SACRAMENTO DAILY RECORD-UNION.

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SACRAMENTO, TUESDAY MORNING, JULY 27, 1880.

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THE DAILY RECORD-UNION.

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Advertising Rates in Daily Record-Union.

One Square, 1 time	$1 00
One Square, 2 times	1 75
One Square, 3 times	2 50
Each additional time	50

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Half Square, 1st page	$2 50	$3 50	$5 00
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One Square, 1st page	3 50	5 00	7 00
One Square, 2d page	5 00	7 00	10 00
One Square, 3d page	4 00	6 00	8 00
One Square, 4th page	3 00	4 00	6 00

Star Notices, to follow reading matter, twenty-five cents a line for each insertion.

Advertisements of Situations Wanted, Houses to Let, Society Meetings, etc., of FIVE LINES OR LESS, will be inserted in the DAILY RECORD-UNION as follows:

One time	25 cents
Three times	50 cents
One week	75 cents

Seven words to constitute a line.

THE WEEKLY UNION
[Published in semi-weekly parts],
Is issued on Wednesday and Saturday of each week, comprising Eight Pages in each issue, or Sixteen Pages each week, and is the cheapest and most desirable Home, News and Literary Journal published on the Pacific coast.

Terms, One Year $2 00

Semi-Weekly Union Advertising Rates.

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One Square, 1 time	2 00
Each additional time	1 00

WANTED, LOST AND FOUND.

Advertisements of five lines in this department are inserted for 25 cents for one time; three times for 50 cents or 75 cents per week.

STOLEN—SATURDAY NIGHT, FROM China Gardens, Thirty-first street, a BAY HORSE. A reward of $5 will be paid for his recovery. Apply to LONG SING, Butcher, I street. jy26-2w*

WANTED—A GIRL, WHO UNDERSTANDS General Housework. Apply No. 220 N street, between Second and Third. jy24-tf

FURNITURE WANTED.—I WILL PAY ONE-third more for Household Furniture, Stoves, Carpets, etc., than any other cash buyer. S. POSKA, No. 717 J street, between Seventh and Eighth, Sacramento. jy10-1m

LOAM MOULDERS
—AND—
MACHINISTS
WANTED AT
RISDON IRON WORKS, SAN FRANCISCO.
jy22-1w

EMPLOYMENT OFFICE.

WANTED—ALL KINDS HELP, MALE AND Female. Particular attention paid to Furnishing Hotels, Private Families and Farmers with Help, Free of Charge to employers. HOUSTON & CO., one door south of Fourth and K streets, Sacramento city. jy13-1ptf

TO LET OR FOR SALE.

Advertisements of five lines in this department are inserted for 25 cents for one time; three times for 50 cents or 75 cents per week.

FOR SALE—AN ESTABLISHED CASH BUSINESS, clearing $150 per month; capital required, $600 to $800; business quickly learned. Address "P. S.," this office jy23-1w

FOR SALE—HORSE-POWER PUMP AND Tank, at a bargain, at Capital Iron Works, No. 904 K street. [jy22-tf] M. R. ROSE.

DRUG STORE FOR SALE.—THE BEST opening in the State, located in one of the Northern counties. Special inducements offered to a good Physician. Reason for selling, parties wish to go East. For further information, apply to DANIEL WOODS, Union Hotel, Sacramento. jy20-tf

FURNISHED ROOMS.—CLUNIE'S NEW BUILDing, northeast corner Eighth and K streets. Accommodations unsurpassed; high ceilings; good ventilation; new furniture and carpets—make the most desirable rooms in the city. Single or in suits, by the day, week or month. The house to be kept strictly first-class. Terms moderate. jy11-1ptf

YOLO BREWERY
FOR SALE OR RENT!

THE UNDERSIGNED DESIRES TO SELL OR rent to a responsible party her undivided one-half interest in the well-known and well established YOLO BREWERY, together
With Five Acres of Land, in Woodland.
For particulars, apply to the undersigned, adjoining the premises. MRS. BRIDGET MILLER. Woodland, July 21, 1880. jy23-1m

FOR SALE.

TIN AND STOVE BUSINESS FOR SALE, in one of the principal towns of the State. A party who could add Hardware and Crockery to the business would do well. For particulars, inquire at HOLBROOK, MERRILL & STETSON'S, J street, between Second and Third, Sacramento. jy10-tf

LAND FOR SALE.

1,280 ACRES GOOD WHEAT LAND—Two Hundred and Fifty Acres will produce Corn, without irrigating; 30 Acres Alfalfa, three crops per year. Good water, healthy location on Thomes Creek, five miles from Railroad Station and Steamboat Landing. Can be divided into two farms—House and Barn each tract. Good School within two miles. Annual yield of grain, about 18,000 bushels. Sale compulsory—time limited to September. Refer to A. B. Aitkins & Co., Riceville; Charles Harvey, Hugh Mooney, Tehama. Apply to JOSEPH ELLIS, Tehama, Tehama county. jy10-1p1m*

WATCHES, CLOCKS, JEWELRY

J. B. KLUNE,
(Late with Wachhorst, and successor to Floberg,)
WATCHMAKER AND JEWELER, No. 60 J street, between Second and Third. Dealer in Watches, Clocks, Silverware, Jewelry, etc. Repairing in all its branches a specialty, under MR. FLOBERG. [jy8-1p1m]

J. HYMAN, JR.,
WATCHMAKER AND JEWELER, NO. 136 J street, between Fifth and Sixth. Just received, a very fine lot of Watches and Jewelry, which will be sold at a very low price. Watches and Jewelry carefully repaired. [jy7-1p1m]

WILLIAM B. MILLER
(Late with Floberg).
NO. 190 J STREET, NEAR SEVENTH, Watchmaker and Jeweler. Importer and Dealer in Watches, Silverware, Jewelry, etc. Repairing a specialty, under Robert Marsh. All country orders promptly attended to. [ju29-1ptf]

DENTISTRY.

W. WOOD,
DENTIST—No. 317 J street, between Third and Fourth. Artificial Teeth inserted on all bases. Improved Liquid Nitrous Oxide Gas, for the Painless Extraction of Teeth. [jy24-tf]

DR. W. H. HARE.
DENTIST.—OFFICE, NO. 605 J STREET, between Sixth and Seventh, over Katzenstein & Bradley's Millinery Store. jy17-1ptf

DRS. BREWER & SOUTHWORTH,
DENTISTS, SOUTHWEST CORNER OF Seventh and J streets, in Bryte's new building, up stairs. Teeth extracted without pain by the use of Improved Liquid Nitrous Oxide Gas. [jy16-1p1m]

H. H. PIERSON,
DENTIST, 415 J STREET, BETWEEN Fourth and Fifth, Sacramento. Artificial Teeth inserted on Gold, Vulcanite and all bases. Nitrous Oxide or Laughing Gas administered for the painless extraction of Teeth. jy14-1m

W. O. THRAILKILL, D. D. S.
OFFICE AND DENTAL DEPOT: Masonic Temple, Sacramento, California. Editor and Publisher of the DENTAL JAIRUS, a Monthly Journal of Dental Science. jy12-1p1m

NOTICE.
TO COUNTRY MERCHANTS and RETAILERS.

ON RECEIPT OF $8 I WILL SEND TO ANY address an assorted case of my specialties, consisting of 3 bottles DR. RENZ'S Herb Bitters, 3 bottles Blackberry Brandy, 3 bottles Rye and Rock, and 3 bottles fine old Bourbon Whisky (the last named trade-mark "Bonanza"), all justly celebrated goods, and recommended for medicinal and family use. J. RENZ, Wholesale Liquor Dealer, No. 219 Commercial street, three doors below Front, San Francisco. my1-1p3m

THEODORE GLANCEY.
THE GENERAL AGENCY OF THE RECORD-UNION for San Francisco, both for circulation and advertisements, is in the office of Theodore Glancey, No. 208 Montgomery street Rooms 8 and 10. 8-1ptf

MECHANICS' STORE.

NOTICE!

We Have Recently Purchased

FROM FECHHEIMER, GOODKIND & CO.

(SAN FRANCISCO

100

"STYLISH SUITS"

At such Figures that will enable us to

OFFER THEM TO THE PUBLIC

AT PRICES

That Will Defy Competition.

Orders from the country will receive our prompt and careful attention.

Until September 1st we shall close our Stores at 7 o'clock P. M., Saturday Nights and Pay-Days at the Railroad Shops excepted.

WEINSTOCK & LUBIN,

Proprietors of the

MECHANICS' STORE,

400, 402, 404, 406, 408,

K Street, Sacramento.

PEOPLE'S STORE.

HOME-MADE

CALICO

Wrapper!

—IN—

Every conceivable color and design,

NICELY TRIMMED AND FLOUNCED,

—ONLY—

$1 50

EACH!

Directions for Self-Measurement:

FIRST—AROUND ENTIRE BUST, UNDER ARMS, LOOSELY.

SECOND—WIDTH ACROSS BUST, FROM SEAM TO SEAM.

THIRD—FROM UNDER ARM TO WAIST.

FOURTH—LENGTH OF SLEEVE INSIDE, FROM UNDER ARM TO WRIST.

FIFTH—AROUND WAIST.

SIXTH—LENGTH OF SHOULDER, FROM NECK TO SLEEVE.

SEVENTH—LENGTH OF FRONT, FROM NECK TO TOE.

FALL PRICE LISTS NOW READY.

Country Orders promptly attended to, and Samples sent FREE.

PEOPLE'S

STORE,

No. 600 J street,

Southeast Corner of Sixth.

ju3-1pThSTu

AN APPEAL

To the Reason, not the Passions of the American People.

Speech of Secretary Schurz at Indianapolis.

The Two Great Parties Contrasted and Their Records Compared.

A Masterly Oration and Argument, Clearly and Pointedly Defining the Claims of the Republican Party and Exposing the Inconsistencies of the Democracy.

Below we present the masterly argument of Secretary Carl Schurz in advocacy of the election of James A. Garfield. It was delivered at Indianapolis one week ago to-day. His reception in that city amounted to an ovation, and the audience which listened to his speech was pronounced one of the most orderly and largest, and by all odds the best audience ever gathered in that city:

Fellow-Citizens: I shall appeal not to your passions, but to your reason, and without any resort to the artifices of oratory, give you a plain, practical talk. The language of party warfare is apt to fly to violent exaggerations for the purpose of producing strong impressions; the language of reason and common sense will abstain from them. Let me say at the outset, therefore, that I do not agree with those who speak of the present moment as the greatest crisis in the history of American affairs. The questions we have to dispose of are not those of immediate life or death; but the bearing they have upon the future welfare of the nation, and upon those interests which most nearly affect us, is important enough to make us consider well what we are doing, to call for our best judgment, and a strenuous effort to put that judgment into execution.

WHAT DO WE WANT?

In the first place let us make it clear in our own minds what we want. The answer is, in a general term, that we want a good government; that if we have it, we must endeavor to keep it, and if we have not, we must endeavor to get it. What is good government? We may answer again, in general terms, that it is a government which well understands the public business, and, understanding it, transacts it within the limits of its constitutional power, intelligently, honestly, and justly. The second question we have to answer to ourselves is, how far the government we have comes up to these requisites, how far the principles upon which it acts, the methods it employs, the aims it pursues, and the degree of efficiency it develops, answer the public need, and how far in this respect we ought to preserve what we have or look for other things we have not.

THE RECORD.

As a member of the present Administration now on the point of yielding its power into the hands of a new set of public servants, I may be permitted to appeal to the candid judgment of the American people as to the manner in which the public business has been conducted during the last three years While it might be natural that, bearing a part of the responsibility myself, I should be inclined to take a favorable view of its performances, still I feel that my ways of thinking are independent enough not to betray me into mere partisan eulogy. I think I am not exaggerating when I say that the fair-minded men of the country will admit, and do admit in their hearts to-day, that, on the whole, the public business has been conducted by

THIS ADMINISTRATION,

As far as it was in its control, honestly, intelligently, and successfully. I should be the last man to claim perfection for it, for as one of those who had an opportunity to watch affairs in detail, I am well aware of errors committed and of failures suffered in this and that respect. No administration of government ever has been or ever will be free from them. It has maintained the public faith and raised the credit of the United States to a point never reached before. It has with consistent energy followed a policy relieving the country of the evils of an irrational and dangerous money system, and greatly promoted the prosperity of the people by the restoration of specie payments. It has funded enormous masses of the national indebtedness at a lower interest, and thus saved many millions a year to the taxpayer. It has faithfully executed the laws with a conscientious observance of sound constitutional principles. By its fidelity to these constitutional principles it has removed many obstacles which stood in the way of a friendly understanding between the different sections of the country and different classes of the people. It has, under trying circumstances, when the public peace was disturbed by riot and violence on the part of a numerous class of citizens, greatly aided the restoration of order and security by a calm and moderate employment of the limited power at its command, without in any case resorting to a doubtful stretch of authority. It has

REFORMED MANY ABUSES

In the public service, infused a higher sense of duty into its different branches, raised its moral tone, increased its efficiency, punished dishonesty, and kept the service unsullied by the scandals arising from lax notions of official integrity. In saying this I am not unmindful of the fact that the reform of the public service has not overcome in so high a degree as was intended and as was desirable the obstacles opposing it in the shape of inveterate political habit and antagonistic interest. The service is now showing a greater degree of efficiency, a higher moral spirit and a stronger sense of duty than has prevailed perhaps at any time since the period when the administrative machinery was demoralized by the introduction of the spoils system. It has in many of its branches introduced rules and methods which have borne excellent fruit, and are capable of the most beneficent development if further carried on by coming administrations in sympathy with them Everybody sees reason to look hopefully into the future, provided the conduct of our public affairs remains as good as it has been.

THE PARTIES AND CANDIDATES.

We have to deal with two parties and their candidates. The Republican party, with James A. Garfield at its head, and the Democratic party, with General Hancock. I do not deem it necessary to discuss the possibility of the victory of the Greenback party and their nominees, for the simple reason that their chances of success are not perceptible to the ordinary eye, and that their organization may be looked upon as a mere tender to the Democracy. I wish to state the question mildly, for I am not partisan enough—indeed my orthodoxy in that respect has now and then been questioned—to deal in wholesale and indiscriminate denunciation of our opponents. I do not mean to incite your prejudices and inflame your passions, but to discuss facts, and to draw from them legitimate conclusions. I do not want the party to which I belong to depend for success upon the failings of its opponents, and I am therefore not inclined to exaggerate the latter. In this respect, therefore, I sincerely declare that I wish well to the Democratic party. I once participated in an attempt, which attempt miscarried, to move up to the progressive requirements of the times. The contending political parties in a Republic should be such in point of mental and moral constitution and capability that the Government may be intrusted to either without serious apprehension for the safety of the public interest. Since the downfall and disappearance of the slave power as a compact political interest, from which the Democratic party, more than twenty years ago, derived its morals, its logic, its political skill and statesmanship, that party has

BEEN FLOUNDERING ABOUT,

Out of logical connection with the questions of the day; never knowing the time of day; always looking for something to turn up, and when something did turn up, spoiling it; lamely lagging in the rear of the events and requirements of the day; always behind; denouncing as impossible things that were already accomplished facts; with a strange incapacity to understand the present and to measure the future, making itself the recipient and rallying point for all dangerous and obstructive tendencies and elements, and thus committing blunder after blunder, which at the moment of their birth it uniformly glorified in as great strokes of policy, from the secession movement in 1861 down to the nomination of General Hancock in 1880.

It is not my habit to rake up the embers of past discords and to substitute for the living questions of the present issues which lie behind us; but if we want to ascertain the prevailing tendencies and the present capability for good government of the Democratic party in accordance with the spirit and requirements of the present day, it is not unfair to review some striking experiences as illustrations.

Looking back to the year 1864, the fourth year of the civil war, when the Southern Confederacy was near the total exhaustion of its resources, we find the Democratic party in national convention solemnly declaring that the war was a failure and must be abandoned. A few months afterward

THE TRIUMPH OF OUR ARMS

Was decided, and the Confederacy collapsed, the restoration of our Union was assured, and the Democracy was forced to acknowledge that the war had been a success.

When slavery breathed its last, and its abolition had become an evident logical necessity, requiring nothing more than the form of law, the Democratic party declared that the abolition of slavery would be the ruin of the country and must by all means be averted. Who is there to deny now that the abolition of slavery was an absolute necessity, and has turned out a blessing? The Democrats are compelled to admit it themselves.

EATING ITS WORDS.

When as measures of settlement the thirteenth, fourteenth and fifteenth amendments were passed, the Democratic party declared them void and entitled to no respect, and almost immediately afterward found itself compelled to admit that for the peace of the country and as a basis for future development these constitutional amendments had to be maintained.

When the Republicans in Congress had passed the resumption Act in 1875, and the fruit of the restoration of specie payments was almost ripe to be plucked, the Democratic party in its National Convention of 1876 thought it a smart thing to declare that the very Act passed for bringing specie payments was an impediment in its way and must be repealed. And who is there to deny now that had the Act been repealed under the pressure of all the inflation elements in the country, the confusion of our financial policy necessarily ensuing would have prolonged the evils of an irredeemable paper currency under which we were then suffering?

And now in this year of 1880, when the war issues are fairly behind us; when, by its conciliatory spirit and its strict observance of constitutional principles, the Government has removed all the elements of discord between the two sections which it was in its own power to remove; when, aided by a wise and successful financial policy, general prosperity is again blessing the land, and when the people look above all things for enlightened practical statesmanship that well understands the questions it has to deal with to foster and develop that prosperity; now the Democratic party knows nothing better to do than to set aside all its statesmen of known and settled opinions, political experience and training, and to nominate for the Presidency a Major-General of the regular army, a professional soldier, who has never been anything else but that, and who from the very nature and necessities of his profession has always stood aloof from the management of political questions.

GENERAL HANCOCK.

I certainly shall not attempt to deprecate the character of General Hancock and the great services which he has rendered to the country. But the question is not whether we shall honor a deserving General. The question is whether that deserving General would be the kind of a President the country needs, a President who can be depended upon to successfully solve the problems of statesmanship which are now before us; to preserve the good things already done and improve upon them. To lead battalions of brave men against a fortified position or to win a campaign by a dashing maneuver is one thing; to regulate the finances of the country in such a way that the blessings of a sound currency may be permanently secured to us; to develop our commercial opportunities; to organize the civil service in such a manner that it may conduct the public business upon sound business principles, is another; and, in the latter case, the brave spirit which storms hostile batteries and lays low invading hosts does not appear in the first line of importance. I cannot impress it too strongly on your minds that there can be no greater difference than that between the handling of troops in a campaign and the handling of the political forces of a great people and the handling of the political affairs of a great government.

IT MUST NOT BE FORGOTTEN

That this Government is no longer the simple machinery it was in the early days of the Republic. The bucolic age of America is over. The interests the Government has to deal with are no longer those of a small number of agricultural communities, with here and there a commercial town. They are the interests of nearly 50,000,000 of people, spread over an immense surface, with occupations, pursuits and industries of endless variety and great magnitude; large cities with elements of population scarcely known here in the early days, and all these producing aspirations and interests so pushing, powerful and complicated in their nature, and so constantly appealing to the Government rightfully or wrongfully, that the requirements of statesmanship demanded in this age are far different from those which sufficed a century ago.

PRESIDENTIAL DUTIES.

If all the President had to do were to select seven men who agree with him as to the principal objects to be accomplished, and then consult and agree with them about the means to be used, undisturbed by the pressure of outside forces, it would, indeed, be a comparatively easy and a comfortable thing. But the fact is that the President of the United States, by the very nature of his position, is obliged to spend far more time in listening to the advice and the wishes and the urgency of men outside of his Cabinet than to his consultations with Cabinet ministers themselves. The opposition he may encounter from the opposing party in Congress and in the press is in most cases the least of the difficulties he has to contend with. The greatest puzzles that are apt to perplex and sometimes overwhelm his mind come from his own party, who have a claim upon his attention and insist to have that claim respected. Not only upon the great measures of his administration, but upon every detail, the advice of the members of his party, especially those in Congress, is urged upon him with all imaginable sorts of motive. There is scarcely an appointment he has to make, there is certainly not a reform he wants to execute, that he will not have to carry through a siege and storm of opposing wishes and interests. Every object he pursues will run counter to the wishes not only of his opponents, but some of his friends; every reform, the execution of which may appear to him desirable, will

TREAD UPON THE TOES

Of somebody whose interests lie in the abuse to be reformed, or who has a friend to protect who is connected with it; and all these pleas, representations, remonstrances, urgencies and pressures go to the President, not through the members of his Cabinet, but behind their backs; and it is a matter of long and varied experience that unless the President himself has a sufficient knowledge of affairs, a clear eye to see through arguments and motives, and that temper and skill which are necessary to resist without offending, and to conciliate without giving up his objects, he will inevitably be run over and lamentably fail. I speak from experience when I say that most of the good things that have been done under this Administration, whatever merit the respective Cabinet ministers may deserve for them, are no less due to the clear-headed and faithful support, frequently called the "amiable obstinacy," with which President Hayes stood behind them by warding off the opposition. It is for such reasons of inestimable benefit to an administration that the President himself should have had the experience of active work in legislative bodies, and especially in the Congress of the United States.

HE BELONGS IN THE ARMY.

Now put, for the sake of argument, in that most trying position, General Hancock or any man trained exclusively in the walks of army life, of which he is so conspicuous an ornament—I mean a man not endowed with that intuitive genius which I have spoken of, and which even his most ardent friends, as I understand, do not claim for General Hancock. What has there been in the school of his past life to fit him for it? As a boy he was accepted by the Government as a cadet at West Point, and that was his college and university. I have high respect for that military school. Every branch of military science is taught there, I have no doubt, with knowledge, skill and success. The principles of military honor and the great law of command and obedience are inculcated as the guiding stars of the future life of the student. The affairs of ordinary human existence outside of the military profession, and the problems it has to deal with, are necessarily treated as matters of only secondary moment. Our military school at West Point has given us many glorious soldiers who have adorned the history of the country; but it has never been pretended that it was meant to be, or was, a school of statesmanship. That school absolved, the young man entered into the regular army service. Of all classes of our society it may be said that our regular army is the most exclusive, the most widely separated from the ordinary business life of the people in point of sympathy, duty and habit. It may be said, therefore, without exaggeration, that in a hundred cases to one, by taking an old regular army officer, who has never been anything else, and putting him into the highest and most difficult political position, you may spoil an excellent General in making

A POOR PRESIDENT.

There he is, with an honest intention to do right and to serve his country. Problems of financial policy suddenly rise up before him—questions of revenue, of commercial policy, not in the way of general maxims and vague principles, but in the mysterious shape of practical problems to be applied to a given state of circumstances; questions of party politics, where the interests of the public and of the party are curiously mixed together in bewildering confusion. The man at the head of affairs means to do right; let us assume his Cabinet officers mean the same. But now a host of senators, Representatives, prominent leaders from all parts of the country swarm in upon him. Having never had any practical contact with the workings of financial or commercial systems, having stood aloof from the intricacies of political management, the man at the head of the Government is the objective point of all their efforts. He has to meet a multitude of arguments put at him by a multitude of men from a hundred different motives, all seeming to him important, because all are to him new; not a few among the most prominent of those who urge their opinions most strongly upon his mind, trained and skilled by long practical schooling in all arts of covering up the weak points of their cases and concealing their motives by specious arguments, and of making private interests appear those of the public. They have all contributed to his election and success; they are all entitled to his regard; he has heard of them all as prominent men entitled to respect; he has considered them all as men entitled to credit; and now he discovers that

THEIR OPINIONS CLASH,

And that their aims are different and contradictory. Scores of them beseeching him with their urgency to make him believe that the Cabinet minister he trusts, by the things he attempts to carry out, is injuring the party upon whose permanence the life, or at least the welfare, of the republic depends. He has yet to learn that the Senator in his State, or the Congressman in his district, has interests of his own, peculiar to himself; that those interests are sometimes not exactly those of the country or even those of the party at large; that the man who is recommended to him for high official position, as a model citizen of the republic, has attained that position, in the opinion of his backer, less by services rendered to the commonwealth than by services rendered to a person; that the same man will be represented to him by others, not as the model citizen, but as a villain who cannot be trusted a moment. He will be told that those who judge of political objects and the means by which to attain them from a higher standpoint than mere personal or partisan interest, are amiable theorists, who are well enough in their way, but are useless in the practical conduct of politics; that the practical politician, who cares less for public questions, but is skilled in the management of men, is after all the man who can alone be counted upon to preserve the power of his party, and thereby the salvation of the republic. And when he has gone through this for weeks and months, and

HIS HEAD BEGINS TO SWIM

In the confusing contest of interests and ambitions entirely new to him, and he feels himself in many things he has done or left undone under a pressure giving him no rest of mind, a helpless tool of foreign wills instead of being the director of things, he will then conclude that the repulse of the fiercest onset at the battle of Gettysburg and the taking of the angle of intrenchments in the Wilderness, glorious feats of arms, were after all very simple things compared with this. And as he goes on and gradually the light of experience dawns upon him, and he discovers glimmers of truth and finds himself unable to correct mistakes irretrievably made, and to redress injuries irremediably inflicted and to recover failures which have then become part of the history of the country, he finally will see reason to wish that his friends had permitted him to enjoy his military renown in peace instead of casting over it a cloud of civil failure. But what is likely to happen to such a man elevated to the Presidency with such a motley host upon his back as the Democratic party is to-day?

DEMOCRACY OF THE SOUTH.

That party as now constituted is indeed a wonderful mixture of elements. I shall certainly not question the convictions and the motives of the enlightened and patriotic men that are in it who mean to do the best they can for the country with the means they have; but it is not unjust to them to say that many of them are undoubtedly not without their misgivings as to the latter, and are held where they are by the strength of life long associations, by the traditions of circles and constituencies within which they move and from which they have derived their position and power, and also by the opinions grown from long struggles against what they considered and what in some cases may have been abuses on the other side. There is the Southern element, of which I shall certainly not be inclined to deny that a marked improvement has taken place in temper and inspirations of many of its leading men, who have cast the old ambitions of the war period behind them and are now with a patriotic spirit endeavoring to serve the country, and to whom therefore our esteem is due. It is also true that they begin to be supported by a class of orderly and well-meaning citizens; but it is not less true that they find themselves hampered and clogged by the noisy factions in their constituencies, who, whether they are a majority or not, endeavor, and I regret to say in many instances successfully, to impress their temper upon the character of the Southern politics;

STILL SMARTING UNDER THE DEFEATS OF WAR,

And the losses which those defeats had brought upon them; some of them with a sullen feeling that those defeats were an insult as well as a wrong to them, for which, in some way, they must have satisfaction; with a vague desire to retrieve of the old condition of things something they do not know exactly what; and withal insisting that something is due to them as Southern men in politics, as well as in society, and in their worldly fortunes as compared with the rest of mankind; rather reckless of the rights of others; with financial ideas destitute of a due regard for the good faith of the country; inclined to fly to any money system which they vaguely think can be manipulated so as to make them rich again by legerdemain; deeming it due to them that large appropriations should be made for their particular benefit, for all imaginable purposes, good, bad and indifferent, merely to pour money into that section of the country; with scarcely any traditions in government, except such as existed in their States before the war, and the reactionary desires and attempts of the party immediately after it; with appetites sharpened by long exclusion from power and the sweets of office, and greedy to make the most of that if they can obtain it.

THE NORTHERN DEMOCRACY.

There is the Northern Democracy, also with men of statesman like instincts in it and excellent intentions, but behind them a large number of restless and ambitious politicians who, for twenty years, have been boxing the compass to find some principle or some policy, to avail themselves of some passion or some prejudice by which they might win an election and regain the possession of power. The Democracy has had the misfortune of exercising a remarkable power of attraction for the adventurous, and even the dangerous elements of our population; and its attempts to regain power by all sorts of devices, and the advocacy of all sorts of principles and policies has gathered under its banner so many divergent tendencies and incongruous elements, held together by the only desire to regain the spoils of government, that when the party comes into power nobody can tell which element will be uppermost in strength and determine the current of its policy. We find there the hardest of hard-money men hand in hand with the wildest of inflationists, the freest of free-traders and the stiffest of protectionists; we find them in their platforms declaring for the restoration of specie payments to satisfy one part and the

REPEAL OF THE RESUMPTION LAW

In the same sentence to satisfy the other part of the organization. We find men who would scorn the idea of faithlessness to our national obligations in the closest alliance and co-operation with those who repudiated their debts in their own States, and who would not hesitate a moment to repudiate the debts of the Republic. We find men sincerely desirous of cultivating among the Southern people the heartiest sentiments of loyalty to the Republic and respect for the rights of all, irrespective of color, and by their side men who still think that their own rights are worth nothing unless they are permitted to oppress the rights of others. Upon these different elements the official declarations of platforms have not the least effect. While the party in its National Convention declares for specie payments, that does not hinder a moment Democratic Congressmen from opposing resumption in Congress, or the Democrats in Ohio from nominating their inflation leader, General Ewing, or the Democrats in Indiana from nominating the fiat-money man, Landers, for the Governorship of those States; nor does it prevent the Democrats in many of the Western and Southern States from pursuing their greenback agitation as lustily as before.

INCONSISTENCY.

While they declare for an observance of our national obligations, that does not hinder the Democrats in many of the Southern States from going on in their work of local repudiation, and declaring that local repudiation is so good a thing that it ought to be made general. Now consider that, if General Hancock can ever be elected, it must be a very hearty co-operation of all these elements—the Greenback-Democrats in Ohio, Maine and Indiana and the West and South, with the hard-money men in New York, New Jersey and other States; the protectionists in one quarter and the free-traders in another; the war Democrats in the North and the reactionary elements elsewhere, and to all these elements together, General Hancock, if successful at all, will owe his success; and all those elements, if the successful party is to be maintained in its strength and continued in power, must be satisfied in order to hold them together. That will be the situation and such the problem which the soldier, to whom political science and management so far have been a sealed book, will have to solve.

WHAT WILL HE DO

To satisfy the hard-money men without driving the Greenbackers away? What will he do to keep the Greenbackers in the party without betraying the principles of the hard-money men? How will he satisfy the Southern element, that claims to have been robbed by an anti-slavery war, and at the same time keep the management of the Government within the bounds of economy and propitiate the Northern taxpayer? How will he content the Southern men in the distribution of offices, who will claim that they have furnished the majority of votes and are therefore entitled to the lion's share? And how will he keep the Northern Democracy in good spirits and in working order by a distribution of the patronage which will appease the hunger of twenty years? And these problems he will have to solve not in the quiet of the closet, surrounded by a few able counselors in peaceful consultation, but quickly, under the bewildering pressure of not a hundred but thousands of eager politicians, who fill the ear with babel of sound and with a pandemonium of conflicting ambitions. Let us see now what, in view of all this, we have a right to expect from a Democratic victory. Is it the maintenance of our public faith? While there are prominent opponents of repudiation in the Democratic party, it is a notorious fact that all the elements hostile to the constitutional discharge of our national obligations have also gathered under the same banner. Nearly all, if not all the States that have repudiated or speak of

REPUDIATING THEIR OWN DEBTS

Are Democratic States, with heavy Democratic majorities, furnishing Democratic electoral votes and Congressmen. Who will tell me that it is certain they will be more conscientious with regard to the national debt than they showed themselves with regard to their own? Have we a right to expect a sound financial policy? While there are many good, sound money men in the Democratic party, it is equally well known that the Democratic party has irresistibly attracted to its fold a very large majority of the Greenbackers, inflationists, and fiat-money men. It has, indeed, in its national platforms of late declared for sound money; but in 1876, while it pronounced for resumption it demanded at the same time the repeal of the resumption law. What would have become of resumption had the resumption law been repealed? But while thus speaking of sound money in their national platforms, is it not equally true in a large number of the States the most prominent inflationists are put forward for the highest honors, followed by the masses of their party? So General Ewing, in Ohio, so General Butler, in Massachusetts, so Mr. Landers, in Indiana; while in many of the Western and most of the Southern States the Democrats almost en masse represent unsound financial ideas. Is it not true that, to the very last, resumption was opposed in Congress by Democratic Congressmen? Why, when General Hancock was nominated the attraction for the Greenbackers seemed to be so strong that the venerable Peter Cooper and General Sam Cary of Ohio were among the first to pay their devotion and wish him success.

FRUITS OF A DEMOCRATIC VICTORY.

Now, can anybody foretell what will happen in these respects in case of a Democratic victory? In fact, we do not know whether the advocates of the public faith or the repudiationists, whether the hard-money men or the inflationists, are the strongest element in the Democratic party throughout the country, and which of these elements will control its policy. In voting the Democratic ticket you will take a gambling chance, that chance being rather against you? But one thing is certain, that the Democratic party, in its fashion, will reform the civil service. That it will certainly do; it will do it according to an old Democratic principle, "to the victors belong the spoils." That principle is of Democratic origin, and the Democratic party has adhered to it with a fidelity worthy of the best cause. Other parties were infected by it, but the Democratic party may claim the glory of its paternity and of its most unswerving advocacy. When the Democracy, therefore, speaks of a reform of the civil service, the meaning of that term, in the light of history and of the tendencies at present prevailing, can be nothing else than that the reform shall consist in putting out all the Republicans and putting all Democrats in their places. How the North and South would shake over the bloody chasm filled with such good things!

CIVIL SERVICE REFORM.

I repeat, it is an almost universally acknowledged fact that at present the public business is, on the whole, well and honestly conducted in the Government offices. The revenues are collected with remarkable fidelity, and never in the history of the country has the loss in their collection been as small as now. In some of its branches it has almost entirely disappeared. The postal service is acknowledged to be more than ever ably, honestly, and efficiently done. Even in those branches of the public service which, more than others, have almost from the beginning of the Government borne the reputation of being inefficient and corrupt, such as the land and especially the Indian service, cases of peculation and roguery have become comparatively rare, and the general efficiency of officers is very much improved; and I speak of this with assurance, for the reason that I am conversant with the details. [Mr. Schurz here gave in full detail the methods employed now in appointing to the civil service.] In spite of the imperfections of the methods followed, the result has been that the public business is recognized to be conducted now in a more business-like manner than before, and that the efficiency of the service has been lifted up to a much higher standard.

THE SPOILS SYSTEM.

Now substitute for this the Democratic reform, making a clean sweep according to the old spoils system, and what will you have? Hundreds of thousands of politicians, great and small, but all hungry, rushing for 70,000 or 80,000 places, backed and pressed by every Democratic Congressman and every Democratic committee in the land. This impetuous rush must be satisfied as rapidly as possible, for they want to make the best of their time, and in this case, as well as others, time is money. It is useless to disguise it: the masses of office-seekers, starved for twenty years, will not be turned back as long as there is a mouthful on the table. Seventy or eighty thousand officers, selected at random from that multitude of ravenous applicants, will be put into places held now mostly by men of tried capacity and experience. They must be taken at random, for it is impossible to fill so large a number of places in so short a time as the furious demand will permit in any other way. It is useless to say that the Democratic party contains a sufficient number of men of ability and integrity to fill all those places. No doubt it does. But it is absolutely impossible for those who have

THE APPOINTING POWER,

Even if they were ever so well disposed, to make careful selections for so many thousand places in a short time, especially considering the fact that usually the least worthy applicants are among the most clamorous and the most skillful in securing the strongest political indorsements. Need I tell the taxpayers what such an experiment will cost? I am willing to assume that General Hancock entertains the best possible intentions, and even that he may form for himself a plan of action intended to obviate these difficulties and disasters. He may possibly tell you so, and mean what he says. Yet is it not obvious that, having no experience whatever in political life, he will be completely at the mercy of wind and waves, and that there will be a power of wind in the Democratic victors clamoring for the spoils strong enough to upset the ingenuity of the firmest and most skilled politician in his party? No prudent citizen can fail to be repelled by such prospects unless equally great or greater dangers threaten from the other side.

LOOK AT THE OTHER SIDE.

Let us look at the other side now. I am certainly not one of those who would assert that the Republican party has been without fault. I have been one of its most unsparing critics, and have been unsparingly criticised myself. The Republican party has undoubtedly made a great many mistakes. I will not go back to the period of reconstruction and an absolved Southern policy, because that lies far behind us, and is not an issue in this campaign. Its constitutional results have become settlements, accepted by both sides in profession at least, and the policy of force after the readmission of the late rebel States has, under this administration, yielded to a scrupulous rule of constitutional principles. Neither would I deny that, with regard to the question of the public debt at one time and to the currency question for a more extended period, there was in the Republican party an antagonism of opinions, a contest of conflicting ends. For a season the party seemed to stumble along with an uncertain gait; but it has always had an unerring instinct which in the end made it turn right side up, and then it kept right side up. When in 1869 the Republican majority in Congress declared for the payment of the public debt, principal and interest, in coin, there was the end, once and forever, of

THE REPUDIATION MOVEMENT,

Open and disguised, in the Republican party. When in 1875 the Republican majority in Congress passed the Resumption Act, there was the end, once and forever, of the unredeemable paper-money business in the Republican party. Those who remained repudiationists or fiat-money men did not remain Republicans, at least not the leaders of the party. They tried their luck for some time inside of it; then they left it, and became Independent Greenbackers, and finally most of them landed in the Democratic party, as the Democratic Greenbackers, who for a time became Independents mostly went back there. General Weaver and his followers are still in the intermediate state, but will no doubt finally materialize as sound Democrats. But while the Democratic party has been attracting such elements, the Republican party has been either converting them to sound principles or ejecting them until they almost wholly disappeared among its component part. Thus it has become emphatically the protector of the national faith and the party of sound money. I have no doubt that the disagreements still existing upon financial subjects of minor importance in the Republican party will be solved in the same way after mature discussion. In this way the Republican party, steadily progressing in an enlightened perception of the principles of sound finance, has become the reliable sound-money party of the country, to which, as parties now are,

THE SOLUTION OF NEW FINANCIAL PROBLEMS

Can alone be safely trusted. And how magnificently do the effects of the results already achieved appear in the revival of our prosperity! Indeed, not only in the traditions and good sense of the Republican party do you find the best security there is at present for the sanctity of our national faith, as well as a successful management of the financial policy; you find equal security in the known opinions and principles of its candidate, James A. Garfield. His convictions on these subjects have not found their first and best proclamation in the platform of his party or in his letter of acceptance. His record of nearly twenty years of Congressional service is not a blank on the great questions of the times, like that of his opponent. There is not a phase of the question of our national obligations; there is not a point of financial policy, from the first day that the subject was considered in Congress since he became a member of that body to the present hour, that he has not discussed with an ability and strength, a lucidity of argument, amplitude of knowledge and firmness of conviction, placing him in the first rank of the defenders of sound principles.

IF YOU WANT TO STUDY THE REASONS

Why the public faith should be inviolably maintained, why an irredeemable paper currency is, and always has been, a curse to all the economic interests of this and all other countries, why confidence can be restored and maintained, why business can obtain a healthy development, why foreign commerce can be most profitably conducted only with a money system of stable and intrinsic value, you will find in the speeches of James A. Garfield upon this subject the most instructive and convincing information. You will find there opinions not suddenly made up to order to suit an opportunity and the necessities of a candidate in an election, but the convictions of a lifetime, carefully matured by conscientious research and large inquiry, and maintained with powerful reason, before they had become generally popular. You find there a teacher, statesman, and a leader in a great movement, with principles so firmly grounded in his mind as well as his conscience, that he would uphold them even were they not supported by a powerful party at his back. There is double assurance, therefore, in the traditions and acts of the party and in the character of the leader at its head. As to the civil service, I have stated to you what, in my opinion, its condition is to-day, and that opinion accords, I think, with that of every fair-minded observer. As to what it will become in case of

A REPUBLICAN VICTORY,

I shall not predict the millennium, neither from the knowledge I have of the obstacles in the way of a permanent reform on sound principles, nor from the party platform, nor from the last utterance of the candidate. One thing, however, may be taken for certain the administrative machinery of the Government will not be suddenly taken to pieces and be disorganized, to be recomposed of raw material. In so far as it has shown itself honest and efficient, it will be preserved in its integrity and efficiency, and, upon the good foundations laid, there is reason for assurance that it will be developed to greater perfection.

And now I appeal to the conservative citizens of the Republic, to you who desire the public faith sacredly maintained, where will you go? Can you, in view of the present circumstances, conscientiously go to the Democratic party? You will, indeed, find there not a few men who think as you do; but with them you will find closely allied in party interest all those elements to whom our national obligations are the foot-ball of momentary advantage. You will find on that side every State that has repudiated or speaks of repudiating its public debt; you will find there all those who decried the public creditor as the public enemy, and whom no loyal tradition and impulses attaches to the national honor. You will find there a party, inside of which the public faith has still

TO FIGHT A BATTLE

With its enemies, without any certainty of its issue. Is that your place? Or will you go to the Republican side, where the loyal maintenance of our public faith has become a fundamental principle, universally adhered to with unswerving fidelity, in spite of the gusts of adverse public sentiment in former days? And you who desire to preserve the fruits of the success gained in the abolition of the curse of an irredeemable paper money and the re-establishment of specie payments, where will you go? Will you go to the Democratic party, where again you will find some who think as you do, and yet with them as a powerful and perhaps the most numerous component part of the organization, wielding commanding influence in a great many of the States subject to its control, the great mass of the inflationists and fiat-money men who were gathered under the Democratic banner by a seemingly irresistible power of attraction, and furnished many of the acknowledged leaders of that organization, and who even now, when the prosperity of the country has been so magnificently aided by a sound financial policy, would be ready to subvert it all and throw the country back into the wild confusion of the fiat-money madness?

WILL YOU, BUSINESSMEN, FARMERS,

Manufacturers, merchants of the country, find the safety of your interests there? Will you help a party to power, inside of which, between its component elements, the battle of a sound money system and an irredeemable paper currency is still pending, and will you trust the earnings of the poor as well as the fortunes of the wealthy to the uncertainties of its issue? Or will you go to the Republican side, where great victories for the cause of good money have been achieved; where sound sense and patriotism have won every fight so far decided, and where we may with certainty look for the same sound sense and patriotism to solve the problems not yet disposed of? I might go on with the catalogue to show you where the path of safety lies; but it is enough. What is there on the Democratic side which could seduce you from the path of safety? Is it the nomination for the Presidency of a soldier who during the war did brave deeds and deserved well of the country? Is it a sense of gratitude for those brave deeds that should make you elevate the soldier to the place in which

A STATESMAN IS WANTED.

Gratitude to those who on the field of battle bared their breasts to the enemies of their country is a sentiment of which I shall not lightly speak; it is a noble sentiment; but is the President of the United States a mere bauble that should be given as a reward for things done on a field of action wholly different? Is the Presidency like a presentation sword, or a gift horse, or a donation of money, or a country house, given to a victorious soldier to please him? If so, then simple justice would compel us to look for the most meritorious of our soldiers, and reward them in the order of their merit; and brave and skillful as General Hancock has been, there are others who have claims of a still higher order. Then, General Grant having already been President, we should reward General Sherman and Lieutenant-General Sheridan first before we come to the Major-General nominated by the Democratic party. Certainly, let us be grateful; but let us not degrade the highest and most responsible trust of the Republic to the level of a mere gift of gratitude. Let it never be forgotten that the Presidency is a trust that is due to no man; that nobody has ever earned it as a thing belonging to him, and that it should not be bestowed but for services rendered in the way of patriotic and enlightened statesmanship.

BUT, ABOVE ALL THINGS, THE PRESIDENCY

Should never be pointed out as the attainable goal of ambition to the professional soldier. I certainly do not mean to depreciate the high character of the regular army. But I cannot refrain from saying that, in a Republic like ours, great care should be

[CONTINUED ON LAST PAGE.]