SPEECH OF SECRETARY EVARTS

Cooper Institute, New York, October 24, 1878.

Chairman and Gentlemen—I can not adequately express to you my acknowledgment of this magnificent attendance of fellow citizens of New York, and of cordial and generous greeting. As a man can be worthy, for his own sake, such an attendance and such a greeting, no man can repay by his own speech the gratification and such an attention. It always on these occasions, when interests are at stake and the minds of the hearts of the people are awake to interests, that it is the assemblage of the great mass of the citizens, that, the moving mind and spirit of the occasion, make the speech and set at work influences that are to be distributed throughout this wide land. It is now thirty-two years since I had the honor to make a speech at the first Republican meeting meeting held in the City of New York. [Applause.] Even the place where I was made has been obliterated and has passed from the minds of our citizens. It was the old Tabernacle—not so spacious as this, and you may be sure it was no well filled. The venerable presiding officer of that meeting, grown more venerable since, has but lately passed from our midst—Mr. Bryant; and at no moment from that time to this has it seemed to me that the unity, the strength, and the success of the Republican party were not of paramount interest in the welfare of the State. [Applause.] That then infant—Republican infant—that sprang to life, the honor and safety of the country, now grown to be a party that has sway in the country now for nearly thirty years; and who is there that dares point out one instance, or one moment of possession of power, where the safety of the country did not repose upon that session, and where the safety of the country was not at peril if the government should be taken from its hands? [Applause.] I will not belittle the great years of the country's history during this period by assuming heroic proportions for any juncture of our affairs, which now rises itself upon the interest and upon the duty of the citizens, but I will say to you that this stage that we have reached, though it may be near the end of our journey, duty, though we may be approaching that time when the politics of the country shall not make men solicitous about the very being of the nation, yet the future which we now make is one of the most of duties of the Republican party which, unperformed, will leave the foundation and the safety of the arch which have reared still in danger. From the time that there was first meditated a rebellion against the authority of the Constitution and the partition of our country until now, the existence, the cohesion, the unconquerableness, the public spirit, the absolute loyalty of country, and the absolute devotion to safety, were essential to perform the labors and the great sacrifices that were demanded from the people who should save their country against so great danger; a danger greater than any country hereafter ever can be saved from, when the record of our honor and our duty is made complete by saving the fruit of restored prosperity and public peace by the maintenance of the obligation which we assumed to accomplish this object. [Applause.]

THE PRESIDENTIAL CONTEST.

The result of the last election placed the executive power of the government again in the hands of the Republican party, and made some considerable gains in the popular house of Congress over its predecessor; but it left us in the minority in that house, and, as we all know, in the peculiar circumstances of the election, imported into the political scene topics of doubtfulness and of doubt which are foreign to our institutions, and never should have been imported into them. By a suppression of the right of suffrage in many of the States of this Union, the Republican party was absolutely deprived of twenty electoral votes that belonged to it, and many more were brought in question. [Laughter and applause.] Patient, serene, abiding, making no threats itself and heeding no threats that were made against it, [applause,] the Republican party was able to receive the count of that vote by the clearest constitutional method the deliberations of the Congress of the nation could assign. It did not invoke the attendance of 100,000 armed or unarmed men, [laughter,] because it knew that there were in attendance watching that vote, all over this country, some millions of armed citizens that were capable of taking arms if necessity required. How do we know that? We had tried it! [Applause.] We had had threats against the government; we had heard it called a rope of sand; we had heard that a community of thrift and gain, commerce, and industry were not a community that could be rallied upon to take up arms for their rights and for their country. It did not lose a hair of our heads to be told so, and we did not take up arms until it was necessary, and we did not lay them down until it was finished. [Applause.] And now, if anybody wanted to break down the Constitution of the United States by force because there was a disputed election, we were quite ready that the Constitution should be defended in a disputed election as in everything else, [applause,] and by an exhibition of wisdom and courage by a comprehensive and circumspect estimate of the gravity of the situation, the people of this country exhibited a control over themselves in an emergency of this kind that was wholly unforeseen and unprovided for, that bespoke the greatness of the nation in a civil capacity, as the record of civil war had proclaimed its greatness as a military nation in the days of that conflict. I do not exaggerate when I say that the nations of the world connected with us in our system of civilization, who had watched with wonder the great devotion and the great power exhibited in the war of the Union, were filled with even greater astonishment than to those that wished well to us and those that wished ill to us alike, it seemed that we had met that final test and trouble in the management of a vast suffrage, when a disputed election could find no division but in the passions and the power of an opposing party; and when both sections, both parties, resorted to a method of final settlement that should be of debate and of reason, of judgment and of decision, with unanimous applause, alike of the nations that admired our scheme of free government, and of the nations that dissented from it, went up, that the final hold of the American people had carried them safely through, and henceforth, in peace and war, there was no problem too great for it to solve. And now, this great and peaceful nation, reposing in that justice and wisdom, and accepting from one to the other of it the determination of the executive power, thus lodged and thus exercised, has looked with indifference, if not with confidence, upon all the idle and crazy schemes by which, in streams of calumny and slander, that title was sought to be impugned. An absolute scorn of the contempt of the people has extinguished every fire that was sought to be lighted by this dark lantern of conspiracy.

STRENGTHEN THE HANDS OF THE ADMINISTRATION.

Now, it so happened that, although the Republican party was disappointed in the restoration of its authority over the House of Representatives the interval of time that has passed by since the election has not made it of very great importance to the public interests. The three great questions that were in the minds and the hearts of the people, that found expression in the platforms of the different parties, that formed the staple of the discussion through the press and at the hustings during that election, were the pacification of the country in its final moral submission to obedience to the Constitution; the elevation of the public service, and the emancipation of the suffrage from the entangling and strangling suppressions of public and private interests, supplanting and anticipating the public wants; and the restoration of the country in its finances and its commerce, to the true position which its numbers, its wealth, its industry, and its enterprises were entitled to. And all these, you will notice, in the actual condition of legislation, really needed only executive action. Congress had already provided, while the Republican party was in possession of all the government, such provisions of the law as were necessary in their judgment to make effective the amendments of the Constitution which had provided for the equality and the privilege of the freedmen of the South. Laws had been passed which had provided for the resumption of specie payment and put in the hands of the executive government all the necessary means for handling the finances and the securities of the country to insure the practical accomplishment of that result; and the improvement of the civil service of the country, always a matter of detail, always a matter more of the morals and the habits of government than of any scientific or romantic adjustment, was properly trusted to the executive power. It is no part of my duty, nor is there any occasion to defend or explain any part of the action of the executive government, since the inauguration of our President, to Republicans anywhere. There is no renewal of his term of office in question. There is no promotion of any of the members of his Cabinet who have advised and conferred with him before the people, and there is no issue now raised as among Republicans as to the wisdom or the necessity of this or that particular measure. We are drawn up now in an array against the opposite party. [Applause.] We are drawn up upon a question of whether, in the present posture of things, it is safe and wise that the lower house of Congress should be left in the control of the Democratic party, or whether there, and as far as there are presented any opportunities with reference to the representation of the States in the Senate—whether in that body also a Republican administration shall have its hands strengthened by Republican Representatives and Republican Senators. [Applause.] I say its hands strengthened—I mean strengthened in the service of the Republican party, in doing the duty of that party in the management of this country. [Applause.] Is there any Republican anywhere that does not feel that common sentiment and that common duty, who does not understand and appreciate the fact that discussions in a party serve no good end at any time—they may be necessary, they may be inevitable, but they are to be spared rather than encouraged—but that the unity and strength and common purpose and common courage and common devotion of the party are always demanded equally, everywhere, from every member of the party, when the junctures of our political affairs bring us face to face with the opposing party in a trial of strength. [Applause.] Now, gentlemen, it is the duty of every Republican in this room, it is the duty of every Republican absent from this room—and that comprises together all the Republicans in the country [laughter]—it is their duty to see to it that the power of the Republican party in the councils of this nation is increased, and by no possibility damaged. [Applause.] It is your duty in reference primarily to the choice of Congressmen, and it is your duty to see to it that the Republican party loses no Congressmen because some of you, besides being Republicans, are attached to the fortune or ambition of one man or another. You never can serve the Republican party if—when their cohesion and their strength to the last man is required, when the last energies are to be put forth, when the final effort is to be made—there is in your bosom any drawback or any doubt; and I imagine that the people of the State of New York that have heretofore at any time during the last twenty years confided in the Republican party, are ready to confide in that party to-day. [Applause.] I do not believe that any of the temporary, casual, and personal disaffections that at one time and another have prevailed, are now prevailing; and in regard to the maintenance of your authority in the popular branch of our own Legislature, I think there is an equal consent and an equal spirit. We can not afford to lose Senators, although we may not feel sure that we shall retain a majority in the Senate.

THE UNATTACHED VOTERS.

Now, what reasons are there why there should not be an accession, an increase, to the Republican strength, from that intermediate relation of politics so numerously represented by what are called "Independents" or unattached voters, who desire to throw their influence in support of the interests of the country? Nay, in the very strange condition of discord and controversy and bitter hatreds that marks the opposing councils within the bosom of the Democratic party, what reason is there why good citizens, loving their country and concurring in the measures now presently and in the near future to be espoused and carried through by the councils of this nation, should not give the weight of their votes and of their influence as in the critical situations of the war they, as war Democrats, were ready to give to the patriotic armies of the country, though under the lead of the Republican party. [Applause.] I do not know of a situation in the politics of this country for a long while in which the ancient animosities that by inheritance or by bitterness of experience had divided the great parties of the country upon some other question, do not know, by their being in abeyance, furnish an opportunity for all men that believe in the public faith and in the honest money of the country to join hands to put Congress on the right side of that question. [Applause.] It was absolutely necessary, before the attention of the people could be safely or calmly surrendered to attention to their business interests, that disturbance arising from an irregular condition of action and feeling toward the Southern States—the remnant of the war—should be put at rest. I have never known any voice potential enough with these people to adjure them to give attention to subjects on which they agree, and to give up controversies on subjects about which they disagree, when those subjects in their minds were essential and living issues; and, therefore, I allude to what I regard as a principal introductory step to the determination of the interests of the country in commerce and in finance, according to these everyday interests, that by the action of the Republican party it should be finally understood that the armed intervention of the Federal government in the States was no longer necessary and needed not to be repeated except upon some new occasion. [Applause.] This has sometimes been spoken of as if it was the "policy" of the administration. It was nothing but a treatment by the administration, under a constitutional duty, of a particular situation that was presented for their action. The policy of the administration, as the policy of the Republican party, and, as I hope, the policy of all honest citizens of either party, is that there shall be no hesitation and no doubt, but that the whole constitutional weight, the whole legal authority of this country in the hands of the executive of the nation, shall be directed everywhere to the enforcement of the laws and the security of the privileges of the weakest of our citizens. [Great applause.] It is the policy of this party of ours; it is the policy of this government of ours, in Massachusetts or in South Carolina, [applause]; the same duty and the same courage for that duty in the great State of New York and in the feeble State of Louisiana. It is not affected by climate or by circumstances, except as the occasions arise under disturbing influences of one kind and another. Sometimes it may be needed to protect property against the rash councils and the momentary excitement of citizens in multitudes; sometimes to protect the poor and ignorant freedmen against the wrath and malice of the whole surrounding community, [applause,] and sometimes to uphold the rights of commerce in its ships and cargoes, and sometimes of a single obscure citizen in his personal protection in the remotest corner of the world. [Applause.] I challenge the least accusation against the Republican party, or against any administration of that party to the present time, of any desertion of that duty, of any indifference to these appeals. [Applause.]

AN INTOLERABLE CONDITION OF THINGS.

Now, you will observe that the one intolerable thing in this country, either in the nation or any of the States, is anarchy. A double government disputing each other's authority is anarchy. Communities always find some way to work themselves out of anarchy that is intolerable. Sometimes they resort to the overthrow of liberty, preferring even submission to anarchy. Sometimes they assert both government and liberty together, and maintain the rights of both. By our Constitution the Federal government is jealously excluded from all intervention by military power in the affairs of a State, except upon the invitation of the authorities of the State, and that intervention is strictly limited to the one condition of existing domestic violence too great for suppression by the authorities of the State. Whatever be the will, whatever the bias, whatever the sympathy which is felt by a party or felt by any of its constituted agents to exercise the public will, the Constitution, is the limit and the authority. The Constitution, put in the Executive hand, is capable of execution no further than the legislation of Congress has given the authority; and under that action there was given an opportunity in every State of this Union that by such methods, judicial, social, civil, as belong to it there should be a security of the rights of all its citizens and peace throughout its borders. I need not say to you that this legal Constitution of rights necessarily makes them actual. On the contrary, I submit to you that though the privilege of the suffrage is by your Constitution and your laws accorded to all residents of all States, yet in some States a large portion of that people do not practically possess or exercise those rights; and that is an intolerable condition of things to every free community. [Applause.] It is, however, a condition of things that is to be met, adjusted, and overcome by the peaceful influences that belong to the amelioration and the correction of abuses, or to the regular and orderly punishment by process of law of infractions of those rights. But, nevertheless, the people of this country, I hope, without distinction of party—I would fain hope without distinction of residence or of State citizenship—will always consider it an intolerable condition of things that a great community, restored to all the privileges of the Constitution, and with an enlargement of their suffrage in the councils of the nation, should insist upon maintaining the voting power to themselves and suppress the voting privilege which was the only occasion and consideration for its being accorded. Against that, all the forces of free society struggle, and will continue to struggle, and all the moral, all the social, all the legal, all the constitutional authority of the Republican party in the government of this country shall always be thrown in favor of making that practical and real which in the Constitution and in the rights of the population of these States is accorded to the humblest citizen. [Applause.] So long as there remains this discord in the harmony of our restored allegiance, so long the Republican party will have its duties which it will not hesitate to perform. [Applause.]

ECONOMY IN THE PUBLIC SERVICE.

Now, gentlemen, another great and important interest which the people in their original and primary capacity of citizens have for many years shown a considerable interest in, is in seeing that the public service was really brought within the limits of the needs of the government, within the proper economies for its administration, and that the change of that service, either by the change of party or the change of administration, should be as little in extent and as few in instances as the public service would permit. They have, I think, also been quite unanimous in seeing that it was right that the executive authority of which these numerous officers form a branch, and which is held responsible for the conduct of these officers, should really have the potential control, as it has the individual responsibility. I agree with that very lively writer, Mistress Gail Hamilton, who, in a series of charming essays on the non perfectibility of human nature; who, in a series of sparkling observations upon characters of the present time and in our past history, though she has been unable to raise a single political mortal to the skies, has not hesitated to drag a great many political angels down. [Laughter.] I agree with her that the civil service is not a measure or policy of government. All parties will profess it; all citizens will desire it, and in the perfection of abstract contrivances each will vie with the other, but, alas, the rub comes when you seek to apply it to any living, actual, named occupant of office. This is not to be complained of, but there is a large province of attention to this duty which does not thus interfere with individuals. I mean the reduction of the public service to the numbers that are necessary to perform the duties of the government. [Applause.] I mean further the habit and purpose of every Administration to narrow the province of patronage; for if there be any danger to the statesman, to the statesmanship, to the smooth working of the administration over and in the authority committed to it, it is the constant interjection of this disturbing matter of patronage. [Applause.] I do not believe that there are any men in the country that are so much interested in the reduction of this matter within manageable limits as the public men of the country who are impeded and clogged and harassed—I don't mean members of the executive government alone, but members of the Senate and members of the House of Representatives—by the constant and inevitable pressure of these harassing influences. I would say to every public man that if, indeed, we should ever succeed in staving the dominion and control of what is called caucus and caucus machinery, the public who have thought their interests most connected with it, have thought that they could least spare its support, will be within the phrase of Brutus when the tyrant Cæsar was slain. "Here comes his body, borne by Mark Antony, who, though he had no hand in his death, will receive the benefit of his dying—a place in the commonwealth, as which of you would not." [Laughter and Applause.] And such a place—a place where authority, support, continuance in places of trust and honor depend upon the spontaneous judgment and concurring voice of the independent, the watchful, the intelligent, the patriotic citizens of the country. [Applause.] I believe nobody has anything to fear from this improvement but those who, occupying positions to which the private judgment and spontaneous action of their fellow citizens would not assign them, fear that the ladder on which they rose will be stricken from them and leave them to tumble back into the mass of the citizens. And now, gentlemen, you all can see, as Republicans—I think the citizens of New York, without much distinction of party—can see how tyrannical such a scheme may become—I do not say that it ever has become in the Republican party—such a scheme may become, in a party like the Democrat party. You all know how the voice of Tweed was more potential than the wishes of all the worthy men of this city; and if I can judge from what seems to be a very considerable revolt against the renewal of this one man tyranny preparing for the next election, there is the same distaste for it now that there was then. [Applause.] There is no doubt that the people of this city, the people of this State, the people of this country, have the power, whenever the pressure of this incubus shall become insupportable, to throw it off by the effort of a giant; but it is in the minds of all good citizens, of every party, that we must see to it that the regular and every day working of our political machinery forbids the accumulation of such tyrannical authority. [Applause.]

THE FINANCES OF THE COUNTRY.

Now, gentlemen, the third subject which, so far as the executive authority of the Republican party in possession of the government has had to deal with it, is interesting to them and interesting to you, and so far as your present impending elections are to touch upon it, constitutes the main excitement of that election. I mean the finances of this country. [Applause.] Now, there is great danger, as it seems to me, that because we have been in an irregular condition of our finances, made necessary during the war, and have gradually advanced upon the evils, and one by one have overcome them, there is danger, it seems to me, that we should be too easily misled into dissatisfaction with a condition of things which really, when we remember what in former times of peace we were accustomed to, must be considered a satisfactory condition of the circulating medium of this country. I never knew a time before the war when every man in the country was entirely indifferent to the actual security of the bills that he carried in his pocket as he is now. [Applause.] I never knew a time when business had less occasion to feel any concern in regard to paper money of the country, provided only it was measured by that measure of strength and honesty—convertibility into gold and siver—[prolonged cheering and applause]—that they would feel and that they do feel now. Nor do I believe that in the Republican party there is any disposition either to deride or to decry that paper money which is associated in our minds with the struggles and the throes of a great nation contributing the strength of its youth to the battle field and the resources of its wealth to the Treasury of the country. [Applause.] What was the legal tender as provided by this government under the stress of war? Why, people talk about it as if some other financial scheme might have been resorted to, as if having a power of taxation able to lay taxes of one hundred per cent. if necessary, the government might have maintained adhesion to its specie standard and filled the Treasury by taxation. By taxation to bankrupt a people! What could the government do with all the property of the country turned into the hands of tax-gatherers, and all the people of the country turned out of their property? Did anybody ever hear of a financial system of that kind; that a government, becoming the owner of all the property and the people homeless and penniless, was in a condition to carry on war? No. Just as by the conscription, when it became necessary, all the youth of the country were summoned to arms, so by the proclamation of legal tender, all the wealth of the country was marshaled to the aid of the government, and told to settle their accounts in specie payments after the war was over. [Immense applause.] When the battles were finished, the soldiers went home to till the soil and work at the bench and fill the professions, and increase the wealth of the country. When the war was over, the good faith of this people, with their affairs in the hands of the Republican party, undertook so to manage and adjust the progress of its wealth that, as speedily as possible, the promises, on the faith of which this agency of finance and legal tender worked out the safety of the country should be brought up to the performance of the promise, and the maintenance, in fact, of its equivalent value with the thing promised. [Applause.] Now, when the legal tender was working out this salvation of the country, did we hear its praises sung by the Democratic party; was it helped out by their confidence, applauded by their voices, when both would have been useful to this country and to the soldiers in the field? No; we were then told how much it cost in this bad money to buy rations for the soldiers and powder and ball for the cannon. We were told that no country could expect to maintain liberties at so great a cost. Ah, gentlemen, I have not measured how much powder and ball and how many rations this paper money bought less than its face in gold would have bought; but, I think, for many of the men who now praise the legal tender, the trouble was, not that it bought too little, but that it bought too much. [Immense cheering and applause.] But if you take its whole value, where was there any money since the world began that bought so much as that legal tender? [Applause.] It bought us an unmutilated territory, it bought us an unocrrupted Constitution. [Applause.] It bought us a name and a power among the nations of the world which forefends war and makes really all external defenses for a long while to come unnecessary. Since Midas turned by his touch everything into gold; since Crœsus amassed the treasures, no man has ever got as good a bargain for his money as the American people got for their legal tender. [Long and continued cheering and applause.] And now, step by step, patiently, peacefully, by heavy taxation, by liberal payment of taxes, (income and other taxes,) we have made up the finances of the country, so that that legal tender is worth to-day all over this country, what it on its face purports to be worth. [Applause.] And now that legal tender no Republican will suffer to be tarnished, either by disparaging its previous services, or by allowing it to be so confounded with a peace currency to drown out the finance and honor of the people as that its fame shall be confused in any man's mind. We made the legal tenders to fight us out of war into peace, and we will take no fiat money to fight us out of peace into war. [Applause.]

A WORD ABOUT THE GREENBACKS.

Is there anything in the financial history of this country, as conducted by the Republican party, that we have any occasion to find fault with? Did we not understand from the beginning that what was needed was money in its shape in sufficient volume to keep up the armies of the country in full vigor, and to maintain the credit of the government with its citizens? And what has become of all those questions about impairing the validity of contracts and violating private rights? A nation in time of war is entitled to the service of the whole power and wealth of the country, and it is the wisdom of the government to determine how it should best be marshaled, when and where it is needed, and with sufficient strength. War interferes with other contracts than of money. War separates the bridegroom from the bride at the foot of the altar, thus interrupting the sincerest contract of society. War beckons the son from the dying bed of his mother, breaking thus the commandment with promise, and shall we much agitate ourselves about these past troubles, as to whether this country should have been sacrificed to the necessity of specie payments, when specie payments were incompatible with its safety? This matter of our greenbacks, therefore, is one that is now presently limited to the duty of the government to make them equal to gold and silver, and all subsequent discussions are to find their place, as after that problem is solved the interest of commerce, the interests of society, and the obligations of the public faith shall be kept. That is our present issue; to that we will adhere. We know very well that it there is anything that this people insist upon it is that they shall have paper money. They want that money good, and they know there is no standard for its excellence that can be trusted except it is convertable into gold and silver. [Applause.] They wish to feel that they are not obliged to carry about with them the gold and silver, but that they have the faith of the government that the paper money is always and everywhere good. That they are entitled to. That they will demand from their government; and they will demand a government that has intelligence and resources sufficient to give them good paper money, and not drive them back to the actual carriage of gold and silver on their persons and in their chests. [Applause.] Well, it is very difficult to treat seriously this question of fiat money. I do not know who believes in fiat money. What is fiat money? I can understand the miraculous power that can turn what is valueless into value, but it must change its substance. When you say that a government is to make what is valueless valuable for its people you say what a people have never been willing to trust their government with. You might as well expect a people to trust their government with a question of when, and on what means of subsistence, and in what numbers, annually or monthly, the people of the country should get married, [laughter,] and makes a governmental institution out of marriage, as to have them say what the people should consider valuable when it is not valuable. Fiat money, of course, involves the necessity that specie money does, that as in one case, specie being the money, everything is done on a specie basis; so when fiat is the money everything is to be done on the fiat basis. [Laughter and applause.] It would make a thorough revolution. You may remember that in the *Arabian Nights* a story is told by the barber of one his brothers, who being an honest butcher, and selling meat, was waited upon every morning by an old man, with a long beard, who purchased just six pounds of beef and gave him a beautiful, bright, well-coined money, so much more flattering in its aspect than the ordinary money which he took, that he kept it by itself, and after five months of this prosperous customer's dealing he thought he would go to his box as he needed to buy some sheep for the shambles, and pay for them with this money, and he opened his box and found it was all green leaves, clipped into a round shape. Well, money to sell mutton chops by needs to be money to buy sheep with. [Laughter.] Now, it is said by the storyteller that the old man was a magician, and he deceived the eyes of the whole people. Who is that old man in this country? [Laughter and applause.] He has a long beard, [laughter and applause,] but that is the only circumstance of identification. Well, some simple people in a remote Italian province once went to the Pope to convey their homage, and the Holy Father asked them, "My children, before you go to your homes, is there anything I can do for you that would improve your condition?" They replied, for they lived by their toil as husbandmen, that there was nothing that they would like much or that would be of great advantage to them, except this: that the Holy Father would direct that they should have two crops in the year. It was willingly granted by the Supreme Pontiff, and as they were taking their leave he said: "My good people, I will do even more for you than you have asked. Not only shall you have two crops in a year, but your year shall be twice as long." [Great laughter and applause.] Doubtless they thought that length of days was in their right hand, and in their left hand richer. [Laughter.] And so it must be whenever a magician or a pope gives us fiat money; he must give us fiat trade, fiat food, and a fiat arrangement all through. I dare say we all remember that in our childhood, every now and then, the children in the nursery used to petition their mother to be allowed to play grocery store, and there they had nothing but fiat money. [Laughter.] They drew upon their mother for the sugar, and the plums and the raisins and the almonds and the oranges and made a great array of groceries, and then each customer among the infant band made their money in shape, and in denomination and value, to suit themselves. [Laughter.] And that is exactly what the fiat money is to be. We are all to be children, having our pockets full of fiat money which is to be based upon all the property of the United States, just as these children's stock of groceries was based upon the illimitable wealth of mamma! But even this play of fiat money, although it never produced financial distress or reverses, had some ill results. When you buy groceries with fiat money, and they are all of the edible kind, you are apt to eat too much of it. And so the nursery was soon distressed with the winding up of the fiat money by expansions of the stomach and contractions of the bowels. [Laughter.] And, finally, mamma intervened, as the good Providence will have to do for us, and took in hand the grocery and the salesmen and all the customers, and put them to bed, with a good dose of rhubarb and magnesia, put out the fiat system, and they did not try it again until they had forgotten its pangs. Well, if we can have a good Providence to take care of our commerce and see if all the property of the United States comes forward just as it is needed by everybody that wants the money, we will get along a little while, until the whole nation, sick at head, and faint at heart, comes back to good paper money convertible into gold or silver, and gold and silver as the money of its trade. But the astonishing thing to me is, that there should be public men, professing confidence in the people, that should go up and down the land expecting to use reasons that insult their intelligence or influences that corrupt their morality. I do not believe that the common sense, common courage, common sympathy with one another's burdens, is ever to be turned adrift under such preaching as this. If indeed, in matters of finance, we could suppose that this degree of abjectness, of poverty of ideas, of strength of will, of self-preservation, should depart from our financial wisdom, why, it would depart from all the other forms of the institutions of our government. We need not fear that the people, when they know what it is that this magician, or this financial pope is saying to them, will put much faith in their wisdom or instructions.

UNLIMITED CURRENCY.

But, gentlemen, there is another form of financial doctrine which is not so easily dealt with, and which deceives or beguiles a good many people. I mean a notion that an unlimited amount of the financial paper of the government, requiring, in some form or other, adhesion to values, may be put out, and a saving to the people in regard to interest and other burdens; and the principal issue seems to be on this matter, between what is called a volume of notes of the United States sufficient to furnish all the paper of the country, and a subtraction of the bank-notes which now furnish about one-half of it. But all these reasoners do not proceed far enough in their inquiry. There is no mode by which any money can be paid out of the Treasury of the United States except upon an appropriation of Congress. There is no mode upon which it can be paid out except upon the reception of the ownership of the country or into the treasury something which takes its place. Now, so much is our taxation reduced by the wise measures of the Republican administrations, one after another, that two hundred and thirty million or two hundred and forty million will make the circuit of payment and receipts, and we have already more of the money of the country, more of the money of the government in this form of United States notes than is necessary to complete the circuit. You must then have a contrivance by which large expenditures of the government are to be made for the purpose of giving vent to a greater volume of these United States notes than is now on foot, or you must provide that they shall be used in the redemption of the bonds. Well, expenditures are not the policy of the Democratic party; they are not the policy of the Republican party. Economy and a reduction of the expenses of the government to the lowest proper level commensurate with the authority and the strength and the performance of the duty of the government, is the common faith of both parties. Are you, then, ready to issue this money in discharge of the bonds of the country? Certainly not upon any other basis than such as will give the holders of the bonds such an equivalent as is felt to be commensurable with the true intrinsic money of the world. If you say you will pay your bonds that are now on their promise payable, either presently or in the future, by something that is not payable at all, that I can understand. If you say to the holders of these bonds, "Come and take from us bonds which say on their face that they never shall be paid," that I can understand: but I understand, as one necessarily must, that that means nothing but a circuitous repudiation of the public debt, and these people are too intelligent. If they mean to repudiate the obligations of the public faith, not to repudiate them directly, not to play this false game of hide and seek that deceives nobody. That brings it immediately into the range of fiat money, or money not intrinsically valuable. Let, then the currency of the country, be it United States or bank notes, be in such volume as the financial wisdom of the country shall direct, compatible with every dollar of them being redeemable in gold and silver, furnishing the convenience of trade and keeping up the activity of its exchanges. But do not undertake to do what no government will be permitted by its people to do for one instant. What does a people trust a government, whether it be a monarchy, a despotism, or a free government like ours—what do the people trust the government with, in respect to gold or silver? Nothing but the weighing, the refining, and the stamping of it. A government that undertakes to debase the coin and put its stamp upon less gold or less pure gold than the people assume its stamp warrants them in doing, will soon be set a-flying by the people quicker than for any other crime against the State. Let us understand the reason that gold and silver measure value is that they have value. The reason paper money can be used to measure gold and silver and are interchangeable with it, and thus can you measure extension without your foot-measure, or your yard-stick possesses extension? How can you measure capacity without your bushel and your quart being able to hold capacity? Can you measure capacity with a quart measure with the bottom out? And so you can measure value only by value: and how do you measure it? An eminent financier belonging to a great political party in one of the States of this Union has said that he never heard of a yard-stick or a quart measure being redeemed, and there is not any more need of redeeming paper than there is of redeeming a quart measure or a yard-stick.

AN ARBITRARY SYSTEM OF MEASUREMENT.

Well, I believe every civilized government has a sealer of weights and measures, and frequently short measures and short weights are redeemed by the government, and those who deal with them are made to feel that there is a control. But when you come to value, the measure is by its interchangeability. You may not call it redeeming. It is the interchangeability of value for value, and no people, especially no people possessing direct power over their government, as our people possess—no people made up as our people are, by the laboring men from one end of the social scheme to the other, without privileges, without exemptions, with entire equality, except so far as the vicissitudes of opinion and the arrangement of Providence produce or permit inequalities—no such people will ever suppose their liberty to be measured by an arbitrary system that is not measured itself by labor. The laborer takes the gold dollar or the paper that is interchangeable with it, simply knowing that there is so much gold, so much paper that is the equivalent of gold, and that it is valuable. Why, I have seen it stated by a competent authority that in this whole country there are at all times due one hundred and twenty million dollars in wages. Do you suppose that that creditor class, the earners of wages, are going to trust the debtor class, to them of society to make money at their will and pay them off? [Applause.] Labor for labor is at the bottom of all exchanges of society, whether by barter or by the intermediation of money, whether specie or paper. Now, I am very willing to trust this people. I have never seen anybody that I should expect to listen to me if I talked the doctrines that are attributed to the fiat apostles and the irredeemable unlimited paper promises never to be performed. I have never seen any such distinction between the intelligence or sagacity, or self-preserving powers of the common people, as they are called, in distinction from rich people. I think the rich people get into quite as many scrapes as the poor people, and I don't understand that there is any danger of any portion of our people worshiping any of these dreamy theorists. Well, supposing somebody should preach that the moon is really made of green cheese, and that moonbeams would feed and fatten just the same as any other form of cheese. How many of your countrymen do you think you would see out moonlight nights filling their stomachs with this substantial food? Would you count them by millions, hundreds of thousands, thousands, or tens? Now, there is a purpose to beguile or deceive or mislead, and to gain possession of power under some flattering or some careless acceptance by the people of this or that nostrum. We are ready and willing to maintain the money that we have always been accustomed to and desire, but we do not intend that it shall be on the fiat of any man or any authority of government, even a congressional. We trust the banks because their money is good, and because we mean incontroverturble, and we withdraw a trust whenever that confidence is removed.

And now, gentlemen, allow me to say that the Congress of the United States is entitled to the best, the wisest, the most patriotic men, who are able to carry out to the last point every thing promised by the Republican party, especially in its bonds, or in its United States notes, or in the bank that it has authorized and has given by United States bonds. With this notion now, as I understand it, we expect this State to gain, in the members of Congress. [Applause.] We may hope to secure the low of the Legislature to give us a Senator. [Applause.] We may be able to make the great State of New York one column of Republican States. If you do this, if you give the Court of Appeals, an eminent lawyer, your votes, and a majority of thirty thousand and thousand; if you add to the number your Congressmen; if you fill the house of the Legislature, and add to your Republican Senators, no one can say that, however the State was lost, it has not been regained to us honestly and gallantly. And, if you do this, let me assure you, for your judgment, concur with me, you need have no fear that the next President of the United States, whoever he may be, will be an honest man, a lover of his country, and a Republican. [Applause.]

Hints to Kerosine Users.

Professor Burt G. Wilder, of Cornell University, has patented what he calls a "Kerosine Warning Tag," to be attached to all packages of oil. On its reverse side the Professor gives these timely hints as to the proper use of kerosine oil and lamps: "Buy the best oil. The lower priced varieties are apt to be more volatile and explosive. Have your glass lamp securely hung. Select those in which the ends of the burner is elevated considerably above the body of the lamp. Lamps to be carried should be of metal, have handles, and be of some 'safety' pattern. Fill the lamps by daylight, and never while lighted. If obliged to fill them at night, have the light at least a yard off, and not in a current of air. Lamps should be filled daily, and never lighted when partly empty. Never carry a glass lamp lighted. A lamp with the wick turned far down is more liable to explode. Keep the can closed, and in a safe place. Never pour oil on the fire. If burning oil gets upon the floor, smother with woolen blanket, rug, carpet or clothing. If the clothing takes fire, wrap a blanket or rug about the person, or roll upon the floor."

Epidemics and Their Lessons.

Epidemics, like the bloody results of great battles, teach us to acknowledge our individual insignificance. Almost twelve thousand lives have been sacrificed to yellow fever in the South during the past three months, and yet the next summer will find the ranks closed up, and but few traces of the ravages of the disease left, save in the hearts of friends and among the mounds in the cemeteries. The cotton will bloom just as bounteously, it will be picked just as rapidly, the great commercial centres of the Southland will hum with as busy life as in the past. It is difficult to believe that business interests of the Southern people will be in any way permanently injured. Wonderfully recuperative power will be shown, and if the land is spared a visitation of the plague half a decade, there will be nothing in business or social life to tell of the horrors of 1878. It is unnecessary to endeavor to shroud the future in the gloom of the present. The ship will right herself.—*Louisville Courier-Journal.*

OFFICIAL.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Washington, D. C., October 26, 1878.

Information has been received at this Department from Mr. Wilson King, the Consul of the United States at Bremen, Germany, of the loss on the —— of ——, on board of the Bremen steamship Hannover, of EUGENE PERROT, of New Orleans, Louisiana.

The legal representatives of the deceased can obtain further information by applying at this Department.