 to the election fund during that year, which he did. This tax and these contributions

generally come from the Treasury of the United States, although indirectly. It is also in evidence before one of the Congressional Investigating Committees, that in 1874, an ex-member of Congress from Louisiana paid a person \$125 to sign a voucher, for \$5,000 for Light House repairs, which work was never done. This voucher was paid by the Government, and the pro-ceeds applied to election purposes. The organ of the administration at Washington, the National Republican, was paid \$85,000.00 for advertising the delinquent tax list in the District of payment are taken from the report:

Columbia for one year. It is generally believed that the larger portion of the Republican Campaign expenses is paid indirectly from the Treasury of the United States, as indicated by the example just named.

Money Squandered in the Department of Justice.

This evil is fully exposed in the report of the committee on expenditures in that department, dated 24th March 1876, to the House. The committe find that \$220,228.46 has been paid to special counsel. The following instances of

Date.	District.	To whom paid.	Amount	On what account.
1872	South Carolina	D. H. Chamberlain	\$ 5,000	Special service under the Enforcement acts.
1873	Southern Ohio	Aaron F. Perry	10,000 .	Services rendered be- fore a committee of Congress.
1872	Eastern Missouri	J. W. Nable	5,000	Special services, Tax vs. Meyers.
1872	Louisiana	J. R. Beckwith	5,000	Special services, Wolf- by vs. Hinphey es- tate.
1873	Dist. Columbia	R. M. Corwine	10,000	Services as special counsel in Faragut award.

It is said that there is more money expended in one State, uuder the Department of Justice now, than was expended in all the States prior to 1860.

Faragut Awards.

In addition to the above expenses for special counsel, the Committee on appropriations in examining into the disposition of what is known as the Faragut award fund, which amounted to about \$900,000,000 conclude their report in the following language:

It appears from the decree of the

And that there was paid out of the amount awarded to the captors of the vessels as aforesaid, to Benj. F. Butler, I. H. Ashton, and Nathaniel Wilson, as counsel for the captors under the different decrees of the Court 123,472 00

And to R. M. Corwine, Assistant United States Attorney in the

Think of it! Costs of Court and attorneys' fees in one case over \$150,-000, and all paid by the Government. to that date, and had not been ac-

Secretary of the Navy Sustaining Jay Cooke & Co., with Public funds after their Failure.

The testimony taken before the House committee on naval shows that Jay Cooke & Co., bankers at Washington, failed on 18th of Sept. 1873. Six days thereafter Secretary Robeson deposited \$1,500,000 of the funds of the Navy Department, with Jay Cooke, McCullough & Co., in London, without authority of law, and without sufficient security which may yet prove a heavy loss to the Government.

Freedman's Bureau.

In a report of the Secretary of War to the House of Representatives, dated Dec. 4th, 1873, 43d Congress Ex. Doc. 10, he uses the following language touching the conduct of the then Commissioner, General Howard.

The responsibility and accountability attaching to the late Commissioner, so far as now developed, amounts to up-

ward of \$278,573.66.

Here we have the acknowledgement of the Secretary of War, in an official report, that nearly \$300,000 had been taken from the Freedman's Bureau up counted for by the Commissioner. Although there have been many millions of public funds expended in this Bureau since the War, yet no official report has ever been made to Congress, and it is impossible to ever estimate the amount improperly used.

Moth Exterminator Swindle.

It will be remembered that Geo A. Cowles & Co., obtained a contract with the Army and Navy Department to furnish a patent remedy to protect Army and Navy clothing from moths. Hamilton G. Fant, a banker in Washington City, testified before the Committee on expenditures in the War Department, that the amounts received and disbursed by him for Cowles & Co., were as follows:

Received from the Army, Navy and Ordnance Offices...... \$403,875,00

The profits on the business were about \$300,000, according to the division, which was among the contractors, and the lobyists who assisted them to secure the contract. Here 'it is shown that of \$403,875.00 of the public funds \$300,000 was paid out to a ring as profits, and the Government only had the benefit of \$103,875.00.

The Civil Service

is a disgrace to the Government. The Republican party in their platforms and otherwise have always made great promises of reform, none of which have they kept; on the contrary, they have done everything to make reform in the civil service impossible. Some time since the President appointed commisssioners to investigate and report on the civil service, consisting of distinguished gentleman, George William Cúrtis at their head. In their report (see Senate Docs. No. 1 to 2, 2d Sess. 42 Cong.) they say:

"It is not easy they say to compute in figures the exact economical difference between a good and a bad system of the civil service. It is, necessarily, a matter of inference and of comparison between the probable operation of a careless and careful method. But it is calculated by those who have made a careful study of all the facts, that one-fourth of the revenues of the United States are annually lost in the collection, and for a large part of that loss a system of the service which is partially unsound may reasonably be held responsible.

Increase of Taxation and Expansion of Offices.

In this connection the following tables will show that the increase in taxation, and extravagance in expenditures and the expansion of officers have gone hand in hand under Republican rule.

	1850.	1860.	1870.
Federal taxes State, county, city, and town taxes	Gold. \$40,000,000 43,000,000	Gold. Gold. \$40,000,000 \$ 60,010,112 43,000,000 94,186,746	Currency. \$450,000,000 280,591,521
Total	\$83,000,000	\$83,000,000 \$151,196,858	\$730,591,521
Population Taxes, per head— Federal Local	23,191,876 1,72 1,85	31,448,321 1.91 2,99	88,558.371 11.67 7.24
Total	3.57	4.90	18.91

The following statement of the number of employes borne upon the civil list of the United States from 1859 to 1875, inclusive, is compiled from the official Biennial Registers:

 Number of civil employes under:
 Mr. Buchanan's administration
 44,527

 Mr. Lincoln's administration in 1861
 46,049

 Mr. Lincoln's administration in 1863
 47,375

 Lincoln and Johnson's administration in 1865
 53,167

 President Johnson in 1867
 56,113

 President Grant in 1869
 51,207

 President Grant in 1871
 57,665

President Grant in 1876......102,350 Commercial Distress.

President Grant in 1873...... 86,660

President Grant in 1875...... 94,119

The following table will show the failures that have occurred and the rapidity with which they have in-

creased under Republican administration and legislation:

Year		New York City.	20 gg	United States.	9.750	Total.
	No.	Liabilit's	No.	No Liabilit's No. Liabiliti's No. Liabiliti's	No.	Liabiliti's
1870 1871 1872	8884	\$20,573,000 20,740,000 20,684,000 92,635,000	588 52 1 588 52 1	\$20,573.000 3121 \$ 67,699.000 3551 \$ 88.242.000 20 740,000 32591 64,5 2,2000 950 854,000 35591 000 3550 000 950 850,000 45590 135,894,000 3183 238,499.000	2915 2915 5183	\$ 88,242,000 85,252,000 121,056,000 228,499,000

These facts call loudly for a remedy which can only be brought about by a

change of administration.

From the above it will be seen that there were more failures, by eleven hundred, in 1873, than in 1872, with an increase in liabilities of \$107,443,000. Of this increase in liabilities New York City is chargeable with \$71,000,000.

In 1875, and including the six months ending June 30th, 1876, there were eighty-one hundred and sixtythree failures, aggregating \$186,257,695. Of this number and sum the last six months the report shows forty-six hundred failures, amounting to \$108,415,-429, with a corresponding increase for the month of July.

Unequal Taxation - The South and West Taxed for the Benefit of the North and East.

508,684 38

West Virginia, according to the official report of the missioner of Internal Revenue for 1875, paid internal revenue to the Government

7,659,639 97 the New England States paid

for that year; and since 1867 WestVirginia has paid nearly And the State of Virginia more 8,000,000 00 than...... 45,000,000 00

An examination of the report referred to and tables accompanying the same, will show that the South and West are made to pay by far the larger share of Internal Revenue tax collected and this on the articles they produce, while

the tariff laws are so constructed as to favor New England and the East, at the expense of the South and West.

Condition of the South

Is improving generally though under the most adverse circumstances and the hostility of the administration. Where ever the Democratic party has control, peace, law, and order prevail, and prosperity is dawning; where ever the Republican party has control, or is disputing for ascendency everything is in chaos and confusion, lawlessness and violence prevail, and prosperity is retarded, carpet bag tyranny, and bayonet rule have nearly destroyed some of the States, loaded them with hopeless debt. elected Legislature of The legally Louisiana was overturned by Federal

bayonets, and usurpers substituted and sustained by military power. Mississippi and other States have also felt the weight of Federal bayonets in their affairs. The President recommended a policy, which if Congress had not disapproved, it would have overturned the Government of Arkan-Generally the power of the Government has been exerted in the south to intimidate Democratic votes and prevent the success of the Democratic party. Since the adjournment of Congress, the Secretary of War issued an order to the General of the army, to hold all available troops ready to go to the South in case of any disturbance, which will certainly be brought about by some carpet bagger, so as to furnish a subterfuge for the presence of the troops and the imtimidation of the white people. Notwithstanding these oppressions outrages, and trying to do their are people duty, improve their ruined fortunes, build up waste places, and are obedient to law and authority. This fact is supported by all impartial testimony. In all this we see the strongest tendency towards centralization of power in the General Government which is the policy of the Republican party, and has been particularly fostered by President Grant, not only in the South, but elsewhere. In his message recently to the House on the River and Harbor bill, he undertakes to say he will only execute such portions of the law contained in the bill as may suit his views. This is the boldest assumption of power ever attempted by a President in this coun-

The following tables and figures will

give some idea of the condition of affairs in South Carolina and Lousiana under carpet-bag rule as compared with other times.

From the report on affairs in the late insurrectionary states, we have

Debts and Liabilities of Louisana.

In 186)	\$10,099,074 31
In 1868	14.347.051 62
In 1871	41,194,473 94
Evener of expenditures over re	9-
ceipts, 1871	9,345,733 00
Per centage of increase, 1868	s to 1871, 200.

South Carolina-Indebtedness & Frauds

From proceedings of the Tax-Payers' Association of South Carolina, the following facts show the indebtedness and expenditures under carpet-bag rule:

PROPERTY VALUATION.

1860\$ 1870	490,000,000 170,000,000
TAX LEVY.	

| LEGISLATIVE EXPENSES. | 40,000 | 11,1873 | 291,000 | An increase in 13 years of nearly 700 per cent.

The public printing for sixty years aggregated \$400,000, or an annual average of \$6,666.

Now mark the difference under Republican rule, as shown by the following table:

PUBLIC PRINTING.

October, 1870, to October, 1871	\$134,151	44
October, 1871, to October, 1872	215,129	86
October, 1872, to October, 1873	331,945	66
Undrawn appropriation	118,054	34
Extra session, 1874	. 125,000	00

Showing the expense for public printing for three years under Republican carpet-bag rule to be \$500,000 more than the expense for sixty years under the administration of the Democratic citizens of South Carolina before the war. From October 31, 1872, to November 19, 1873, the amount paid for public printing in Sourh Carolina was \$575,000, while the total revenues of the State for the same period were but \$1,719,728. (See State Treasurer's report.)

Annual legislative expenses before the war, \$40,000; annual legislative expenses since the war, \$300,000; an increase of more than 700 per cent., while property has decreased more than 100

per cent.

The above is a fair sample of the condition of the Southern States while under Republican rule

Statement showing debts and liabilities of Southern States at close of war and in 1872.

State.	Debts and Liabil- ities at close of war.	Debts and Liabil ities January 1 1872.
North Carolina. South Carolina. Florida Tennessee Arkansas Louisiana Texas Alabama Georgia	5,040,000 00 221,000 00 20,105,606 66 4,036,952 87 10,099,074 34 Nominal. 5,939,658 89	15,763,447 54 45,688,263 46 19,761,265 62
Total	\$56,394,198 76	315,181,143 80

It will be borne in mind that these states from the close of the war up to 1872, were under Republican rule.

What a Democratic House has Accomplished.

Although embarrassed and hindered in its endeavors by a Republican Administration and Senate, it has accomplished much, and is entitled to the gratitude of the country.

It actually reduced the expenditures of the Government, for 1877, about \$40,000,000, but by reason of the opposition on the part of Republicans in the Senate, who refused to concur this amount was reduced to between \$29,000,000 and \$30,000,000 which was accepted as a compromise:

It brought to light, the crimes and peculations of Belknap, the close confidential Cabinet member of the President; exposed him, caused his impeachment, and rid the country of his presence, in one of the highest positions in the country.

It has exposed the Emma Mine frauds, forced the resignation of Mr. Schenk, as Minister to England, for improper connection with the promoters of the same.

It has exposed the reckless extravagance and favoritism of the Navy Department; the improper use of public money, in the Department of Justice; the corruption that existed in the Freedman's Bank, and Freedman's Bureau, in the Real Estate Pool of the District of Columbia, in the Indian, and Pensien Bureaus, in the whisky

ring frauds, and the prosecution of the same. It drove from power wherever it could, unworthy and corrupt officers, repealed the resumption act, as to date for resuming, and made every possible endeavor to re-instate silver, which had been demontized, as a legal tender in 1873 by the Republicans, and was only prevented from doing so by the Republicans fillibustering to the last moment of the session of the present Congress.

Repeal of the Resumption Act.

The resumption act, so-called, was passed in 1875, and it is believed contributed largely to the financial distress that now afflicts the country. Believing that to fix a day was unwise, and forced resumption would contract the currency too speedily, decrease the value of property and impose heavy burdens on the debtor classes, the Democratic party in Congress repealed and voted against the act, urging that it would produce the evil results it has. The Democrats in National Convention, reflecting the will of the party throughout the Union, demanded in their platform the repeal of the clause fixing the date of resumption in the act. Democratic House accordingly passed a bill repealing the time clause, sent it to the Senate where it was referred to the Finance Committee to die. The effect of the resumption act passed by the Republicans must increase the present financial depression, conttnue the shrinkage in values, and stop manufactories and other enterprises, and therefore diminish the demand for labor, reduce wages and create general want throughout the country.

Silver as a Legal Tender.

Silver as well as gold, from the foundation of our government to 1873, was a legal tender in payment of all debts. In 1873 the Republican party, for some cause unexplained, took from silver this quality it had so long possessed, and forbid its being used as a legal tender in payment of sums above five dollars, making gold alone a legal tender for all sums above five dollars. This had the effect to aid the bond holder and the creditor classes, and greatly oppresses and injures the debtor classes and the government, because since 1873 the government has been compelled to pay its interest in gold alone, and the capacity of both the government and the people to pay their debts at all, has been greatly re-

duced, as the estimated quantity of gold and silver in the world is about equal.

What West Virginia has Gained by Sending Democrats to Congress.

From the organization of the State, up to 1872, West Virginia received nothing in the way of aid for Internal Improvements.

Since you have sent Democrats to Congress, the State has received over one million dollars, as follows:

Appropriated for the-	
Great Kanawha\$	620,000
Monongahela, about	150,000
Little Kanawha.	7,300
Surveys of the different rivers in	Hero com
the State, about	90,000
Custom House and Postoffice at	The second second

Democratic Success Almost Certain.

There will be 369 votes in the Electoral College. Necessary to a choice 185. The Southern States, except South

Five more than necessary to elect.

Now, the following States may be put

 down as doubtful:
 15 votes

 Indiana, with
 15 votes

 Wisconsin
 10 votes

 Nevada
 3 votes

 Colorado
 3 votes

 Pennsylvania
 29 votes

rotal......60 votes

If there should be any miscalculation as to the Democratic States, there are certainly enough doubtful ones, headed by Indiana, to make it up.

Our Candidates.

The cause of the Democracy is the cause of the people and the cause of reform, and our candidates are thoroughly identified with both.

Gov. Tilden is a man of acknowledged ability, high character, large and mature experience in public affairs—he has been recently tried in a great field, Governor of the Empire State, and has shown himself not only to be a great statesman, with great executive ability, but the champion of retrenchment and reform. He found the State of New York left by the Republican party with a tax of \$16,000,000 per annum, which in two years he reduced to less than \$9,000,000. Since he has been Governor he has waged a constant war against

corruption and rings, having utterly destroyed the New York City and Canal rings, and inaugurated economy and reform in every branch of the State government. He has shown such capacity for administration and government, that if elected to the Presidency no one doubts but he will be the President without aid from any one.

He enjoys the confidence of his neighbors and those who know him best, and has given evidence of great strength and popularity in his own State, having defeated for Governor, Gen. Dix, the strongest Republican in the State, by more than 50,000 majority.

As to Governor Hendricks, he is known and recognized as one of the ablest and purest statesmen of the present age; nobody questions either his ability or integrity, and all agree that he is eminently fitted for the high office for which he is nominated.

The Candidates of the Republican Party

It is well known that Gov. Hayes was nominated by the influence of the President and the especial friends of his administration, and if elected gives no promise that he will make any change in the policy of the Republican party. The same influences that control now will control then, and all hope of economy, reform, retrenchment, change in the administration of public affairs and our financial policy, will be defeated.

Our State Affairs.

The Democratic party in their last State Convention, did well in making their nominations. The State ticket headed by Attorney General Mathews for Governor, was selected with great unanimity, and well distributed throughout the State. It is composed of gentlemen of high character and ability, who will, I am confident, reflect great credit upon the State in the discharge of their duties.

Feeling that these and other gentlemen of the Democratic party will thoroughly discuss the affairs of the State and defend their management, I will refer to them only briefly and in a general way.

The condition of the State when compared with that of others, notwithstanding the general distress that prevails, is encouraging. The debt inherited from the Republican party in 1871 has been paid, and the State is entirely out of debt, with a surplus in the treasury. Our people have stood the effects

of the panic as well as those of any other State.

Taxation

Is very low compared with other States. The State and County Taxes are among the lowest in the Union. In some of the States they reach as high as 3 to 4 per cent.; ours average less than 1 per cent. In this connection I desire to submit a table I prepared from official sources and incorporated in some remarks made during the last campaign:

Name of State.	Assessable Property.	Taxes Levied.
West Virginia Eastern States.	\$ 140,000,000	\$ 1,722,000
Massachusetts	1,591,983,000	24,922,000
New Hamshire	149,000,000	
Vermont	102 548,000	
Maine	204,263,000	
Iowa	302,515,000	9,055,000
Nebraska	54,584,000	1,027,000
Illinois	482,899,000	
Kansas	92,125,000	
Louisiana	253,371,000	7,060,000
South Carolina	183,531,000	
Mississippi	177,278,000	
Arkansas	94,528,000	

So it will be seen our taxes are onethird less than the average of these twelve Republican States, and much less than the average of all the States in the Union.

Public Schools

Under Democratic administration, have been greatly improved while the expenses have been reduced.

The taxation for the support of public schools between 1865 and 1870 was as great or greater than at present; yet in the six years from 1865 to 1870, inclusive.

The am't paid to teachers was...\$1,021,052 54 Am't expended on buildings...... 1,074,979 84

Total.....\$2,096,032 58

While the amount expended in the five years from 1871 to 1875, inclusive, (after Democrats took charge,) was

Paid to teachers \$2,138,538 78 Paid for buildings 1,093,271 70

Total......\$3,231,810 48

That is to say, while taxation remained the same or less, the Democratic party expended for school purposes in 5 years, \$1,135,779 10 more than the Republicans expended in six years. The amount paid to teachers under Democratic rule was, in five years, \$1,117,486 16 more than was

paid them in six years under Republican rule.

The following statement will show six years of school expenditures under Democratic rule, and six years under Republican rule:

\$2,096,032 28

Am't paid 1865 to '71.. Am't paid 1871 to '75..\$3,231,811 48 Estimate for 1876...... 800,000 00

4,031,811 48 Total in six years...

Difference or excess.....\$1,935,779 20 Which has been expended under

Democratic rule for educational purposes in six years, over the amount expended during the same period under Republican rule, and this too while the excess of pupils was, under Democratic management, 171,733.

Our Public Institutions.

The economical management of our public institutions commends itself to every one. The condition of the Insane, Deaf, Dumb and Blind Asylums, is most satisfactory. These institutions are better managed and with less expenditures than at any period since the organization of the State, and will compare most favorably with those of other States. The average cost of maintaining and caring for patients in the Insane Asylums of the United States generally, is \$5 per week, while in West Virginia it is less than \$2,50 per week for each patient. Many of this unfortunate class from the organization of the State until recently, have been confined in the county jails at heavy expense, for want of room in the Asylum, but since the recent addition has been completed, happily all are cared for. A suitable building has also been provided for colored patients.

Penitentiary.

The State Penitentiary is one of the best in the country, and ably and economically managed. Under Democratic management the expenses have been greatly reduced, as the following figures will show:

Republican management, 4 years and 10 months, cost \$165,248 77-per month \$2,417 91—subsistence for prisoners per

capita for each day 35 55.

Democratic rule 5 years and 3 months, cost \$92,327 04-per month \$1,465 50subsistence for prisoners per capita for each day 18 75. At present 11 90.

State Constitutions.

The Republican party in their last platform call in question some of the provisions of the present Constitution. We claim for it great superiority and great

improvement over the former one, and that it is far more liberal, and better adapted to the wants of the State and the people. Upon the adoption of the present Constitution a great majority of the people voted, there being cast about 80,000 votes, while at the adoption of the former but few of the people voted, between 17,000 and 18,000

The old Constitution permitted legislation which imposed severe and unjust restrictions and prohibitions against many of our citizens, such as preventing them from voting, teaching school, holding office, practising law, and bringing suits in the courts in certain cases. Under the new, no such legislation can exist. Under the old Constitution special legislation was allowed; under the new now it is prohibited. Under the new Constitution taxation for county purposes can not exceed (except in certain cases, and that by three-fourths of all the voters in the county,) 95c for each \$100 of the assessment valuation of property.

Under the new Constitution, counties can, at their option, have a County Court or Board of Supervisors, and the sessions of the Legislature are biennial, saving the time and expense of an annual election and a session of the Legislature. Under the new Constitution, colored people are required to pay a capitation tax, and all capitation taxes go to

school purposes.

The facts I have cited, showing the condition of the country, and the affairs of the government and their management, the corruption and extravagance that reigns in every department, the financial depression and distress, the shrinkage of values, reduction of wages, stoppage of mills, mines and factories, and people without employment, furnish strong reasons why there should be a change in the administration of the government.

The continuance for a long time of a political party in power, has a tendency of itself to encourage corruption, which can only be remedied by a change.

It is an historical fact, that the various panics and periods of financial depression that have prevailed in the country, commencing with 1837 and since, have only been remedied and prosperity restored, by a change of administration. And it seems to me that all classes, farmers, bankers, merchants, manutacturers, and laborers generally, should take warning from examples of history and past experience, and in the coming election strive to bring about a change in the administration, which, if does not entirely, will tend more than any other cause or event, to restore confidence in business affairs and prosperity to the whole country. Should the present policy continue, and there be no change in the next tour years, all business must absolutely stop, and financial ruin and disaster overtake us as a people and a nation.

THE PEOPLE'S LAND.

Republican Gifts to Railways and Corportions. 278 -758 Square Miles of Territory, Equal to 211 States the Size of Rhode Island Presented to the Monopolies.

The Area Greater than Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Ohio and Indiana Taken from Settlers.

ional domain be devoted to free homes for the people "-Cin cinnati Platform.

"We reaffirm our opposition to further ary to put a stop to grants of the public lands corporations of public lands, and ard monopolies, and their diversion from a public lands, and their diversion from the true are true as the street of th demand that the nat actual settlers by the party in power, which has squadered party 200 009,000 acres upon railroads alone, and out of more than thrice that aggregate has disposed of less than a sixth to tillers of the soil,"—St. Louts Platform.

		Number
		of
State.	Year. Corporatio	n. acres.
Wisconsin	.1866-Breakwater ship canal	200,00
	.1865Portage Lake	200.000
	1866—Portage Lake	200,000
Michigan.	1866—La Belle canal	ship
Alabama	1871_S. Alabama I	R. R. 576,00
Alabama.	1869—Ala and Chat	897,92

Number	
State. Year. Corporation, of acres.	
Louisiana 1871-N. U., B. Rouge	
and Vicksburg R. R 1,600,000	
1986 Cairo and Fulton 966,722	
Arkansas 1866-Membris and Lit	
Arkansas1866—Little Rock and Fort Smith 458,771	
Arkansas1866—Iron Mountain	
Missonri 1866 Cairo and Fulton	
R R 120,710	
Missouri1866—St. Louis and Iron Mountain 1,400,000	
Tame 1986 Rurlington and	
	1
Iowa1864—Chicago and R. I.	
Iowa1864Cedar Rapids and Missouri River 342,406	
Town 1864, McGregor and	
Iowa1864Sioux City and St Paul	1
Iowa1864-Souix City and	
Pacific 000,000	
Michigan 1866Jackson, Lansing	
and Michigan	1
(regrant) 1,052,400	-

State. Year, Corporation, Numb	
Michigan1865Flint and Pere	California, 1866Central Pacific Or-
Marquette 586,8 Michigan1864—Grand rapids and	egon branch 1,540,000 California, 1867Stockton and Cop
Indiana	
and Marquette 128 (00 ifornia 1,760,000
Michigan1865Marquette and Ontonagon 243,2	Oregon1870Oregon Central 1,200,000 Year Corporations.
Michigan 1862 Chicago, and N. W	1862-70Union Pacific. Central
Michigan1865Chicago and N.	cific Railroads 35,000,000
Wisconsin1864West Wisconsin 675,0	00 1866 Atlantic and Pacific rail-
Wisconsin1864St Croix and Lake Superior 350,0	
Wisconsin1864Bayfield branch 215,0 Wisconsin1862Chicago and N.	00 1862-64Central Pacific Railroad 245,166 1871Texas Pacific railroad 13,400,000
W. (regrant) 600,0	Wagon roads. From 1862 to 1871, chiefly in
Wisconsin1864Portage and Superior 750,0	00 Northwest 4,000,000
Minnesota1865– St Paul and Pa- cific 500,0	
Minnesota1865—St Paul and Pa- cific Branch 725,0	Total number of acres bestowed in land grants since 1827206,090,000
Minnesota1865Minnesota Cen- tral	E DEBAL OLISHED ERDER - 19-1
Minnesota1865Winona and St	thirty-four years
Minnesota, 1864- St. Paul and	fifteen years 175,845,405
Minnesota'64-'66 Lake Superior 150,0	Republican grants per annum 12,000,000
and Mississippi. 800,0 Minnesota1866Minnesota South-	Acres of
ern	8q, mls. States. Sq. mls. Maine35,000
kota	
rence and Gal-	Massachuseits7,800
Veston	Connecticut4,700
ka and Santa Fe 1,200,0 Kansas,1864U. Pacific, South-	00 New York47,000 Pennsylvania46,000
ern branch 500,0	The Language of the Control of the C
Kansas1866St. Jo. and Den- ver 1,700,00	Manual - 11 000
Kansas1866Fort Scott and Gulf	F., 31
Kansas1866Southern branch Union Pacific 1,203,00	958 900
California1866Placerville and Sacramento 200,00	
Dactanishio 200,0	one after type the meter are to gut a stop as

And the state of t

bila gill shog-ikishol nabited mesi stemi, egiduli egiduli sebsa essi