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# S P E E C H

OF

## HON. HENRY G. DAVIS,

### ON NATIONAL AND STATE AFFAIRS.

Before the Mineral County Convention, at Keyser,  
W. Va., September 2d, 1882.

**FELLOW CITIZENS:** In a free Government—a Government of the people, by the people and for the people—it is not only the privilege, but the duty of all good citizens to take an interest in the selection of men to administer public affairs, and to see to it that their political representatives do their full duty. If they neglect to take a proper interest in these matters, then the bad elements in society may get control, and the result would be great frauds, extravagance, and possible loss of our liberties. The question would then be not how much is necessary to run the Government, but how much is needed to keep the party in power and in possession of the offices. The long continuance of the Republican party in power, its disposition to extravagance in the administration of the Government, and the use of its power and patronage to keep control of public affairs is sufficiently alarming to put the people on their guard, and compel inquiry whether it should be trusted with public confidence.

The history of the Government shows that the long continuance of a political party in power affords opportunities for corruption and abuses and their concealment, which only a change of parties can bring to light and correct.

**Public Expenditures.**

The following table, taken from official reports, shows in an impartial way the difference in the public expenditures by the two parties when in control of the Government:

| Year.     | Expenditures.                              | Average.         | Population.                | Expense per Capita. |
|-----------|--|------------------|----------------------------|---------------------|
| 1859..... | Under Democratic rule—<br>\$66,355,450 07  | \$63,206,357 30  | 31,443,321                 | \$2 01              |
| 1860..... | Under Republican rule—<br>60,526,751 71    |                  |                            |                     |
| 1869..... | Under Democratic rule—<br>\$100,496,354 95 | \$177,453,981 05 | 38,558,371                 | 4 60                |
| 1870..... | Under Republican rule—<br>164,421,207 15   |                  |                            |                     |
| 1879..... | Under Democratic rule—<br>\$161,619,434 43 | \$165,351,908 30 | 50,155,753                 | 3 29                |
| 1880..... | Under Republican rule—<br>169,006,602 25   |                  |                            |                     |
| 1883..... | Under Republican rule—<br>\$294,243,097 36 |                  | 52,000,000<br>(Estimated.) | 5 66                |

In this table I have taken averages of two years, in decade periods, so as to be en-

tirely fair to the representative parties. It will be seen that in the years 1859-60, when the Democrats had full control of the Government, the average expenses were but \$63,206,357.39, and, per capita, but \$2.01.

In 1869-70, when the Republicans had full control, the average expenses were increased to.....\$177,458,931.05 and the per capita to \$4.60.

In 1879-80, when the Democrats had control of the House and Senate, the average expenses decreased to.....\$165,354,998.39 and the per capita to \$3.29; while the appropriations for 1883, when the Republicans again have full control of the Government, have increased the expenses to the enormous amount of.....\$294,243,097.36 and the per capita, with an estimated population of 52,000,000, to \$5.66.

#### The Expenses, Per Capita,

as the population becomes greater, ought to be reduced instead of increased.

To help pay these expenses West Virginia contributed last year, as internal revenue tax, the sum of.....\$502,276.50 a per capita, with an estimated population of 667,000, of 72 cents.

The entire amount of taxes (estimated) collected by the State, for all purposes, including schools, during 1882 is put at.....\$598,530.00 a per capita on 89 cents, or but little more than we pay the Government.

The people of the State do not feel the collection of this amount, \$502,276.50, as they do the State taxes, because it falls upon them in an indirect way, yet they pay it. As shown in the table of net expenditures, the Government will collect from the people for the expenses of the fiscal year ending June 30, 1883, the sum of \$294,243,097.36, making the sum of \$5.66 to be paid, on an average, by every man, woman and child in this country. The census returns show that an average family consists of five persons, and this would make an average of nearly \$30 to each family in the United States. So, if a head of a family receives but \$30 a month, the salary of

#### One Month in the Year

has to be given to the support of the Government. Apply this per capita to our State, and we find that while the average taxes to each person in our State, for all State purposes, are but eighty-nine cents, the average taxes to be collected for the Government for the year 1883, to each person in the State, will amount to \$5.66.

The plea of "Oh, well"; there is an overplus of money in the Treasury, and we might as well spend it; it will circulate the

money among the people, anyhow," will not do as an excuse for the extravagance of the present administration. It is true that a large and unnecessary surplus is being collected from the people at this time, and as our present rate of internal revenue taxation and unequal tariff discriminations are kept up we may continue to have a surplus, but that is no reason for hunting up all sorts of unnecessary objects upon which to spend it; you must remember that many a

#### Small Appropriation Leads to Larger Ones,

and great expenses are often the result of small beginnings; the Mississippi would never have become the mighty river it is but for the number of streams emptying into it. The people of the country have to raise this money before the Government can have it to spend. I think the revenue of the Government ought to be reduced, for a full Treasury encourages extravagance.

As another instance of the reckless manner in which the money is squandered, take the Navy Department.

Officers are placed on the retired list, and yet they continue to draw pay and receive promotion as if they were in active service. According to Senate Report No. 126, made by the Secretary of the Navy, it appears that there are a large number of officers who have been retired some fifteen or twenty years and, without doing any duty whatever, have received promotion and full pay. For instance, a captain retired in 1831 on an annual salary of \$1,738, is now a rear admiral, and receives \$4,500 per annum, and yet he does no duty.

#### Pensions.

It is but fair to state, before leaving this subject that a considerable portion of the increase of expenditures is due to the enormous amount required to pay pensions, especially under the "Arrears of Pension Act." It is a fact that we pay for this item alone over \$100,000,000, which is four times as much as the balance of the whole world pays, the latter aggregating about \$26,000,000. It is impossible to estimate what our pension list will eventually cost us; it will certainly cost us as much as it did to pay the whole expense of both the army and navy during the late war, and it is believed and asserted by some that it will cost more than the whole national debt amounts to. I am in favor of paying every dollar that is due every honest soldier who may be entitled to a pension, but at the same time I am in favor of so amending the law that dishonest claimants may be prevented from prosecuting fraudulent claims, and the rights of the tax payers protected.

#### Frauds.

In 1876 Tilden was fairly elected President of the United States, both by the electoral vote and by a majority of about 250,-

000 votes over Hayes, and of more than 100,000 over all competitors; but by means which are well known to the entire country, the Republican party leaders managed to cheat the will of the people and perpetrate a great fraud, thus placing Hayes and the Republican party in power. There have been a great many frauds perpetrated by the Republican party, but this was the greatest ever practiced upon, or submitted to by, a free people.

If you continue the Republican party in power, you

#### **Endorse the Frauds Already Committed.**

give them opportunities to commit others, and encourage extravagance in every form and manner. However pure the party may have been in its origin, and however well disposed and sincere many of its followers are, and admitting that it had, and now has, much in its cardinal principles that can be commended, it has become corrupt by long-continued power. No party is wise enough, good enough, or strong enough, to be trusted with unlimited power. A politician or a party, drunk with power and extravagance, ought not to command the confidence of the people. Unless you, by your votes, unseat this party, and set the seal of your condemnation on their acts, they with their vast multitude of office-holders, with their assessments for political purposes, and with their almost unlimited command of money, will continue to perpetuate themselves in power, and fraud and extravagance will increase.

#### **Centralization.**

One of the most dangerous tendencies of the Republican party is the disposition to form a strong government in the hands of the few; to centralize power, and permit a few to control the people and the vast interests of this great country. All the teachings of the Republican party, and all its legislation, tend to build up great fortunes for large corporations. The effort to arraign the great corporations and office-holders on one side against the body of the people on the other may succeed temporarily, but it will fail sooner or later, or else I fear our republic may drift into a monarchy. One of the results of this effort appears to be the conflict between capital and labor, as is shown by the great number of strikes all over the country.

From the formation of the Democratic party, nearly 100 years ago, down to its present time, its fear has been a centralized government, and its great effort has been to prevent it. The Democratic party is in favor of a popular form of government, a government where the masses of the people have a choice in the selection of their rulers, and a potent voice in the management of their affairs. Whenever the people give up the right of local self-government, and allow it to be transferred to the Federal Government, their liberties will fast

decay. I have more fears of our government being changed and corrupted by centralization of power, than in any other way, but I have firm faith to believe that the people will sternly rebuke this tendency at the polls; for I know they love our Democratic institutions, and they realize that the only difference between our government, and those presided over by the crowned heads of Europe is, that we have the right to govern ourselves through the States, while they govern their people through a concentration of power in the hands of a few.

#### **The Tariff.**

A word upon the tariff, which, by the way, can hardly be called a party question, because the differences of opinion are so wide among the prominent members of both political parties. Our State, of course, desires a fair and just tariff; it is to her interest to do so. As long as we have to raise a revenue to pay the national debt and the expenses of running the Government it is best to have a tariff. The present tariff, however, needs revision badly, for it is very unjust and unequal in its provisions. It is better, however, that this revenue should be raised by a tariff that would bear equally on all than that the people should be burdened with direct taxation as would be the case if we had what is termed free trade.

#### **Internal Revenue Taxation.**

As to internal revenue taxation, I think it would be best, and to the interests of the people, to repeal all taxes except upon whisky and fermented liquors. This would serve two good purposes: It would reduce taxation and would also reduce the horde of officeholders, many of whom, in connection with the collection of internal revenue, are but political agents, spending the money of the Government to further and bolster up the interests of the Republican party. The whole amount of internal revenue collections for the year ending June 30, 1882, was \$146,520,273.71. Of this spirits and fermented liquors paid \$86,027,328.60, or considerably more than half.

To collect this amount, we paid to internal revenue collectors, gaugers, store-keepers, special agents, &c., a little over \$5,000,000. Now, if internal taxes were abolished upon everything except spirits, we would have about \$90,000,000 from this source, and a very large number of these collection officers and political agents could be dispensed with, for there would be no occasion for the appointment of revenue officers, except in those districts of certain States where liquors are made, and the large cities where the brewing of beer and making of malt are largely engaged in. With these agents removed from the Southern States, where they have been most numerous, sent, the elections would be free from interference.

#### **National Banks.**

There has been some complaint among

the people against the National bank system, and this, I think, is because it is not fully understood by them. I believe the National banks are of advantage to the country, and that, under that system, the currency is better now than it has ever been. A man will take a National bank note without stopping to inquire the name of the bank issuing it, for he knows that even if the bank should break, he will not be a loser; the government backs its payment, and that makes it safe. Besides, there are very few counterfeits, the note is always good for its face value, and no note-holder has ever lost a dollar; while under the old banking system, we were troubled with broken banks, counterfeits were numerous, many of the notes had to be discounted when redeemed, if redeemed at all, and the people suffered severely. Another point in favor of these banks is this: Government bonds, by law, are free from all taxation, for any purpose, but when used by National banks for the purposes of securing circulation, they are made the basis of taxation for State, county and local purposes, as any other property, and they are the only Government bonds on which the people receive any return whatever. For instance, say half a dozen gentlemen have \$100,000, which they desire to invest; if they invest it in Government bonds, that amount is withdrawn from all taxation; but if they use these bonds as a basis of circulation and start a National bank, their stock is taxed for all purposes, as other property, and thus, indirectly, the bonds pay taxes. Besides, the Government also taxes National banks one per cent. on their circulation and one-half per cent. on their deposits, per annum.

#### **Assessments for Political Purposes.**

If improper use of money can accomplish anything, the Republicans will have an indefinite lease of power. They have a large fund to draw upon, and they appear to have no hesitation in using it. It is true that all parties need a limited amount of money for the legitimate purposes of a canvass, and to print and circulate information that the people should have; but the Republican party is the first to make a specific assessment upon the Government employes and enforce its collection.

The first order was issued by the Congressional Campaign Committee, or "Hubbell Committee," as it is called, May 15th, 1882, and assessed all to whom it was sent, two per cent. of their salaries, whatever they might be. This has brought a great deal of money to the Committee, but as it was not coming in fast enough to meet the demands, this Committee, on August 15th, issued a second, and a little more supplicatory, but still containing a scarcely-hidden threat.

#### **The Circular Commences as Follows:**

"SIR: Your failure to respond to the

circular of May 15th, 1882, sent to you by this Committee, is noted with surprise. It is hoped that the only reason for such failure is that the matter escaped your attention, owing to press of other cares. "Great political battles cannot be won in this way. This committee cannot hope to succeed in the pending struggle if those most directly benefitted by success are unwilling or neglect to aid in a substantial manner."

These circulars have been sent to more than 100,000 Republican office-holders, not sparing or omitting the humblest laborer on the roll. Even the laborers in the navy yards, and on the streets, and the poor women who sweep the public buildings are assessed and required to pay. There is no way of forcing the collection by law, and they call these assessments

#### **"Voluntary Contributions,"**

but we all know that those who fail or refuse to contribute will soon find themselves out of the employ of the Government.

If all the employes who are provided for in the Legislative, Executive and Judicial Appropriation bills pay up, the committee will realize from this source alone for political use some \$400,000. If all the more than 100,000 office-holders pay but an average of \$10, and even the laborers receiving but \$50 a month are assessed \$12, the Republicans will realize for election purposes considerably over \$1,000,000. This is what is termed "carrying on politics on business principles."

Those holding office from Virginia have even a harder time of it, for it is asserted that the Readjusters, with the aid of the administration, have

#### **Levied an Additional Five Per Cent.**

on their salaries, for the use of their party in the State election.

These gentlemen, having the power, first create these offices and fix the salaries, and then get an election fund directly from the public treasury by taxing the officer-holders for a sufficient amount to run the expenses of the campaign, and this is done by some of the most prominent members of both Houses of Congress, who constitute the campaign committee.

There is but one way to counteract this evil. Congress should pass a law prohibiting all such acts, and the people, by their votes, should teach these gentlemen that when they undertake to make a money canvass, they are going considerably farther than the American people will stand.

On the one hand, the Republicans have the office-holders, the offices and the money; on the other hand the Democracy goes into the fight with principle and right on their side. And while the one, using all the influences that power can control, or money purchase, may have full sway for a time, yet the truth of history demonstrates that those who use corrupt means to obtain

and perpetuate their power will, sooner, or later, be driven from the management of the affairs of the people, and the Republican party will not prove an exception.

#### Changes in Official Finance Reports.

In connection with the extravagant use of money by the Republicans, I want to call your attention to the manner in which the books of the treasury department have been kept since that party gained control.

In 1877, in several speeches I made in the Senate I charged that the books of the treasury did not agree in many instances, and that numerous alterations had been made in some of them to make the amount of the public debt and other items correspond. A lengthy and thorough investigation resulted, and the report of the committee, which has never been denied, showed that the charges I had made were fully substantiated. I submit a few of the

#### Many Discrepancies:

| Year.                    | Increase of Expenditures in Report of 1871, as Compared with Report of 1869. |                |                |                      |
|--------------------------|--|----------------|----------------|----------------------|
|                          | Military Service.  | Pensions.      | Indians.       | Naval establishment. |
| 1860.....                | \$2,000,000 00   |                |                |                      |
| 1862.....                |  |                |                |                      |
| 1863.....                | 4,015,810 99   |                |                |                      |
| 1864.....                |  | \$ 5,840 73    | \$ 104,546 10  | \$50,130 04          |
| 1865.....                |  | 7,656,410 86   | 2,075,706 35   | 91,678 17            |
| 1866.....                |  | 197 53         | 92,385 81      | 49,657 95            |
| Total.....               | \$6,015,810 99   | \$7,061,940 12 | \$2,412,991 19 | \$99,787 99          |
| Increase:                |  |                |                |                      |
| Military service.....    |  |                |                | \$6,015,810 99       |
| Pensions.....            |  |                |                | 7,061,940 12         |
| Indians.....             |  |                |                | 2,412,991 19         |
| Naval establishment..... |  |                |                | 99,787 99            |
| Total.....               |  |                |                | \$15,590,529 29      |

For the year 1865:  
Report for 1866 states net revenue collected for 1865.....\$333,714,605 08  
Report for 1870 states net revenue collected for 1865..... 323,092,785 92

Showing a decrease of.....\$ 10,621,819 16  
In this latter table the treasurer, register

and secretary all agree, and state in 1865 that the net revenue of the government was in round numbers \$333,000,000. But in 1870, five years afterwards, it was decreased to \$323,000,000. And this \$10,000,000 difference has never been accounted for.

Dr. Guilford, who has been fifteen years in the Register's office, and who has charge of making up the debt statements in the Register's office,

#### Testified as Follows:

Q.—I see in a column headed "Amounts to be added to receipts," marked "b," \$2,019,776.10; and another one marked "c," \$1,000,000.00; and then one marked "d," \$3,274,051.69, making a total of \$6,293,827.79, which you say is "to be added to receipts." What is meant by that?

A.—That is in accordance with the Secretary's report of 1871. Those amounts do not appear upon our books. They are added in accordance with the Secretary's order in order to harmonize the two, as is shown in the report of 1871.

Q.—I understand that these three items, amounting to between six and seven million dollars do not appear upon your books?

A.—They do not.

Q.—But are added here by order of the Secretary?

A.—So I understand.

This shows that Dr. Guilford, who had charge of a set of books from which the public debt statements are made, in order to harmonize the statements, forced a balance by adding sums amounting to \$6,293,927.79. Major Power,

#### Another Official,

on page 80, says:

Q. Look at the report of 1871, at page 20, and state what the total receipts of the Government up to June 30, 1871, were.

A. The total receipts received into the Treasury on account of loans were \$7,094,541,041.38.

Q. The net expenditures?

A. \$4,857,434,540.51, leaving a balance of \$2,237,106,500.87.

Q. State what the difference is between that and the actual amount of the public debt at that time.

A. The actual public debt was \$2,253,211,332.32.

Q. What is the difference between the actual debt and what it would appear to be on the basis of receipts and expenditures?

A. \$116,104,431.45.

This testimony shows that if you take the receipts and expenditures from the beginning of the Government to 1870, and state the debt, it will be short \$116,104,831.45, which was added in the new debt statement.

On pages 212 and 213 Mr. Saville, then chief clerk of the Treasury Department, says the system of bookkeeping was changed in 1870, and the changes, when compared with the amounts previously re-

ported by the Register, increased the debt statement in—

|                   |              |
|-------------------|--------------|
| 1862 (about)..... | \$10,000,000 |
| 1863 (about)..... | 20,000,000   |
| 1864 (about)..... | 75,000,000   |

There has been no attempt to explain these increases in the public debt, amounting to \$105,000,000, except that Mr. Saville said that "in order to keep the public debt correctly by receipts and expenditures it is necessary to

#### Make Entries Not Warranted by Law."

I also submit a statement showing that in nine of the great ledgers in the Treasury Department, there were found 2,527 alterations, changes and erasures, involving from a few dollars to twenty millions or more:

| Title of Ledger.  | Period.                              | Number of Entries and Apparent Alterations.  |
|---|--------------------------------------|--|
| 1. Interior appropriation ledger No. 4                    | From July 1, 1861, to June 30, 1868. | One hundred and fifty-three.                 |
| 2. Naval appropriation ledger No. 6                       | From July 1, 1861, to June 30, 1868. | One hundred and thirty-seven.                |
| 3. Military appropriation ledger No. 13                   | From July 1, 1867, to June 30, 1871. | One hundred and thirty-eight.                |
| Six (6) Ledgers from Office of Secretary of the Treasury. |                                      |  |
| Title of Ledger.  | Period.                              | Number of Erasures and Apparent Alterations. |
| 4. Interior appropriation ledger No. 3                    | From July 1, 1860, to June 30, 1868. | Two hundred and ninety-six.                  |
| 5. Naval appropriation ledger No. 5                       | From July 1, 1860, to June 30, 1868. | One hundred and ninety-three.                |
| 6. Naval appropriation ledger No. 6                       | From July 1, 1863, to June 30, 1867. | Six hundred and sixty-eight.                 |
| 7. Naval appropriation ledger No. 7                       | From July 1, 1867, to June 30, 1870. | Four hundred and fifty-seven.                |
| 8. Military appropriation ledger No. 10                   | From July 1, 1859, to June 30, 1868. | One hundred and sixty-eight.                 |

|   |       |
|---|-------|
| Three ledgers from Register's office, containing..... | 428   |
| Six ledgers from Secretary's office, containing.....  | 2,099 |
| Total in nine ledgers.....                            | 2,527 |

I certify I have carefully examined the nine ledgers enumerated above, and that the foregoing is a true statement of the erasures and apparent alterations.

JOHN W. GENTRY, Clerk.

Let me give you

#### Another Illustration

of Republican book-keeping. It is settled by all rules that when the principal of a debt is reduced, the amount of interest on that principal should be reduced in corresponding proportion. The official reports show that the public debt has been steadily and largely reduced for years, yet, strange to say, the official records of the Treasury Department show that while in 1876 we paid as interest on the public debt, \$100,243,271.23, and in 1877 \$97,124,511.58. Yet in 1878 it was increased to \$102,500,874.65, and in 1878 to \$105,327,949, showing an increase for the years 1878 and 1879 over the years 1876 and 1877, of \$10,461,040.84, and it must be remembered that the rate of interest was decreasing from 6 to 3½ per cent. also.

This, however, is only another one of the mysteries locked in the vaults of the Treasury that will never be solved, until a new custodian is appointed by the voice of the people.

#### Increase of Office-Holders.

As an illustration of the manner in which the number of Republican office-holders are increasing take the growth of officers in some of the Departments, as shown in the following table:

| Department.      | 1862. | 1850. | 1860. | 1882. | Approved for 1888. .... |
|------------------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------------------------|
| State.....       | 9     | 35    | 50    | 97    | 102                     |
| Treasury .....   | 78    | 486   | 504   | 2,471 | 2,466                   |
| War.....         | 17    | 91    | 99    | 1,238 | 1,596                   |
| Navy.....        | 17    | 63    | 65    | 202   | 194                     |
| Interior.....    | ..... | 311   | 444   | 1,712 | 2,661                   |
| Postoffice ..... | 11    | 112   | 149   | 494   | 557                     |
| Total.....       | 132   | 1,098 | 1,311 | 6,094 | 7,579                   |

From this you will notice that the Navy Department alone had sixty-two more clerks this year than the whole clerical force of all the departments in 1862, and the War Department two hundred and eighty-five more than the whole force in 1860.

Statistics show that the whole number of employes in the service of the United States from 1860 to 1876

#### Increased as Follows:

|                               |         |
|-------------------------------|---------|
| 1860—Buchanan, President..... | 44,527  |
| 1861—Lincoln, President.....  | 46,449  |
| 1867—Johnson, President.....  | 56,113  |
| 1873—Grant, President.....    | 86,660  |
| 1875—Grant, President.....    | 94,119  |
| 1876—Grant, President.....    | 102,350 |

The increase since that time has been very considerable, but as I have not the official data I cannot give the figures.

#### The following table will show the

#### Increase of Expenditures

in the various departments of the Govern-

ment for 1883, over 1882, as passed by the last Congress:

| Titles.                      | 1882.            | 1883.            | Increase 1883 over 1882. |
|------------------------------|------------------|------------------|--------------------------|
| Legislative, &c.....         | \$17,797,397 01  | \$20,210,690 64  | \$2,412,693 03           |
| Military Academy.....        | 322,433 57       | 27,228,000 00    | 18,121 00                |
| Army.....                    | 26,697,800 00    | 27,228,000 00    | 570,200 00               |
| Navy.....                    | 14,506,037 55    | 14,816,176 70    | 290,139 15               |
| Indian.....                  | 4,887,898 80     | 5,229,874 01     | 341,975 21               |
| Pensions.....                | 68,292,366 68    | 100,000,000 00   | 31,717,633 32            |
| Postoffice.....              | 40,597,432 00    | 41,643,900 00    | 3,080,468 00             |
| Consular and diplomatic..... | 1,192,433 00     | 1,936,655 00     | 744,222 00               |
| Sundry civil.....            | 22,092,194 12    | 25,889,358 06    | 3,497,163 94             |
| Fortifications.....          | 575,000 00       | 375,000 00       | 200,000 00               |
| Defences.....                | 5,247,046 65     | 29,248,153 36    | 24,121,147 31            |
| Rivers and harbors.....      | 1,547,800 00     | 17,743,875 00    | 17,196,075 00            |
| Miscellaneous nets.....      | 1,128,006 15     | 5,420,385 29     | 4,292,379 14             |
| Use of Columbia.....         | 1,089,008 72     | 1,085,088 14     | 6,089 82                 |
| Agricultural.....            | 335,940 00       | 427,280 09       | 91,790 00                |
| Totals.....                  | \$216,885,266 65 | \$255,248,943 75 | \$78,363,677 10          |

If to this increase of \$78,363,677.10 you add the estimated deficiency in the pension appropriation of last year of \$20,000,000, and in the Postoffice appropriations of about \$2,000,000, the increase will be over \$100,000,000.

**Appropriations Permanent and Indefinite.**

I and my Democratic colleagues, have made repeated efforts to induce Congress to repeal the appropriations known as "Permanent and Indefinite," and place them under its own direct supervision and control, yet so far, although a bill, looking to this end, has twice passed the Senate, we have failed. The result of leaving them unrepealed is to place a large amount of funds to the credit of indefinite appropriations to be disposed of at the discretion of the Administration. Among other items that come under this head, the collection of custom duties alone, last year, amounted to over \$6,500,000, and the aggregate, exclusive of interest on the public debt, and the sinking fund, in round numbers, to \$15,000,000, while the entire amount, including these last items, was \$146,847,307.09.

At each Congressional election, the expenses and salaries of the Federal supervisors of elections and assistant Marshals appointed during the time of said elections, amounting to several hundred thousand dollars, are

**Paid From This Fund.**

While I do not say that any considerable portion of this fund is being used for improper purposes, yet the opportunity to use a large portion of it for the purpose of carrying elections is placing too much power in the hands of any political party. It is a great deal better and safer to have Congress annually supervise all appropriations of Money, upon regular estimates, to be furnished by the different departments.

**River and Harbor Bill.**

The passage of the "river and harbor" bill at the last session of Congress has caused much discussion and criticism throughout the country, and in our State. At times and in places, fair criticism has given away to unjust censure and violent abuse of the bill and those who voted for it. It is due to frankness for me to say that I think the bill was too large in amount. I thought so at the time it was before Congress, but it was better that it should have passed with this defect than not to have passed at all. Much of the appropriation was to continue unfinished work on rivers and harbors, and which might have become worthless unless finished. Nearly one-third of the appropriation is for the improvement of the Mississippi river and the Potomac flats at Washington, and it is generally conceded these are proper objects, for appropriations, besides those made for unfinished work on our harbors and navigable rivers.

The fact that this appropriation is to be expended under direction of the corps of engineers, at whose head stands Gen. H. G. Wright, a faithful, honest and accomplished officer, ought to be a sufficient guarantee that it will be

**Properly Expended,**

unless you exclude the 2 per cent. assessment fund. It can be said to the credit of the engineers that since the beginning of the government, there has not occurred a case of defalcation in the corps, although they have been charged with the disbursement of hundreds of millions of dollars. The State of West Virginia, since 1870, has enjoyed her proper share in this appropriation; and the improvement of her rivers have been, and always will be, a great advantage to our people, and aid in getting their products to market.

The bill is national and general in its character, and there is no reason to call it a steal, or indulge in violent abuse of those who voted for it—about the only objection to it is its large amount.

**Public Lands Given Away to Railroads and Other Corporations.**

There have been given away, of the public domain, to railway and other corporation 207,460,031 acres, and area greater than the total area of the following States, viz.: New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Connecti-

cut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina and Georgia. Of this large amount the Pacific Railways received 148,675,163 acres.

The people are beginning to realize what a reckless waste of the public property this has been, now that they are forced to pay these corporations high prices for homes.

One of the evils connected with these vast donations is that the corporations owning the lands have, to a large extent, avoided paying taxes on them.

#### Remonetization of Silver.

The following table taken from the report of the Comptroller of the Currency for 1881, shows the total amount of circulation in the United States, on November 1st, 1881, and the increase since 1879, as also the amounts of gold, silver, legal tender and national bank circulation, respectively on that day:

|                          | Gold, Silver and Paper Circulation in the United States, Nov. 1881. |                 |                 |                 |
|--------------------------|---|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|
|                          | Jan. 1, 1879.   | Nov. 1, 1879.   | Nov. 1, 1880.   | Nov. 1, 1881.   |
| Gold coin.....           | \$278,310,126   | \$355,681,592   | \$453,882,692   | \$502,568,971   |
| Silver coin.....         | 106,573,808   | 120,009,597     | 158,320,911     | 180,047,365     |
| Legal-tender notes.....  | 346,681,016   | 346,681,016     | 346,681,016     | 346,681,016     |
| National bank notes..... | 823,791,674   | 897,181,418     | 943,884,107     | 980,344,250     |
| Total.....               | \$1,055,556,619   | \$1,165,553,503 | \$1,302,718,726 | \$1,451,691,602 |

It is estimated that the increase in the gold and national bank circulation has been comparatively slight, while the silver circulation has increased at the rate of \$2,000,000 per month, which would make the total, up to the present, about \$200,000,000.

This great result, with all its advantages to our people, trade and commerce, is due to the re-monetization of silver, which was passed by a Democratic Congress, in the face of furious opposition, in and out of Congress, by the Republican party, but

now its wisdom is so generally acquiesced in, that it has ceased to be a question in politics, and Germany and other leading powers are considering the question of following our example.

#### Anything for Power.

The Republican party, so long accustomed to control and power, has become arrogant and domineering, and its leaders think it presumption to ask the people to make a change. It shifts its sails to catch every breeze and suit every voter who will oppose the Democratic party. Its chief aim seems to be to perpetuate its power and keep control of the government and its offices, no matter how or by what means.

To this end, whenever it has suited its purposes, although loudly professing to be the party of high moral ideas, honesty, reform and progress, it has made alliances, and gone into fellowship with every political heresy and ism of the day. In Iowa, Texas, and other States, it has openly combined with Greenbackers, demanding an unlimited issue of currency. In Virginia, under the sanction and with the aid of the administration, it unites with and stands shoulder to shoulder with repudiation, willing, if it can only get and hold power, to wreck the finances of that State, with its great history, and destroy its credit forever.

#### After Twenty Years of Condemnation

by the Republican press of the country of Gen. Chalmers, as the hero of the Fort Pillow massacre, and the worst barbarian of the late war, the Republican party in Mississippi, the moment it thinks it can make use of him, endorses his nomination, made by bolters, and welcomes him as a reformer, that will redeem the South from bourbonism, as it has heretofore done with Longstreet, Mosby, and many others. In New York, through and with the aid of the candidate for Vice President, and now President, it openly bartered away to Boss Kelley the patronage of the great city of New York for Republican victory in the State, which gave that party a Governor and President.

#### But this Spirit of Intrigue,

bargaining and trading, for the sake of power, has not stopped with localities and States, but it has invaded a Republican Congress, and reached a Republican executive. In the organization of the last House of Representatives the Greenbackers and Readjusters held the balance of power and the Republican party was in the minority. A bargain was made by which the Greenbackers and Readjusters should vote for a Republican Speaker, for which service they received good places on the committees. This bargain extended even to the unseating of Democrats duly and legally elected, and the seating of Republicans in their stead. This same kind of a combination was made between the Republicans in the Senate and Mahone; and in the State of



Virginia with the Readjusters, which resulted in the election of Riddleberger.

And to-day Mahone, the confederate, Democratic-Readjuster-Republican stands

### Clothed With the Confidence of the President,

the Administration and the Republican party, and dictates appointments in Virginia. Under his bargain, he turns out true and tried Republicans, and in some instances even wounded Union soldiers, and puts Readjusters into office in their stead, in order to promote his success and that of his ally, the Republican party. It is said he has a regular printed form on which he makes his endorsements for position for his followers, and these are now in use in the Post Office and other Departments.

These are some of the methods being used by the Administration and the Republican party to keep itself in power.

### Elections.

The will or voice of the people in the last two elections of President has not controlled. Hayes was declared elected by fraudulent counting of electoral votes, and General Garfield was elected by the free use of money in the purchase of votes. Even with the great advantages possessed by the Republicans, in point of having the offices and the power, the two great political parties are very nearly evenly divided. This is shown by the fact that Tilden in 1876 had a majority of both the electoral and popular vote; and in the Presidential election of 1880 the popular majority of Garfield over Hancock was only 7,018, as will be seen by the following statement:

The popular vote for President in 1880 was:

|                           |           |
|---------------------------|-----------|
| Garfield, Republican..... | 4,449,053 |
| Hancock, Democrat.....    | 4,442,095 |
| Weaver, Greenbacker.....  | 307,306   |
| Scattering.....           | 12,576    |

|   |           |
|---|-----------|
| Total.....                              | 9,210,970 |
| Garfield over Hancock.....              | 7,018     |
| Garfield, minority of popular vote..... | 3,12,864  |

The vote of the State of New York, which decided the election in favor of Gen. Garfield, was:

|                 |         |
|-----------------|---------|
| Garfield.....   | 555,544 |
| Hancock.....    | 534,511 |
| Weaver.....     | 12,373  |
| Scattering..... | 2,177   |

|                                   |           |
|-----------------------------------|-----------|
| Total.....                        | 1,104,605 |
| Garfield's plurality.....         | 21,033    |
| Garfield's majority over all..... | 5,483     |

There has been a good deal of talk about the "Solid South," and it has been asserted that the Democrats got nearly all their votes in that section, but facts are very different, as will be seen by the following table of comparisons:

Comparison of the Presidential votes of 1876 and 1880, dividing the Northern and

'Western States from the Southern or old "Slave" States:

### Hayes-Tilden in the Twenty-two Northern and Western States.

|                                     |           |
|-------------------------------------|-----------|
| Democratic vote (62½ per cent)..... | 2,683,477 |
| Republican vote (72¼ per cent)..... | 2,944,109 |
| Greenback vote (9 per cent).....    | 75,849    |

### In the Sixteen Southern States.

|                                     |           |
|-------------------------------------|-----------|
| Democratic vote (37½ per cent)..... | 1,614,072 |
| Republican vote (27¼ per cent)..... | 1,106,781 |
| Greenback vote (9 per cent).....    | 7,157     |

### Garfield-Hancock in the Twenty-two Northern and Western States.

|                                    |           |
|------------------------------------|-----------|
| Democratic vote (64 per cent)..... | 2,847,514 |
| Republican vote (76 per cent)..... | 3,381,748 |
| Greenback vote (65 per cent).....  | 200,266   |

### In the Sixteen Southern States.

|                                    |           |
|------------------------------------|-----------|
| Democratic vote (36 per cent)..... | 1,594,521 |
| Republican vote (24 per cent)..... | 1,067,305 |
| Greenback vote (35 per cent).....  | 107,040   |

It will be noticed that the proportion of Democratic votes cast in the South is about the same at both elections, and that the combined Democratic vote of the Northern and Western States is nearly twice as great as that cast in the Southern States. Again, in the election of 1880, Gen. Garfield received a little over 500,000 more votes than Gen. Hancock did in the Northern and Western States, and Gen. Hancock received about that majority over Garfield in the Southern States.

### State Affairs.

As members of the Legislature are to be chosen at the approaching election, it is proper that some mention should be made of our State affairs.

The State is in a prosperous condition as to its industries, and is rapidly increasing in population.

In 1870, the population was.....442,000  
In 1880, it was .....618,000

Showing an increase of.....176,000

in ten years, or about 40 per cent. This increase is greater than any State East, and more than a majority of the States of the Union. It is fair to presume that the increase in wealth and business is keeping pace with the increase of population. In proportion to its area, it is the richest State in the Union in coal, iron ore and timber.

### State Finances

are in a healthy condition. In order to show the difference in the management of the finances, I submit the following comparison, showing the condition in 1870 under Republican rule, and in 1880 under Democratic rule:

Comparison of expenditures for general State purposes, during the four years (1867 to 1870, inclusive) of Republican rule, and the four years (1878 to 1881, inclusive) under Democratic rule:

|                 |                |                   |              |
|-----------------|----------------|-------------------|--------------|
| Republican..... | \$1,801,052 33 | Average per year. | \$450,263 08 |
| Democratic..... | 1,689,174 50   |                   | 422,293 62   |

\$111,877 88 more than under

**Democratic rule.**

For general school purposes for the same time as above—

|                 |                              | Average per year. |
|-----------------|------------------------------|-------------------|
| Republican..... | \$552,637 36                 | \$138,159 34      |
| Democratic..... | 952,442 31                   | 238,110 57        |
|                 | \$399,804 95 more than under |                   |

**Republican rule.**

It will be seen from this comparison that though the population from 1870 to 1880 has increased about 40 per cent, yet the expenses for general state purposes has decreased during the four years named \$111,877.00, and for the same years the expenditures for school purposes increased \$399,804.00; that is, under Democratic rule the expenditures for State purposes have been decreased and for schools increased, and the rate of taxation has remained the same.

**Free Schools.**

In this very important branch of our State administration the Democrats have made a record to which they point with pride. To fully understand this, I submit the following comparisons and figures—previous to 1870, the State was under Republican and since then Democratic rule:

| Receipts from State, District Levies and other purposes— |              |  |
|--|--------------|--|
| 1870.....  | \$565,207 99 |  |
| 1880.....  | 867,693 78   |  |

Increase (53 per cent.).....\$302,485 79

**Value of school property—**

|           |                |
|-----------|----------------|
| 1870..... | \$1,057,473 94 |
| 1880..... | 1,670,534 91   |

Increase (58 per cent.).....\$613,064 97

**School houses—**

|           |       |
|-----------|-------|
| 1870..... | 2,113 |
| 1880..... | 3,557 |

Increase (68 per cent.).....1,441

**Number of teachers employed—**

|           |       |
|-----------|-------|
| 1870..... | 2,405 |
| 1880..... | 4,134 |

Increase (72 per cent.).....1,729

**Number of months taught—**

|           |        |
|-----------|--------|
| 1870..... | 9,813  |
| 1880..... | 18,531 |

Increase (87 per cent.).....8,618

**Number attending school—**

|           |         |
|-----------|---------|
| 1870..... | 87,330  |
| 1880..... | 142,850 |

Increase (64 per cent.).....55,520

**Salaries of teachers—**

|           |              |
|-----------|--------------|
| 1870..... | \$220,753 84 |
| 1880..... | 522,483 24   |

Increase—136 per cent.).....\$301,729 40

**Average district levy on \$100 valuation of property—**

|                              |         |
|------------------------------|---------|
| For Building Fund, 1870..... | \$28 67 |
| For Building Fund, 1880..... | 19 30   |

Decrease in taxes (33 per cent.).....\$9 37

**Expended for each pupil—**

|  |
|--|
| For tuition, based on enumeration, 1870...\$1 62 |
| For tuition, based on enumeration, 1880... 2 49  |

Increase.....\$ 87

**Irreducible school fund—**

|                        |              |
|------------------------|--------------|
| October 1st, 1870..... | \$229,300 00 |
| October 1st, 1880..... | 423,988 85   |

Increase (over 80 per cent.).....\$194,688 85

From the above figures it will be noticed that while taxes for school purposes

**Have Been Reduced**

about 33 per cent., there has been a large increase in the value of school property, number of teachers, of pupils, of months taught, as also in the salaries of teachers and amount of money expended generally for school purposes. It will also be seen that the Irreducible School Fund has increased over 80 per cent. from 1870 to 1880. In the matter of school administration, it is conceded that West Virginia can challenge comparison with any State in the Union.

**State Institutions.**

Since 1870 there have been large amounts expended on the State Institutions, and they have all been greatly improved in size and condition.

The expenditures for their support is less per capita than in 1870, and I venture to say that the public institutions of no State in the Union are better managed, or afford better facilities for their purposes, than do those of West Virginia.

**State Taxation.**

Another advantage our State has is that while we hear murmurs of complaint from other States, especially South and East, about the heavy burdens of taxation, the taxes of our State are comparatively light; less than those of the majority of States, and less than half as much as some of the others. While fully two-thirds of the States have larger rates than ours, and some of them double and thrifble as much, our State tax is but 30 cents on the hundred dollars, ten cents of which is devoted to the use of free schools, leaving but twenty cents for general purposes. Of course, there are some people, and I suppose some Democrats, who complain even of this low rate, but in the majority of instances, in this as in other matters, you will find those that grumble most are those who have the least cause.

**Debt Question.**

A great many slurs have been attempted to be cast upon our State by the repudiators of Virginia, under the lead of the Readjusters, relative to the State debt of Virginia, and the portion of it they think, or say, our State ought to assume. While we can afford to pass by slurs coming from this source without notice, we cannot afford to ignore the proper sentiment of the country upon the question of payment of State debts. As I have said on previous occasions, I now repeat, I am unqualifiedly in favor of paying our just and equitable proportion of the debt of Virginia, prior to 1863, whenever that proportion shall be properly or legally determined. It is not

fair, either, to charge West Virginia with a disposition to shirk any responsibility in the matter; she has always expressed herself in her Legislature, and in other public ways, as willing to meet Virginia half-way in the settlement of the question.

When West Virginia was admitted into the Union, her Constitution expressly provided for the payment of a

#### **Just and Equitable Proportion**

of this debt, and it was conceded at the time of her admission, that the bill would never have passed Congress but for this provision. It is not the fault of West Virginia that her efforts in the direction of a just and equitable settlement of this matter have, so far, resulted in failure. We announce to the world our willingness to do what is proper and right, and defy any one to say, truthfully, that the taint of repudiation rests upon us. I neither own, nor have I any interest in any bonds of Virginia, or what is called West Virginia, or deferred certificates, and, when this matter is determined, will have to bear my share of the burden of taxation, but I hope this question may be met fairly and squarely by our people. It is now generally conceded that West Virginia, upon a fair settlement, will owe but little, if anything, of this debt, and yet it is an unsettled account that ought to be adjusted, and I want it so adjusted that we need never hang our heads in shame, when our financial record as a State is mentioned.

#### **Railroads.**

The cry of "monopoly" in our State has been calculated to prejudice the people against railroads. While I do not approve of all that railroad corporations do, yet I believe railroads are necessary to the proper development of the State, and I am their friend in their efforts to open up an outlet for our great mineral resources and agricultural productions. We are living in an age of rapid development, the world is pushing on, and if we do not keep moving with it we will be left behind. We must bear in mind that we are living in the year 1882, and that the age of transportation by wagons and stage coaches has passed away. West Virginia is showing signs of progress in the bringing to light of her vast buried treasures of minerals, and in a few years the increase of her population, and consequent wealth and prosperity, will show the wisdom of the encouragement she gives to capital and enterprise.

The iron ore and coal, without means of transportation, are comparatively valueless, but with a railroad they become valuable. The enterprising men who are taking the advance in building railroads and developing the State are to be commended. What would West Virginia have been today but for the few railroads she now has, especially the B. & O. and C. & O. Railroads and their branches?

I do not want to be understood as favoring

#### **Onerous Exactions or Unjust Discriminations**

on the part of railroad companies, but I am in favor of fair rates being established—Competition is one of the best means to bring this about.

A county or town without a railroad is behind the age. Of course, there are discriminations at times about which the people complain, but a person had as well try to do without rain or sunshine, because the rain sometimes does great damage by way of floods, and the sunshine by burning up the crops in a dry season, as to do without railroads, because they do wrong sometimes. Every mile of new railroad built opens up so much new country to market and increases our wealth to that extent. Every new railroad completed tends to reduce rates by giving competition. Let us, then, encourage every legitimate enterprise to come within our borders, and when they do come let us encourage them to stay by encouraging friendly relations with them as well as with those already here. Much of the increase of our population in the past ten years is owing to the few railways we have, and with an increase of railroad facilities we have a great future before us.

#### **Republican State Address.**

A short time ago Mr. G. W. Atkinson, Chairman of the Republican State Committee, and United States Marshal for this State, issued an address to the voters of the State, some portions of which I will notice more at length before I finish.

He starts off by saying:

"The first Monday in October next you will be called upon to cast your ballots," &c. The State Constitution requires our elections to be held on the second Tuesday of October, which, this year, comes on the 10th.

He next refers to the right of petition, and says: "Not fewer than 40,000 of our fellow-citizens petitioned for an amendment to the Constitution to prevent the manufacture and sale of liquors." In the first place no one opposes the right of petition, and in the second place I am credibly informed that the number was 12,000, instead of 40,000.

He next refers to the re-assessment of lands. This is just as important to the State as the census is to the United States every 10 years, and it tends to equalize taxation.

#### **As to His Next Charge,**

I have already shown that the irreducible school fund has been greatly increased, and is now well protected, under Democratic rule.

He then says: "We also charge that the Democratic party legislates in favor of capital as against labor." It is a conceded

fact, that the tendencies of the Republican party is the encouragement of monopolies and concentration of labor.

Next, as to his charge of paper railroads. Without charters, of course, we could have no railroads, and if only one out of every ten railroads chartered is built, the State is that much better off.

As to the new Senatorial district, as population increases, the number of Representatives must also, and, therefore, it was necessary to have a new Senatorial district.

#### The Re-Districting of the State

is next mentioned. The U. S. Constitution requires the State to be re-districted after each census, if it makes a change in the representation. Under the recent apportionment bill we are given an additional member of Congress, and the State, consequently, had to be re-districted.

I have expressed my views on the tariff question, and can only add that all the parties substantially agree as to how our State should stand, and that it has no bearing on the politics of the State whatever.

Finally he says that they call upon the people, without reference to former political affiliations, to cast their ballots for the Republican party and its measures. This is in keeping with the Mahone, Chalmers, and Greenback compacts of their party.

It will be noticed that Mr. Atkinson, of whom I think well personally, is the chairman who signs this address. He is also an United States officer, and is paid by the government for his services.

#### Prohibition.

The question of the prohibition of the manufacture and sale of liquor is assuming considerable importance in this and other States. While it does not enter, strictly speaking, into this campaign, yet it is a question which has been and is now agitating the people, and I believe a candid discussion of any question upon which people differ is always best. Wise men, good and great men, have for a long time and do now differ widely as to the proper policy to be pursued to counteract the evil of intemperance, and public opinion and the people must eventually decide the question.

In this connection, I will say, however, that I have always been an advocate of and a believer in, the right of the people to petition. Wherever a respectable number of citizens ask for redress, their petitions should be given a respectable hearing, and if the people of this State desire that this question should be submitted to them for their consideration, I think their wishes should be granted. For my part I am willing, and I believe all the parties are, that the people who see the practical workings of this question should act both as judge and jury in the matter, and we should be perfectly content to abide by their decision.

#### Re-Assessment of Lands.

Our political opponents endeavor to make a point on the reassessment of lands ordered by the last Legislature, and say it is done to raise more money to run the State government, and that it is now in debt some \$200,000. As to the re-assessment question, the answer is plain. West Virginia is a young and growing State, and as the recent census shows, it has made a more rapid average increase in population than the majority of States. In some places the increase of value has been large, while in others it may have depreciated, and the rate ought to be equalized. Where property has increased in value the taxes should be raised in proportion, and where it has depreciated in value they should be reduced. This is only meting out exact justice to all, and complying with the Constitution, which says taxation shall be equal and uniform.

As to the expenses it is but a comparatively small matter. There have been two re-assessments since 1860, one in 1866, made while the Republicans were in power, of which I have not the figures and cannot speak, the other in 1875, the cost of which, exclusive of blanks and printing, was but \$17,771.40, while the aggregate increase in value over the previous assessment was \$12,176,120. The estimated cost of the present re-assessment is \$20,250. Competent and honest men, citizens of the State, have been designated to discharge this duty, and I have no fear but what they will act properly and conscientiously and return your property at only such a valuation as fairness and justice would dictate.

#### State School Fund.

Much has been said about our having borrowed some money from the school fund to be used for State purposes. As to that question, the old proverb of "People who live in glass houses should never throw stones," is applicable. When the Democrats came into power in 1871, it was found that the reports of the outgoing Republican officials did not agree, and Judge J. M. Jackson, of Parkersburg, and myself, as Chairman of the Finance Committees of the two Houses, investigated the matter. We found that there was an actual deficit of the general funds, on October 1st, 1870, of \$92,552.16 of which there had been taken from the school funds, \$60,528.34, and there were of former appropriations remaining unpaid, \$32,023.82.

The principal difference that I can see between the two parties in this matter is that while the Republicans took the money without law or authority from the school fund in 1870, paid no interest on it, and made no return for it, and kept it concealed until investigation brought it to light, the Democrats, under authority of law, make public and pay interest on the small amount they have borrowed.

### Keyser Convention.

I regret the Congressional Convention which met here (Keyser) a few days since divided, and two gentlemen were nominated or named for Congress, either of whom would make a worthy candidate and do honor to the State in Congress.

The State Convention at Parkersburg on Thursday last requested the State Executive Committee to meet at Grafton Monday next to take into consideration the differences in this district. I hope and believe that with the consent of the two gentlemen named and their friends such a conclusion will be reached, as but one Democratic candidate will be presented to the voters of this district.

### Living Issues.

Political parties cannot live alone upon the glory of their past record and achievements, nor can they cling to the dead issues of the past. They should deal with the active, living present, and all the questions growing out of it. What profit can come from considering questions that have been settled, or the theories and sayings of the past, except in so far as they have some bearing upon the present or future prosperity and advancement of the country?

Party platforms are the expression of the opinions of political parties at the time—but the times change and we change with

them. A platform or set of resolutions that might have been right and applicable in 1812 or 1860, for instance, may have no relation to the issues of the present, with which we have to grapple. Let us deal with things and issues as we now find them, and so treat and dispose of them that peace, honesty, liberty and prosperity may be promoted and assured.

### Necessity of Organization.

Considering the strength of our opponents, their control of power, patronage and money, all of which after twenty years of experience they concentrate and use when necessity requires, it becomes the Democratic party to be active and vigilant. Organization in political matters is as essential to success, as it is in war or business. The right, with organization, will prevail.

And now it is for you to decide. You are to choose between the two political parties, and decide which course you will pursue. One leads to economy, reform, reduction of taxation, an honest administration of affairs, and a happy realization of what our forefathers intended—a purely democratic form of government; the other leads to extravagance, legislation which has a tendency to centralization and to encourage monopolies, Credit Mobilier, Star Route frauds, burdensome taxation, political dishonesty and corruption.

