

P3700

WHAT IT COSTS TO BE GOVERNED.

"Why are the people so patient? Why slumbers the indignation of the Democracy?"—ROGER A. PRYOR, *Editor of the "Washington States."*

READ AND CIRCULATE.

PUBLISHED BY ORDER OF THE VIRGINIA STATE CENTRAL COMMITTEE.

Well may the Democratic press cry out "*Why are the people so patient,*" when "*from the by-ways and high-ways of the Government the rottenness of corruption sends forth an insufferable stench!*"

Nearly every department of the Government seems to be in the hands of plunderers and speculators; nor is it a matter of surprise when we find officials, from the President down, engaged in this warfare upon the Treasury of the United States. Here and there we meet with a Democratic paper that has the manliness to denounce the corruption and extravagance of the federal authorities. The disclosures brought to light by the recent Investigating Committees exhibit the American Government, under the present Democratic Administration, as the most wasteful, extravagant and corrupt now in existence. Never has there been so shameless a prostitution of official power as is exhibited in the distribution of patronage and the uses of power by the Administration of James Buchanan. No honest man, who loves a pure and honest administration of the Government, can read the developments without a shudder; and well may every patriot exclaim, "*Why are the people so patient!*"

In proof of what is here charged, the reader is requested to contrast the professions of Mr. Buchanan, before his election, with the acts and results of his Administration. The annexed extract from a letter, written by him, shows the character of the former, while the statements and citations that follow will give an idea of the latter:

"WHEATLAND, Feb. 23, 1852.

"*Gentlemen:* * * * * On what issue, then, can we go before the country and confidently calculate upon the support of the American people at the approaching Presidential election? I answer unhesitatingly that we must fall back, as you suggest, upon * * * * a rigid economy in public expenditures.

“These expenditures have now reached the *enormous sum of FIFTY MILLIONS of dollars per annum*, and, unless arrested in their advance by the strong arm of the Democracy of the country, may, in the course of a few years, REACH ONE HUNDRED MILLIONS. The appropriation of money to accomplish great national objects sanctioned by the Constitution, ought to be on a scale commensurate with our power and resources as a nation; but its expenditures ought to be conducted under the guidance of enlightened economy and strict responsibility. *I am convinced that our expenses ought to be considerably reduced below the present standard*, not only without detriment, but with positive advantage both to the government and the people.

* * * * *

JAMES BUCHANAN.”

Mr. Buchanan has lived to be President, and has lived to fulfil his own prophecy.

That the people may see with what rapid strides the expenditures have approximated the *enormous sum of one hundred millions per annum* under his administration, we append the amounts for the last years of the two preceding terms, and the first two of his:

1852—Fillmore.....	\$36,552,080 37
1856—Pierce	60,172,401 64
1857—Buchanan.....	64,778,828 85
1858—Buchanan	83,856,727 00

Thus it will be seen that “the strong arm of Democracy,” relied on by Mr. Buchanan to stay government extravagance, has fostered and nurtured the wildest and most reckless profligacy, and shielded corruption in its rankest forms. Well may the Washington States, in its issue of the 7th of March, 1859, exclaim, “WHY ARE THE PEOPLE SO PATIENT—WHY SLUMBERS THE INDIGNATION OF THE DEMOCRACY!”

The Public Printing, the Public Buildings, the Naval Contracts, the Post Office Department, and, in fact, every branch of the Government, that could be made to yield a farthing, has been seized upon by a horde of plunderers, under the toleration, if not with the connivance, of the Executive; and in proof of this assertion, we give the language of several prominent Democrats. In a speech in the House of Representatives, near the close of the last session, Hon. A. H. Stephens, of Georgia, said:

“When he first entered Congress in 1843, the expenses of the Government were only \$30,000,000 per annum. The country had gone through the expensive Mexican war, *with sixty-three thousand soldiers in the field*, for thirty-three millions, and now, *in time of peace*, the estimates were seventy-three millions.

Many expenditures were wholly unnecessary, and reform was indispensably needed. *He believed forty millions an abundance for the national expense.*"

Hon. Andrew Johnson, Senator from Tennessee—also good Democratic authority—referring to the same subject, said in a recent speech in the Senate:

"It is in the power of Congress to prevent *these enormous expenditures*; and if we do not interpose, we are responsible for them. This Government, sixty-nine years of age, scarcely out of its swaddling-clothes, is making *more corrupt uses of money* in proportion to the amount collected from the people, as I honestly believe, than *any other government now on the habitable globe.*"

Gen. Shields, one of the Democratic Senators from Minnesota, in the course of a debate in the Senate, also took occasion to say:

"I think it is not saying too much to declare that this country has gone faster and further, in *ten years*, in extravagance, than most other countries have done *in centuries.*"

The Hon. M. R. H. Garnett, of Virginia, in a recent speech, said:

"Can any gentleman pretend that it is fair, that it is just, that it is legitimate, that the expenses of this Government, in time of profound peace, *should have doubled in six years*? Look through the list of items, and you will find that the expenditures have doubled in almost every item. Is there no place to apply the knife? The Committee of Ways and Means tells you, that they *cannot control these expenditures*; then I say that the only way to control them is the same way that you would control any other extravagant person; that is, by stinting them in money."

And all this under Democratic rule; a Democratic President; a Democratic Cabinet; a Democratic Congress, and Democratic officials in all the administrative departments. O, "*Why slumbers the indignation of the Democracy—why are the people so patient.*"

From the Washington States of March 7th, 1859, edited by Roger A. Pryor, we make the following extracts in regard to the public printing:

"THE PUBLIC PRINTING PLUNDERERS.—The fact that for the last five years the American people have been subjected to an annual exaction of nearly a million of dollars, on account of the public printing, is a circumstance which will not escape comment, *even in this age of corrupt and extravagant expenditure.*

"It is a striking instance of the perversion of Federal authority, that in addition to its many other illegitimate occupations, the central government has engaged so largely in the incompatible business of a publishing concern.

"It is a signal attestation of the decay of official virtue, that the appropriations for this unwarrantable purpose have been *squandered in bribes and bounties* to the very officials who were appointed to protect the public interests.

"It is a deplorable mark of the progressive deterioration of political morals, that *the exposure of peculation of the most atrocious character* rarely provokes more than a gentle expostulation from the men in authority.

"With the view of inviting public attention to the abuses which abound *in almost every branch of federal Administration*, we reproduced, a few days ago, the report wherein a committee of the House exhibited the fraudulent practices of the Printing Department. It is a document of the very gravest interest.

"A certain A. G. Seaman was Superintendent of Public Printing from December 1853 to December 1857. During a part of the same period a certain Cornelius Wendell held the office of Public Printer. A more congenial couple never existed, even in fiction.

"Notwithstanding the cleverness of these two consummate rascals, and their studious endeavor to "cover up their tracks," *the committee convict them of receiving bribes and bounties*—the former to the amount of \$39,000, and the latter to the amount of \$30,000. Of course, these figures do not represent the full extent of Seaman and Wendell's operations. In the main, their practices were such as to elude detection; and whenever they ventured into the light, they were careful to assume an almost impenetrable disguise. Still, enough is ascertained to show that both Seaman and Wendell *have plundered the treasury upon system*, and have incurred exposure to the penalty of imprisonment in the penitentiary.

"In the examination of the accounts for engraving and lithographing, the committee find that the books of various parties did not correspond with the certificates issued.

"In one case the difference was equivalent to \$10,000, and in another to \$6,736 76.

"By an arrangement with Seaman, Wendell, the Public Printer, was employed as the special agent for all the paper contractors—he being the very person who should complain of an inferior article. In this way, the editor of the "organ" realized the snug sum of \$12,000.

"The testimony shows that large quantities of paper, inferior to the samples by at least a difference of thirty-three per cent., were accepted from favored contractors; that thousands of docu-

ments were receipted for as printed and bound that were never delivered; that thousands of voluminous documents were paid for as printed which were not printed; and that thousands of the most valuable publications have disappeared without any account.

* * * * *

“These are astounding developments; *but they are of a piece with the prevalent practices in the federal capital.* FROM THE BY-WAYS AND HIGHWAYS OF THE GOVERNMENT, THE ROTTENNESS OF CORRUPTION SENDS FORTH AN INSUFFERABLE STENCH. *Why are the people so patient? Why slumbers the indignation of the Democracy? See they nothing discreditable in the fact that the “organ” of the Administration is under the ostensible control of a detected swindler? Have they no word of surprise when they discover that the President retains Cornelius Wendell as his confidential “organ,” after the public and official exposure of Cornelius Wendell’s corrupt practices as a functionary of government? Cornelius Wendell is still Public Printer, not in name but in fact; is there no popular protest against the connivance of Congress in his employment since the discovery of his frauds and peculations? Others may be indifferent to such an ignominy; but, for ourselves, we intend to lash the malefactor till the party is purged of his infectious presence, and the treasury is protected against his piratical operations.”*

A few days before the adjournment of Congress, the following debate took place in the Senate, which we copy from the proceedings of Congress:

“Mr. Wilson amended by cutting down most of the miscellaneous items, as advertising, mail bags, wrapping paper and post office blanks, making a total saving of over \$80,000. In reference to the blanks, he said he knew a case where Mr. Rice, editor of the *Pennsylvanian*, had a contract for printing blanks for \$40,000, which cost him just \$5,000, the profit being divided, fifty per cent. to the *Washington Union*, five per cent. to Mr. Appleton, Secretary of State, and three per cent. to a paper published in the interest of a member of Congress.

“Mr. Mason said if the facts were so, it is due to the Senate and to the country for the Senator to lay his information before them.

“Mr. Wilson reiterated the statement, and said that Mr. Rice himself had said so, and, moreover, that *the arrangement was with the cognizance of the President of the United States.*

“Mr. Cameron said the matter was so notorious that everybody, except perhaps the Senator from Virginia, must know all about it. Mr. Rice was, until recently, a creature of the President, but they had a quarrel, and he went about blabbling all about it.

“Mr. Mason—Did Mr. Rice tell the Senator so?

“Mr. Cameron—The way to get this information is to appoint a committee of investigation, or sue me for slander, and that will

bring the evidence. *I am responsible for all I say, here, or elsewhere.* Just bring here Billy Rice and the President. *They know all about it, and I think my colleague knows something about it too.*"

The sum and substance of this charge is, that a contract was made with Mr. Rice, of the "*Pennsylvanian*," for the printing of Post Office blanks, ostensibly for \$40,000, which really would not cost but \$5,000, and with the distinct understanding between the contracting parties and the President, that \$35,000 of the money was to be distributed among the friends of the President, including the assistant Secretary of State, and that this was done with the knowledge and by the consent of the President himself. We are happy to know that before the Senate finally adjourned, Mr. Cameron moved the appointment of a committee of investigation, which was carried. The charge is made by two Senators, and one of them vouched for the facts on his individual and senatorial responsibility, and invited a suit for slander if it was denied.

With such facts before us it may well be asked: "Why slumbers the indignation of the Democracy?" "Why are the people so patient?"

THE CAPITOL AND COMMITTEE ROOMS.—The Clerk of the House of Representatives by resolution was directed to make a report of the expenditures on the House of Representatives. This the Clerk did, in a letter of 212 pages closely printed; but so great was the profligacy and extravagance of the disclosures, that at this time not a single copy can be found in the City of Washington; but, fortunately, enough has been gathered from the report to open the eyes of the people. For fittings-up of one wing of the Capitol, the enormous sum of \$460,000 was expended, or distributed among the plunderers. We append a list of articles bought for the Speaker's Room of the House of Representatives:

Large French Plate Mirror.....	\$1,350 00
Large Pier Table.....	275 00
Two Bronze Statuettes.....	60 00
Mantel Mirror.....	215 00
Fine Writing Table.....	95 00
Two Lounges, French Mochette.....	180 00
Six Large Antique Chairs, at \$95.....	570 00
Six Large Arm Chairs, at \$48.....	288 00
Desk Chair.....	48 00
Book Case and Secretary.....	668 00
Three Suits Curtains.....	900 00

80 yards Carpet, at \$4.25.....	\$340 00
Washstand.....	85 00
Marble Clock.....	145 00
French China Chamber Set.....	38 00
French China Chamber Set.....	28 00
Silver Plated Ice Pitcher.....	18 00
Hair Brush.....	2 50
2 Combs.....	2 50
Clothes Brush.....	1 62
Nail Brush.....	1 25
Slop Tub.....	3 00
Gilt Picture Frame.....	6 00

FOR OTHER PURPOSES.

Expended for Furnishing First Session of 35th Congress, exclusive of that for the new Hall.....	\$70,551 56
230 Hair Brushes } 232 Combs }	514 75
4 French Plate Mirrors with Marble Tops.....	360 00
4 French Plate Mirrors with Marble Tops.....	380 00
2 French Plate Mirrors with Marble Tops.....	240 00

FOR RETIRING ROOM.

Large Mirror.....	\$425 00
12 Arm Chairs, at \$46.....	552 00
4 Lounges, at \$95.....	560 00
Another Mirror.....	560 00

A room twenty-seven feet square, at a cost of five thousand dollars to the people—and one-fourth of that sum for a looking glass—for the use of a Democratic Speaker!!

When before was such an exhibition of profligate extravagance and useless waste of the public money laid open to the public view? Where were our vigilant and sleepless watch-dogs of the treasury? Where was "HONEST JOHN," from whom we have heard neither bark, nor growl, nor whine, to give warning of the robbers and plunderers that were surrounding the capitol, and infesting every department of the Government? Where he was then, he is to be found now, defending the Administration, and the Democracy, who have the entire control of the Government, against all charges of extravagance and waste! In all sincerity and honesty, we ask, *can the honest masses of Democracy in Virginia be wilfully blind to the faults and vices of their own leading men; or are they indifferent to an honest, virtuous, well conducted administration of public affairs?*

Five hundred and fourteen dollars for hair brushes and combs, for the use of a set of gentlemen who had already appropriated to themselves six thousand dollars for nine months of their time,

out of every two years, and who had then left Washington, with the table groaning under the weight of unfinished business, both public and private. It is to be presumed, as the items are not to be found in the above catalogue, that the honorable gentlemen were content to supply their own tooth-picks and cologne, without further drain on the pockets of the people. Thirteen hundred and fifty dollars for a looking glass in which a Democratic Speaker could survey his person! Two hundred and fifteen dollars more for mantel glasses, that he might have a front and back view at the same time! Eighty yards of carpeting, at four dollars and twenty-five cents a yard, on which a Democratic Speaker might strut his hour of brief authority on the stage! One thousand and eighty six dollars for lounges, and chairs at ninety-eight dollars a piece, on which to rest his wearied limbs! Nine hundred dollars for curtains to shut out the light from his Democratic eyes—and yet to have the daring audacity to come before an injured people and insult them with the cry of economy, retrenchment and reform!!!

May we not ask, again, "*Why are the people so patient?*" "*Why slumbers the indignation of the Democracy?*" But, we are far from the end of this catalogue of corruption and crime.

EXECUTIVE EXTRAVAGANCE AND INCOMPETENCY.—Again, the Washington States (Democratic authority) says:

"The people were induced to anticipate a return to the simplicity and purity of earlier days;—*never did corruption exhibit such rank luxuriance of growth in every department of the public service.* They were promised reform—they have an aggravation of abuse. They expected retrenchment—they are insulted by proposals for the most absurd and mischievous appropriations. Millions have been expended for the suppression of Mormonism, and the abomination flourishes with undiminished vigor and a more audacious ambition."

PLUNDERERS OF THE WAR DEPARTMENT.—The debt, *as reported by the Government agents*, and which the War Department last year *recommended to be paid*, on account of the Indian disturbances in Oregon, amounted to about *six millions of dollars*, while by the report of the Committee on Military affairs not more than about *one and a half millions* is justly due! High government officials are directly charged with corrupt connivance with favorite contractors to filch money out of the National Treasury. The bids of parties to perform certain work or furnish materials are overlooked and unnoticed, while others, whose bids are higher are taken. For instance, in the supplies for the In-

dian war of Oregon and Washington Territories, the Government was charged \$55 a piece for pistols, \$125 for muskets, \$120 a ton for hay, \$5 a bushel for oats, etc., etc. And these extravagant charges the War Department recommended to be paid.

What Virginia farmer would refuse one dollar per bushel for oats? And yet the Government is willing to pay five dollars per bushel to its favorites!

FRAUDS IN THE NAVY DEPARTMENT.—From the minority report of the Special Committee on Naval Contracts, made by Mr. Sherman to the House, on the 24th February, 1859, we gather the following facts:

“Congress, in June last, authorized Secretary Toucey of the Navy to advertise for proposals for furnishing the machinery of the seven new steam sloops of war, with a view of obtaining the lowest offers and the most responsible bidders. From the report we are enabled to make up the following table:

BIDS OFFERED.		BIDS ACCEPTED.	
Novelty Works,	\$ 98,500	Woodruff & Beach, . . .	\$125,000
Novelty Works,	97,000	Murphy & Co.,	130,000
Novelty Works,	98,000	Merrick & Sons,	102,000
Allaire Works,	97,000	Boston Loco. Works,	104,000
Murray & Hazlehurst,	100,000	Morgan Works,	120,000
	<hr/>		<hr/>
	\$490,500		\$581,000

In these five of the seven contracts, there was a difference of \$90,500 between the rejected offers of well-known establishments and those which were accepted; and, if the other two were awarded after the same fashion, the entire loss to the country was \$126,700, or over eighteen thousand dollars on each vessel! The rejected bids were from the most eminent machine works in the Union.”

By the foregoing it will be seen that the Novelty Works of New York, and the Reading Forge Company—among the best and most responsible in the country, proposed to execute the work for \$98,000, whilst the offer of Merrick & Sons was for \$102,000, and by the terms of the law the Secretary of the Navy had no alternative, but to give the contract to the lowest responsible bidder, which no doubt would have been done, but for the following most remarkable correspondence, which, as a justification or excuse at least, for the gross misconduct of the Secretary, was laid before the committee of investigation:

Col. W. C. Patterson, of Philadelphia, to the President.

“PHILADELPHIA, Sept. 13, 1858.

“Dear Sir,—I venture to suggest to you the importance of awarding the contracts for the machinery of the sloop, now building at the navy yard at this time, and if it can be done

without prejudice to the public service, to Merrick & Sons. There is the only establishment in the First District which employs a large number of mechanics; at this time, 390; when in full work, 450.

"The managing partners (Mr. M., Sr., being absent, in bad health,) are full of energy, straining every nerve to keep their force during this depression, and, in so far as I know, the only old Whigs of any influence in that District who are in favor of the reelection of Colonel Florence.

"I know, from former experience, the value of that influence, and feel persuaded that it is the interest of the Democratic party to increase it.

"The First District will, I hope, be carried in any event, but with that shop at work, full handed, two weeks prior to the election, the result would, I think, be placed beyond all doubt.

With much respect,

The President.

W. C. PATTERSON."

This letter was sent to the Secretary of the Navy by the President with this endorsement:

"SEPTEMBER 15, 1858.

"The enclosed letter from Colonel Patterson, of Philadelphia, is submitted to the attention of the Secretary of the Navy.

J. B."

And the Secretary, obedient to the will of his superior, yielded his ready assent, and complied with the intimation thus thrown out.

The result of this unworthy and shameful interference, on the part of the President, was that the contract was given to Merrick & Sons, by which the law was grossly violated, the whole object of advertising for the lowest bidder was defeated, the legal rights of private citizens were abused, four thousand dollars of the public money was unlawfully drawn from the treasury and the sacred right of free representation was trampled under foot by the representative man of the Democratic party, in order to secure the election of one of his Philadelphia pets; and yet it was Mr. Buchanan who said in his letter to the Fort Duquesne celebration, only last summer or fall, "*Never until within a brief period have we heard of the employment of money to carry elections. Should this practice be indulged, until the voters and their representatives in the State and National Legislatures become infected, THE FOUNDATION OF FREE GOVERNMENT WILL THEN BE POISONED AT ITS SOURCE, AND WE MUST END, AS HISTORY PROVES, IN A MILITARY DESPOTISM.*" Here we have the profession of Democratic morality and patriotism, on the one hand, on the other, the practice of the professor, against which no

“watch-dog” of the treasury or of the people’s liberties has yet raised a voice of warning. Why sleeps “*the watch-dog?*” Why slumbers the indignation of the Democracy?

“LIVE-OAK CONTRACTS.—W. C. N. Swift, a whaler, of New Bedford, Massachusetts, had, prior to 1844, been contractor for the supply of live-oak and other timber for the Government. In 1854 he entered into a written agreement with George Plitt, of Philadelphia, an active and intimate friend of President Buchanan, by which Plitt agreed to aid Swift all he could in obtaining live-oak contracts with the Navy Department. The aid contemplated was that Plitt should place Swift upon familiar relations with the Departments. He introduced Mr. Swift to Mr. Dobbin during President Pierce’s administration, and to other gentlemen, and used all his influence in behalf of Swift. Pending the Presidential election of 1856, Plitt introduced Swift to Mr. Buchanan, and sought to place him in the very best position he possibly could with the President. Plitt, at the time, was Treasurer of the Democratic State Central Committee of Pennsylvania, and as such received from Swift the sum of sixteen thousand dollars, of which Swift contributed ten thousand dollars and received the balance from his immediate friends, to be used in the pending election. Mr. Buchanan was informed before the election, that Mr. Swift was an old line Whig, who had come over to his party, and was taking an active part in the election; and he was subsequently informed of the amount contributed by Swift.”

These facts appear from the testimony before the Committee of Investigation.

It appears, further, that this man, Swift, who had been frequently recommended to the President as a *good fellow*, had in his possession a large quantity of rejected timber, which he wished to sell the Government. The rule of the Department has been to allow contractors two years to fill their contracts, and never to make an open purchase except for immediate use. Now, it appears that the Secretary of the Navy, in June, 1858, advertised for 150,000 feet of live-oak, the quantity, size and form being exactly like that held by Swift. The limited time prevented any competition. The yellow fever prevailed in the live-oak regions, and it was impossible for the cutters to visit that region. We cannot here go at length into the details of this extraordinary and disreputable transaction; we must content ourselves with the result, which was, that Swift, in consideration of being a capital good fellow, which was clearly established by having contributed ten thousand dollars towards the election of Mr. Buchanan—this was before the Duquesne letter was written—was reimbursed seventeen times over out of the public treasury

by the sale of a mass of worthless timber that was then lying in the navy yards where good timber was in abundance—as rejected and good for nothing, for which he received the moderate compensation of \$171,200. Yet no “watch-dog” in Virginia has raised his voice to give the people warning of this open, daylight robbery of the public money.

COAL CONTRACTS.—The coal contracts for the Navy exhibit the same extravagance and recklessness. Incompetent agents are appointed to make purchases, who buy of political friends inferior articles at enormous prices, and heavy per centage allowed to nominal agents who had nothing to do with the contracts. In fact, in every constructive department of the Navy we find pilfering to be the sole aim and object of its agents.

Another haul upon the treasury for the election of Colonel Florence, is exposed by the Committee of Investigation:

“**PHILADELPHIA NAVY YARD.**—The attention of the Committee was directed to one transaction at this yard. In August last a requisition was made upon the Naval Constructor for eighty oakum spinners. There were then employed ten to fifteen spinners, who were generally ‘old salts,’ disabled for active duty and yet competent to spin oakum; the work is nothing but rubbing oakum upon the knee. The Naval Constructor did not deem a greater force necessary, and refused to sign the requisition. The Master Calker brought it to Captain Carr, the Commander in the Yard, who also refused to sign the requisition. Thereupon, Hon. Thomas B. Florence, a member of this House, came to Washington, and asked the Secretary to direct the eighty oakum spinners to be employed. It was referred to the Bureau of Yards and Docks. Commodore Smith declined at first, but he received a slip of paper signed by Mr. Welsh, the Chief Clerk, on which was written in pencil as follows: ‘The master workmen having made a requisition for eighty additional pickers, you will see that it is complied with.’ This was enclosed in the written application of Mr. Florence. The order was then issued to the Commander of the Yard, and the ‘oakum spinners’ were set to work. Commodore Carr testifies that when the men came in he went down and took a look at them; ‘they were the lame, the halt and the blind; but they did the work. I made a place for them until they worked the oakum up.’ They were then discharged.

“All the oakum spinning for a year was crowded into a few weeks” for the purpose of electing a Democratic member of Congress.

Thus, it will be seen that the public money is again squandered in open disregard of law and justice; contracts distributed to favorites and partisans, without respect to the public interests;

our Navy Yards converted into political machines to undermine the purity of elections—social intercourse with the President made the basis of pecuniary profit, in total disregard of law, honor, justice, propriety, and the sworn duty of the various departments of the Government. Can the people any longer be surprised at the rapid increase of the public expenditures, or at the debt created, after such exhibits as are here made, all of which are taken from public documents? Or, can they so far fail in their duty to themselves, their country and to posterity, as not to apply the only corrective in their power, by visiting the transgressing party with their signal rebuke and condemnation?

THIRTY MILLIONS OF DOLLARS FOR SECRET SERVICE.—And to complete the list of the extravagance of this most extravagant Administration and to add the climax to its unblushing effrontery, Mr. Buchanan now asks to have \$30,000,000 placed at his disposal, to be by him disbursed secretly, without check, restraint or responsibility. Is it not time to pause and consider. Having depleted the public treasury to its last dime, with \$6,000,000 short in the Post Office Department, he wishes to grasp the expected incoming revenue, to the exclusion of the legitimate expenditures of Government, to this vast amount. Have the acts of his Administration in the past been such as to justify a confidence which has never been given to any Administration—the wisest and the best! In effect, he asks to be clothed with powers which not only have never been exercised, but have never been asked for, by any Administration.

“THREE THOUSAND DOLLARS A YEAR TO MEMBERS OF CONGRESS.—During the flush times of 1855 and 1856, Congressmen became salaried officers, and their pay was advanced by their own action from eight to nearly forty dollars per day, exclusive of their franking privilege, which cost the Government, for the last fiscal year, \$1,500,000, and their mileage, which cost, probably, as much more, besides the enormous amounts of stationery and hundreds of valuable books of which Congressmen possess themselves at the expense of the Government. It is not to be supposed, should the financial embarrassments of the country continue, that the people will look up contentedly and patiently from the depths of individual distress and national bankruptcy at their public servants receiving forty dollars per day, besides their *constructive* travelling expenses, their free postage privileges, libraries of costly books and stationery.”—*Richmond Examiner*.

Can any honest voter read these expositions without disgust at the depravity and debasement of the present administration.

No former President has ever been complicated with such discreditable proceedings; nor was the conduct of high officers of the Government ever before subjected to such an ordeal of well founded distrust and unavoidable suspicion. Aye, more! Did *any President* ever so degrade his office, to corrupt the people and squander the public revenue—to make the ballot box a machine for recording his wishes, and the suffrages of the people an empty form? Surely, the indignation of the Democracy cannot slumber. “Why are *the people* so patient?”

And whilst these robberies are being carried on, “and the high-ways and by-ways of Government are rotten with corruption,” what is John Letcher, that faithful *watch dog* of the treasury doing? Does he condemn? Does he sound the alarm? Far from it; we repeat, he justifies and sustains it all.

One other item from this sickening and disgusting record, and we are done.

It appears that the Reading Forge Company, in Pennsylvania, had employed Hon. J. Glancy Jones, whilst he was a member of Congress, on account of his great intimacy and influence with the President, to obtain for them contracts with the Government, on all of which he was to be allowed a compensation of five per cent. Several large contracts were thus obtained, and his commission paid—earned according to the agreement of the parties. This report proceeds:

“The undersigned, therefore, report that the Hon. J. Glancy Jones did, while a member of this House, enter into a contract with the Reading Forge Company, by which he agreed to procure work for it, from the Government, in consideration of which he was to receive a commission of five per cent.; that he did procure contracts to be made between the Government and the said Reading Forge Company, in which he was interested to the amount of said commission; and that he did receive money from said Company for said service.”

The report then goes on to quote the law of 1808, which prohibits any member of Congress from directly or indirectly undertaking, executing, holding or enjoying, in whole or in part, any contract or agreement with the United States, or with any officer of the United States authorized to make contracts for the Government, under a penalty of three thousand dollars, and the contract to be declared null and void.

By the third section it is provided: “In every such contract or agreement to be made or entered into, or accepted as aforesaid, there shall be inserted an express condition, that no member of

Congress shall be admitted to any part of such contract or agreement, or to any benefit to arise therefrom."

And in 1854, Mr. Jones wrote the following letter to Gen. Keim, then Secretary and Treasurer of the Reading Forge Company, but a member of the House of Representatives, in the Congress just adjourned, the importance of which is to be found in the fact that he was acting in full concert with the officers of Government, and disclosed in advance the foregone determination of the Navy Department to violate the law, and not to give the contracts to the lowest bidder, if a friend or partisan of the Administration could be benefited by such departure from law and justice. Extract from the letter:

"HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, May 18, 1854.

"*Dear General*,—I received your letter this morning, and have just had an interview with the Secretary of the Navy. He informs me that all the machinery will be given out on contract, except, perhaps, what is made in Washington. **THE SECRETARY WILL ADVERTISE FOR BIDS, BUT HE WILL NOT GIVE IT TO THE LOWEST BIDDER.** He will contract with the offer which he thinks is best for the Government.

Signed:

J. GLANCY JONES."

That is to say, the best to secure the election of Democratic members of Congress, or to reimburse good fellows who have contributed their means liberally towards the election of Mr. Buchanan.

Yet this is the man thus engaged in immoral, unlawful and corrupt transactions whilst representative of the people, committing, according to the true intent, spirit and meaning of the law, a high "misdemeanor," and incurring a penalty of \$3,000 for every offence committed, and who, by the spirit of the law of 1853, was liable to an indictment for misdemeanor, the penalty for which is \$5,000, or imprisonment, or both, yet, this was the man that Mr. Buchanan has grossly insulted the nation by selecting, as the representative of the honor and dignity and character of the United States, at one of the most important courts in Europe.

What will the Virginia Democracy require to open their eyes to the true condition of the country, if the developments made in this campaign should fail to arouse them from their lethargy and their confidence in the leading men of their party?

With this exhibit, we conclude, by saying, Mr. Letcher is a member of the Committee of Ways and Means, these expenditures all come before this committee, but we have not heard Mr.

Letcher's voice once raised against them. He *accepts* a daily compensation of forty or fifty dollars for himself, but is extremely watchful to see that private claims are defeated, and that old soldiers' bounties and old widows' pensions are not to be taken out of the public treasury over which he is trusted as a faithful sentinel.

If this constitutes Mr. Letcher's only claim to honesty and fidelity to his public trusts, well might the Richmond Enquirer have intimated that the term was applied in derision, and that his honesty was only a "*lucus a non lucendo*."

Postscript.—We should not do full justice to Mr. Letcher's Democracy, his habits of economy, or his vigilance over the public treasury, if we were to omit one important event in his public history. Mr. Letcher voted for a resolution inviting that celebrated imposter, Louis Kossuth, to visit the seat of Government at Washington; he accepted, and came at the public expense, he came with a retinue befitting a victorious Prince, and such as poor old Lear could not extort from his cruel daughters, between whom he had divided his kingdom; he came not as an humble refugee and wanderer, without a home or a shelter for his head, but he arrogantly came as one clothed with power, influence and importance. He was lodged at Brown's hotel, where he was visited, and lionized, and toadied to, in a manner so shameful and disgusting as to reflect discredit upon the independence and honorable bearing of those who paid him court as citizens of a Republic, and this is the bill that, through Mr. Letcher's instrumentality, the country had to pay for his entertainment.

For 13½ days board, 23 rooms, &c.....	\$3,558 00
To sundries, including Champagne, Sherry, Claret, Madeira, Stamps, Hack Hire, Envelopes, Tele- graph Expenses, Brandy, Whisky, Porterage,	658 82
Other items,.....	319 52

Making in all,.....\$4,536 34

And this rigid economist, this peculiar guardian of the public funds, this "Watch-dog of the Treasury," who first invited, and then footed the bill—but not a dollar out of his own pocket—but out of the public crib—this "*Honest John*" is now travelling through the State *excusing, justifying and glorifying* over all this inordinate waste, and unauthorized appropriation of the people's money. Once more we ask: "Why are the people so patient?" "Why slumbers the indignation of the Democracy?"