Alexandria Gazette.

VOL. LXXXIII. ALEXANDRIA, VA., THURSDAY EVENING, AUGUST 31, 1882. NO. 205.

Alexandria Gazette.

PUBLISHED DAILY AND TRI-WEEKLY BY
EDGAR SNOWDEN,
At the Gazette Building, Nos. 70 & 72 Prince st.

TERMS:

DAILY.		TRI-WEEKLY.	
One year	$6 00	One year	$4 00
Six months	3 00	Six months	2 00
One month	50	Three months	1 00

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THE CANVASS IN THE SOUTHWEST.

SPEECH OF HON. ABRAM FULKERSON AT ABINGDON.

[Reported for the Alexandria GAZETTE.]

The following is Mr. Fulkerson's speech at Abingdon last Monday:

Fellow citizens of Washington county: It is usual in this State for the public servant to give some account of his stewardship to his masters the people. It is not usual in Virginia for the public servant to be condemned without a hearing. Especially is that not so in this free and independent 9th district of Virginia.

Two years ago the readjuster party of the 9th district honored me with a seat in the U. S. Congress. The democratic party of the district opposed my election with a candidate, and so did the republican party. I was therefore free to act in Congress as I saw proper without regard to party restraints, or caucus rule, either of the democratic, or the republican party. I did not enter the caucus of either party in Congress because I knew that if I did so, it would identify me with that party and I would be compelled to act with the party into whose caucus I went, with regard to every measure that came before such caucus. Therefore, as I was elected, as an independent readjuster to represent the interest of Virginia to the best of my ability and according to the dictates of my conscience, I thought it better to act independent, and so I did act.

My course in Congress, fellow citizens, and my votes have not been complained of, and have not been criticised, so, far as I know, by the party which elected me. I shall not therefore do more than make a bare reference to some of the votes cast, and only refer briefly to my course there; then I shall pass on to some matters of more concern at this time.—The first vote that I was called upon to cast in the Congress of the U. S. was for Speaker of the House of Representatives. I cast my vote for Mr. Keifer, a republican, because I was assured that the administration, meaning thereby not only the President, but his cabinet and Congress, would meet the liberal move in Virginia half way, and that they would adopt a policy that would, so far as the policy of the administration could do so, restore the South and her people to equal rights in the Union. Being so assured that they would adopt that policy, I voted to put the House of Representatives in accord with the administration, that is with the President and his cabinet. If the President of the United States, his Cabinet and Congress were going to adopt a policy that would lift the South up, restore her, reconstruct her absolutely and in fact, and change the policy which had been pursued heretofore towards the South by giving her citizens their rights, I say if the administration meant to do that, as I had an assurance it would, then I believed it would be to the best interest of Virginia, the whole South, and the whole country to put the House of Representatives in accord with the administration which promised a new departure towards the South. That is the reason I voted for Mr. Keifer.

Now, the first message of the President to Congress omitted to use the words "North and South;" ignored sections entirely. That was an indication to every one that the policy promised and assured the South, that there would be a new departure, would be carried out. Every man in Virginia I suppose and every man in the South was rejoiced to find one message, the first message from a President since the war that did not indicate one policy for the North and another for the South. I endorsed the President to that extent.

Fellow citizens, I am sorry to say that that single act of the President was the any act so far as I know that manifested only interest of any friendly feeling towards the South. (Applause and cries of "that so") With that single act, omitting the words "North and South," in his message, ceased, the "most liberal policy" of the administration towards the South." I voted to repeal the tobacco tax which draws from Virginia about $7,000,000 a year. I supposed that if the administration and its supporters in in Congress felt any desire to give the South material aid, that here was an opportunity to do it. But in the House upon the repeal of the tobacco tax every republican in the House, with the exception of the Southern republicans, voted against its repeal, and every democrat, with a few exceptions, voted for its repeal.

I voted to repeal the tax upon liquor, which draws largely from the State of Virginia and the South. I found the same spirit manifested there, indicating that we were to have no relief in that direction. I voted to repeal the entire internal revenue system, and favored that policy. It is unnecessary now. We have in the United States Treasury this year about $150,000,000 of surplus revenue and the repeal of the whole internal revenue system might now very properly be made.

I voted for the River and Harbor bill, which is the most liberal bill possibly that ever passed Congress so far as the South is concerned. It brings the South something over $9,000,000. The President of the United States vetoed that bill, and I voted to pass the bill over his veto.

In the contested election cases, I voted upon every case upon its merits, and I suppose I was the only member of Congress who was not bound by caucus rule upon that important question. Where the rights of the citizen are concerned with reference to a seat in Congress, and it is submitted to the House as the judge, I am sorry to say that almost every case was decided on the principle of 7 to 8. I studied every case that came before the House, and I voted on it in every case, as I stated before, according to its merits. Thus voting free from caucus rule, I believe that I in every case voted right, certainly I voted according to my conscientious convictions as to what was right in each case, and in so considering the facts in each case, I was forced to vote upon the merits, as I stated upon the merits of the case for a Mormon; I voted to seat a negro; I voted to seat three or four democrats; I voted to seat a greenbacker, because I thought the Mormon was entitled to his seat; I thought the negro was entitled to his seat; I thought the democrats were entitled to their seats; I thought the greenbacker was entitled to his seat; and that is the reason I voted for them. [Applause.]

Now, fellow-citizens, I shall pass on from this subject. As I said I do not know that my votes in the House have been complained of, or criticised by the party which elected me, and I do not know to what extent by the other party. But I have no apology to make for any vote I cast. I have given reasons for some of them. I think what I have said will suffice on that point.

Fellow-citizens, we are on the very threshold of another canvass for Congress. The issues in this canvass forced upon the people by General Mahone are three, and only three. These issues are peculiar. They are characteristic of their author. As I stated they are three in number. First, the Administration; second, Mahone. [Derisive laughter.] Third, the caucus. [Again derisive laughter.] Those are the three issues in this canvass as I understand it; forced into the the canvass by General Mahone himself. Now to endorse the Administration is to endorse Mahone, to endorse Mahone is to endorse the caucus, to endorse the caucus is to endorse Mahone, (laughter) to endorse Mahone is to endorse the administration. [Laughter and loud applause.]

Now, fellow-citizens, what is meant by endorsing the administration? Is it for anything that the administration has done, or is it for anything the administration will do, or is it that the endorsement of the administration now, means that every man who does endorse it now, will pledge himself to endorse the radical wing of the republican party in 1884. That is what it means, this latter part, that every man who endorses the administration now is expected to go for Mr. Arthur, or whoever that wing of the party may dictate for Presidential candidate in 1884. That is what is meant by endorsing the administration, and nothing else. Why should we endorse the administration? What has it done" As I stated before, nothing whatever for this country, or for our people except that in the first message of the President, the "North and South," were not mentioned. That is all and nothing more.

The President of the United States vetoed the River and Harbor bill after recommending to Congress the passage of a bill appropriating $5,000,000 to the Mississippi river, and so much for the Potomac flats. After recommending these two items, the largest in the bill, and the most important, yet vetoed that bill for some reason that it was appropriating money, and it was adopting a policy that would bring the West and the South together, in as much as they are united and bound together by these great rivers, which were receiving the appropriation. He pointed out no special reason why he vetoed the bill, but simply vetoed it upon great principles, stating in his message, that if we had appropriated one half of the amount that we did appropriate and allow him and the Secretary of War, I believe, to appropriate the money and designate where it should go, why then, he would not have vetoed the bill. Then we cannot endorse the Administration for that act. Now, what else has it done, so far as the South is concerned? Why, he has not given Virginia any more offices, not one; he had no more to give Virginia. She had a certain amount of offices before and these offices of right belonged to the republican party of Virginia, inasmuch as the Administration was republican. Then I say he brought no more offices to Virginia. But I will tell you what he did do. He appointed Gen. Mahone general administrator (laughter) of the assets of the late republican party in Virginia. (Great laughter and applause.] He turned over to him the patronage of Virginia, and he allowed him to huckster the offices about through Virginia to such readjusters as were of easy political virtue. [Laughter and applause.] He took the offices that properly belong to the republican party in Virginia, and turned them over to readjusters of the democratic stripe, with the condition and understanding that every man who received one of those offices should not only swear allegiance to Mahone, but that he should support Arthur in 1884. [Laughter and applause.] Then, my friends, is there anything in this action that constitutes a reason why we should endorse the Administration; in this action is there any reason why the republicans should endorse the Administration.

Fellow-citizens, the republican party of Virginia has been subordinated by the President of the United States to the one man power; and all the republicans in Virginia combined to-day could not have appointed by the President a spittoon cleaner in this postoffice. [Laughter.] That is the truth. Then, I say I see no reason why we should endorse the Administration just now. But let us take the readjuster party; why should it endorse the Administration, now even supposing that the readjuster party is going into the ranks of the republican party absolutely. The republican party is divided into two parts. The Blaine-Garfield wing dictated the last President, and they are likely to dictate the next. Arthur became President by accident. His wing of the party were not able at the last election to dictate the President, and I say is not likely to do so at the next election. If the readjuster party is so anxious to go into the republican party, why do you want to endorse the Administration now, and flaunt your flag in the face of the Blaine-Garfield wing, who may dictate the next President. And if they do why then Mr. Arthur and his people will have to step down and out. In the State of Virginia the republican party is divided into two parts, the straightout movement, and the coalition wing, so to speak. Mr. Blaine is behind the straightout movement and he is going to run the ticket through, and he means in 1884 to have a delegation from Virginia. So Mr. Blaine means to have a delegation in Pennsylvania and if there is a compromise of the two delegations certainly Mr. Blaine is likely to get half of each.

Now, then, so far as republicans are concerned I would ask them why they want to follow Gen. Mahone into an endorsement of the Administration wing of the party. They have no power; they have no influence with the Administration now. Gen. Mahone has taken charge of their affairs and now if they endorse Mr. Arthur at this election and surrender in advance to that wing of the party, and Mr. Blaine himself should be the next President, or dictates the next President, what will be the result; you know full well, and what if Mr. Arthur should be re-elected, or should dictate the man? Then would not affairs in the State of Virginia be precisely the same. Would you have any influence with Arthur's Administration? Would not General Mahone have everything his own way again? Do you want to perpetuate his power over you. If Mr. Blaine's wing succeeds, Mr. Mahone and all of his people will have to step down and out, and he will have no authority in Virginia, and no power with the Administration. Why, therefore, I would ask should the readjusters follow General Mahone into the stalwart wing of the party. The endorsement by the readjuster party at this election of the Administration means going into the stalwart wing of the republican party, and nothing else. The readjuster party in the State of Virginia to-day has the balance of power. Southwest Virginia is the back-bone of the readjuster party. You can dictate your own terms because you hold the balance of power. If you surrender your party organization, and that is the meaning of endorsing the Administration, you go into the republican party, and into the stalwart wing of it at that. That is what it means.

Now, you have won a few victories; you have co-operated with the republican party in the State, not as a party, but as individuals. The proposition is for you to disband your party and march over horse foot and dragoon into the stalwart wing of the republican party. I say that that is the height of folly. Are you not satisfied with your present position? If you have some power and influence now, are you not satisfied with it? If you have been victorious twice, what do you want to experiment more for? The very moment that you surrender your organization and walk into the republican party, I tell you that so far as Gen. Mahone is concerned, the readjuster party in Virginia will never hold another convention. It has held none this year; but the very moment that you surrender your organization and go into the republican party, what power or influence will you have? about as much as a drop of water in a bucket; none at all. Now, if you want to protect yourselves; want to be somebody at home, and to have influence abroad, all you have to do is to stand firm, and you have the key to the situation. [Applause.] If any man can show me why you should endorse the Administration, I want it shown. I do not know of any reason, nor can I conceive of one; but on the contrary reasons crowd upon me why you should not.

Taking the supporters of the Administration in Congress and how have they acted. The stalwart wing of both branches in Congress, that is the supporters of Mr. Arthur and his Administration, were the bitterest enemies of the South that I found in Congress. They never allowed an occasion to pass when they did not raise the bloody-shirt. They sought every opportunity to defeat measures in Congress that would have been beneficial to the South and her people. I will give you an illustration. There was a bill introduced to give a pension to the Mexican soldiers, and that bill could never be dug out of the committee. I was on the Committee on Pensions myself, and we never could get it reported simply because the majority of that committee were republicans of the Arthur stripe, and these old soldiers, the only soldiers who ever left the American soil to fight the battles of their country, who acquired territory which has brought more money into the United States than would pension ten times the number of soldiers, who fought in the late war; who, now seventy-five years old or thereabouts ask for a service pension for the balance of their brief years, when we have given to the railroads enough territory to have made every Mexican soldier rich; I say after all this, that the American Congress this year has refused to pension those soldiers, simply because a few of them lived in the South, and were connected in some way or other with the Southern side during the late struggle. They even go so far as to punish their own American soldiers who lived at the North, and were loyal during the war, because in serving them they would have to serve some poor soldier who lived at the South and who by reason of his location, perhaps, became a participant in the war on the Confederate side. Everybody else in the United States has been restored his right of property and other rights, but the poor Mexican soldier who was wounded during the war with Mexico, and who went there under a contract with the Government that if he were disabled the Government would take care of him in his old age, he cannot get a pension now simply because some of these old fellows went into the late war on the Confederate side. That shows you the animus of these people. We might just as well treat this subject as it is. The North is not ready yet for a reconciliation.

Another bill came up, a bill to repeal a law which allows no one to hold any office under the Government on the police force of the District of Columbia unless he be a discharged Union soldier or sailor. A republican committee favorably reported that bill to repeal on the ground that these soldiers were now 45 or 50 years old, and would soon be too much enfeebled for that kind of service. The bill favoring a repeal made no discrimination as between North and South in such appointments. As I say, the committee reported the bill favorably, but Mr. Robeson, the chief supporter and leader of the Administration party in the House, rose in his place and raised the bloody shirt. He said that it was impudence for the Southern people to ask or expect that this law would be repealed; that they meant to hold these places for their own people. By waving the bloody shirt he succeeded in having the action of the committee reversed, striking out the clause repealing that law, and left it just as it is now. Mr. Paul and I voted for the repeal of that law. We thought that if this liberal administration meant to put the South and North upon an equality and give all the citizens of this great country equal rights in the territory of the District of Columbia, which is under the control of the Government of the United States, then that law should be repealed.

Then in the Senate we had another bill, which was intended to restore the right of the people of the South who had held office of any kind, to the right of holding positions in the Army of the United States. The Tebbs case, that you have heard so much about, came up and it was proposed to repeal that law, so that any citizen of the United States might be appointed to any position in the army of the United States, which is supported by the taxpayers of our common country. That bill was defeated, and I am sorry to say our friend General Mahone aided by his vote in its defeat. I think he did wrong. I am sure he did wrong. If his vote was a proper one, then Paul and I did wrong in trying with our votes to restore to the South the right to hold positions in the District of Columbia. [Loud applause.] If you endorse Mahone you must condemn Paul and myself for seeking to give the people of the South and everybody else their rights.

I ask, then, why should we endorse the Administration? It can pledge you nothing. It has done nothing from which we can infer its course in the future, so far as anything material to the South is concerned, will be any improvement on what it has been. Why, then, should General Mahone insist that every meeting in this whole State of Virginia, from one end to the other, should endorse the Administration, unequivocally, and absolutely. Why has this action been sought by General Mahone? Because he has tied himself to the Administration. He has agreed to go with it; he has voted with it in the Senate; he has acted with the Administration party there, and in consideration of that he has been recognized in Virginia and given the patronage of the State to peddle around, and he is the only man in Virginia who has been recognized by the Administration. That Administration has not recognized the readjuster party. It has refused to recognize this republican party. It has recognized no man in Virginia except General Mahone. Then we are called upon to endorse the Administration. In return for that patronage, in addition for the vote he has given in the Senate, I am satisfied, as is every other man who understands the situation, that General Mahone has promised the Administration that he would deliver the readjuster party to that wing of the republican party this fall. [Cries of "Shame; he can't do it."]

I now proceed to the next issue—General Mahone. This issue he has forced into the canvass. I have shown, I think, why you should not endorse the Administration, but I will simply say here before I pass to another issue of this canvass, that if it were proper to endorse the Administration at all, why do so now? Mr. Arthur cannot pledge the republican party. Mr. Blaine cannot pledge his wing of the party. Neither one of them can mark out a policy towards the South and Southern people that the respective wings of the party would be bound by. Why, then, if you are going to endorse the administration of the Blaine wing of the party, do you want to do it now? When the canvass for '84 comes up and Mr. Arthur puts the candidate of his wing into the field, and Mr. Blaine puts his candidate into the field why each of them will want votes in the South, and if you readjusters stand firm you can control twelve electoral votes in Virginia. If, however, you are going to disband your organization, and go into the republican party, you gain nothing. When these people come to have their convention to put their nominees in the field in 1883, then they can pledge the respective wings of their parties towards the South. Suppose, then, in 1884 that Mr. Arthur should say, and his party with him, "If we can get any recognition in the South we will treat the South as any other part of the country; we will restore her to prosperity; we will bring about such a feeling in the North, and such action on the part of the Government, as will encourage the people of the South in their endeavors to make prosperous their section; we will stop the bloody shirt buisiness; we will stop all this degrading policy tward the South," they may then make a new departure and pledge the party to it, but they cannot do it now. So that I say if you are going to endorse the Administration, this is not the time to do it. Still General Mahone insists it must be done, and I think if it is not done that General Mahone will lose cast with Arthur, and he will lose his power, and that's what's the matter.

Fellow citizens, the next issue in this campaign is General Mahone. I have been the friend of General Mahone for ten years, as everybody knows; up to the last election, certainly. There is nothing personal between us now. I stood by him in his railroad fights, because I thought it was proper to put these railroads together. He came into our party in 1877. He was not in power then. I think he was greatly abused. I stood by him when he lost his railroads and when all his sunshinny frineds, who had enjoyed his free tickets, were going back on him and kicking him around. I then said I would not desert him; he had been my friend when he was in prosperity and I would die before I would desert him when he was in adversity. I said to myself, "anybody can kick a dead lion, but it takes a brave man to stand up and fight for a man when he is down in the ditch, and everybody is deserting him." I did stand by him. He had no power then. In order to gain power he was compelled to advocate those things which were really of interest to the people; popular things, popular measures. The very moment he got in power in, 1881, after we had gained the victory, then it was that he pursued a policy that I could not endorse, and one that no honest man could endorse if he understood it as I do. [Loud applause.]

General Mahone has forced himself into this canvass and, therefore, he is an issue. I do not speak of him as a man, but I speak of him as an issue in this canvass and in that view he is a legitimate subject of criticism. He invites criticism of his course, and I mean that he shall have it. [Cries of "Good," and "Give it to him," and loud applause.] Why would we endorse General Mahone? He has insisted, and it is the first instance, I believe, in the history of Virginia, where a Senator of the United States has either gone or sent his revenue gang all over the State to organize meetings for the gurpose of endorsing himself. [Laughter.] Why does he seek the endorsement of every little meeting in the State? Does anybody know? What has he done for Virginia that merits such distinguished consideration as the endorsement of every meeting in the State? Their coalition meeting starts out in this way: Resolved, first, that we do most heartily endorse our most excellent Senator of the United States—[Laugher]—in all things, and in his course in the Senate, and everywhere else." [Laughter.] That is about the way they all read.

Now, I ask why? Has he done anything for Virginia which would entitle him to endorsement? If not, why the endorsement? I will tell you what it is for. It is because he is very weak, and daily weakening, and these endorsements are sought in order to cover up that weakness; to bolster him up. [Cries of "Can't do it" and applause.]

Fellow citizens, I must hasten on. General Mahone has betrayed the cause of the readjusters and deserted the party. [Cries of "No doubt of it," and "That's so."] Do you endorse his action in leaving his seat on the second day of the session of this Congress, and going to Richmond, and assuming the general superintendency of the Legislature, remaining away from his duties in Washington five solid months for this purpose? [Cries of "No, no!"] Is that something you would endorse? [Cries of "Never! never!"[When the readjuster party, my friends, last year gained that victory, no party in the United States ever had such a grand prospect before it. We had a clean majority of both houses of the Legislature. We had the Governor, and the legislature was to elect a Court of Appeals. That gave the party every branch of the government. We had perfect harmony in our ranks. The people had marked out exactly what the legislature was to do, so that when it assembled at Richmond, it had nothing to do but to carry out the will of the people as expressed at the polls and come home. There was no complication at all. There was trouble; there were some miserable little offices to distribute; that gave some trouble. There were no complicated questions to be settled by the Legislature.

The Legislature met. It had hardly put its foot in Richmond, until there was Gen. Mahone, and there he remained. He had as complete control of that legislature as any man in this house ever had over his children. (Laughter and applause.) There is not a man in Virginia, who has had anything to do with the affairs of this party since the election except General Mahone. (Cries of "That's so,") He has had absolute control over it in every particular, generally and specially; and is to-day responsible for all the short-comings of the party, and its present condition (cries of "That's so;" "we'll squelch him.")

Now, what is its condition? It is enough to make any readjuster sick. (Cries of "That's true" Laughter and applause.) Torn into factions; the republicans who acted with us dissatisfied; the readjusters disheartened; everything out of joint. Such is the condition of, the party now. I have given you the condition of the party when he took charge of it at the last election.

Then, again I ask you, has he so administered the affairs of the readjuster party as to merit the endorsement of every little coalition meeting that has been held in the State or any other kind of meeting? Do you endorse his vote in the Tebbs case? He has had it endorsed at every meeting of the revenue gang, at every meeting but the one here. Why he did not have his action endorsed here I do not know. Now, why has he been so endorsed; and why did not this convention up here at Marion endorse him? Does anybody know? They did not do it. Cries of ("No and would not.") Now, then, I say why would you endorse Gen. Mahone.

I will go on a little further and show you why you should not do it. I say that he had absolute control of the legislature. That was not difficult to get. (Loud laughter.) Understand me now, that this Legislature was not inferior, so far as I know to other legislatures, but it is not difficult for any man in Gen. Mahone's situation to get control of any Legislature in the United States. There are various ways of doing it? I will tell you how he got control of this. That he did get control of it no one will deny; not even the members of the Legislature. (Laughter.) A Senator in that body told me that no act could be passed nor could any officer be elected by the Legislature to whom Gen. Mahone might be opposed. So that he had control of it. But how? Well, when the Legislature met, it was, like all Legislatures. It was composed of three classes. The first was a class of men who had never been accustomed to talking in public, although they might be good and solid men; men, however, who always wanted somebody to think for them, to speake for them. That class of men very naturally soon became the followers of other men in the Legislature who did think, who did study, and who acted and spoke. [Laughter.] Then there was another class who went there to frolic, to get drunk; who wanted to have a good time generally, and they wanted, and needed some body to think and act for them, to call them in when anything important was about to be acted on; to tell them how to vote and then after they had voted to let them go out again and take another drink. [Great laughter.] These two classes were in this Legislature as in all others, the most common. Then there was a third class, composed generally of about 20 or 30, who as a rule remained in their seats; studied every question that came up; who could express their views; and who, if left alone, would have become the leaders of this, as such class does of all Legislatures; one or two and becoming more prominent than the others. That is the condition of things when left alone from extraneous influences. When this Legislature met, it did not have a single man in it who had any reputation, or who was of any special consequence as a leader. [Laughter.] That might be, you know. That is so in the case of every new Legislature pretty much.

Now Gen. Mahone had acquired a great reputation as a leader in the field; not so much as a legislator, because I believe he never was in the Legislature but once probably, but these gentlemen took it for granted, especially the new members, that he was a great leader generally. Accordingly as soon as he reached there, all of these two classes that I tell you wanted leaders put off for Gen. Mahone and expressed their willingness to follow him. That left about fifteen or twenty people who would have become leaders of the Legislature, but their followers were all gone, and so they had nothing to do but to put off to Gen. Mahone, also, [Laughter], and so, therefore, before that Legislature was half way through with its sessions these men went as regularly to Gen. Mahone's headquarters for their orders for the day as the soldier goes to his ration. [Great laughter and applause.] This is a true picture, gentlemen. I merely go through this now to show you how he got control of the Legislature; not charging him with using any money, or anything of that kind. He got control of it, however, and having gotten control of it, I say he is responsible for every act of that Legislature.

I propose now to come on down to some other matters.

I now come to the caucus. That is another issue in the canvass. Gen. Mahone insists that the caucus rules shall be made an issue in this canvass. I have done all I could to keep them out of it. That matter has nothing to do with this canvass; no more to do with it than Gen. Mahone; but Gen. Mahone insists that all of the dirty linen of the last Legislature shall be brought before the people and washed. [Laughter.] He having brought the issue, it is here, and you cannot avoid it. I shall now proceed to take up some of the caucus measures. You have all heard a great deal about the caucus rules. That, gentlemen, is this. You have an Auditor and Treasuer; a second auditor, a Superintendent of the Penitentiary. Each one of these officers has under him a certain number of clerks, or employees. The law imposes the duty upon the Auditor and these other officers to appoint their own clerks. Gen. Mahone asserted the right of the caucus to assume to itself the power of appointing the clerks of these several heads of the department, instead of allowing them to appoint them themselves as the law directed. This is a caucus rule. It originated in this way, before the Legislature met, Gen. Mahone prepared a rule to be adopted by the caucus, which was to the effect that no man should be elected Auditor or to any other office who did not subscribe to the doctrine that the caucus itself had the right to appoint the clerks. I say that this rule was prepared by Gen. Mahone before the Legislature met, because a Senator told me he saw and read the rule in Gen. Mahone's office before the meeting of that body. Gen. Mahone had a little caucus of members before the meeting of the Legislature, and said to them, "Don't you want these little offices, these clerkships for your people. If you let Massey and these other men appoint them, they will appoint their friends, and you will not get any of them. These fellows said "Yes, certainly we would like to have them." Tickling these men with the idea of their getting these little places for their constituents, every fellow went in for the rule. They did not know anything of the evil consequences of this rule, or the wrong of it.

Before I go further, my friends I want to say at this point, that in the Legislature, preceeding the last this same question of taking away from the Auditor and other officers the right to appoint their own subordinates, and to transfer that right to an irresponsible caucus was proposed, and it was defeated. After the county judges had been elected, and Mr. Massey and and other officers refused to submit to that rule, they were summoned by direction of Gen. Mahone, to appear before the caucus and show cause why they should not be removed. [Laughter.] They did appear, and then came up the fight. I had the honor of leading the opposition to the enforcement of that rule, and it was defeated in the caucus. Two years ago, the last Legislature met. If the doctrine that a caucus can make its acts binding upon a party, and that every man who does not submit to them, is to be read out of the party, and declared to be a traitor, then the man who re-introduced and had adopted this rule after its being rejected as wrong two years ago by the caucus, is guilty of treason. [Cries of "good. That's so" and applause.[

I say you have the rule adopted, and that is the way in which it was done. Gen. Mhone prepared the rule. Gen. Mahone submitted the rule to the caucus the very first night they got there, and they adopted it. Then it began to leake out that Mr. Massey would not retain the office. He was already in it, but he wouldn't retain it with any such restriction upon him as to the selection of his aids. Then Gen. Mahone began to appeal to the caucus to know whether they would not stand firm, eighty of them, or would they be ruled by one man. You see how it was, he brought the fight on. He is behind, he is bringing on a fight between Mr. Massey and the caucus; and I will show you presently the real purpose. As I say he appealed to the caucus to know whether they would stand firm, or yield to one man. They said "No," we will stand firm. "Then commenced the trouble. Out of that act of Gen. Mahone, gentlemen, has grown all the trouble in the readjuster party.

This caucus rule has a public history and it has a private history. The public history that you have heard of is that to the action of the caucus that claimed the right to appoint the clerks in the Auditor's office Mr. Massey would not agree. Mr. Massey was the auditor and he had the right to run the office in his own way. He knew what qualifications were required of the clerks; he knew that the caucus was not a fit body to select these subordinates, and he accordingly very properly rebelled; and for such resistance to as great a wrong is that, he ought to, as he no doubt does receive the sincere thanks of every honest Virginian. (Loud applause,)

There, gentlemen, is the history of all this trouble. What do you think of it? A party rent and torn to pieces at the very moment of its triumph by an effort to deprive as important an officer as the Auditor of Virginia of the privilege of appointing trusty and efficient men to assist him in caring for the funds of the State. Because of this very commendable action on the part of Mr. Massey is be denounced as a traitor; the names of Arnold, Judas, Guiteau, used in connection with his. Shame on the heads of those who thus defame him, and all honor to our candidate, Massey. (Great cheering for Massey.) I did not endorse that rule my friends. I had fought it two years before, and Gen. Mahone knew when he got the rule up, it never would be endorsed by the people; that it never could be sustained. The public history of this thing shows that Mr. Massey has been guilty of treason to the party because he would not permit Gen. Mahone to force upon him these odious conditions which would strip HIM of the power of PUTTING in his own assistants; strip him of the power of protecting himself in office.

That is the treason. It was not the caucus.—There was not a member of the Legislature who went to Richmond that would have introduced that rule, or thought about it. It was not offered by any member of the Legislature except by the direction of Gen. Mahone. That is the truth.—Let them deny it. I know who introduced it, and where he got it. (Laughter and applause.) I say, then, that it originated with Gen. Mahone; and this whole war was brought about and inaugurated by Gen. Mahone, and for what? Because, if the public history of the thing be true, Mr. Massey would not allow the caucus to have the appointment to eleven petty clerkships in his office.—Here we have an Ex Senator; our great and grand leader, and all of our other leaders, assembled in Richmond, and an internal war of the bloodest kind inaugurated, all because Mr. Massey would not allow eleven clerkships under him to be filled by an irresponsible body with irresponsible and inefficient men. That is the casus belli. (Laughter.)

Now, let me show you something. Do you suppose that Gen. Mahone would come down here and have all these troubles and these trials; all the disgraceful scenes that we have had in Richmond, just because the caucus wanted to rob the Auditor of the right to fill eleven little offices.—Is that all there is in it? Not at all. That is simply a pretext. It was Mahone's pretext to bring on a war between Massey and the caucus. Massey had been eulogized all over this State as the best Auditor the people ever saw. Both sides conceded that. (Cries of "That's so," and cheers for Massey.) He had been in this cause from its inception. I had the honor of fighting side by side with him for 10 or 12 years. We had fought side by side in this cause when there was no earthly hope of getting an office: when no paper in the State advocated it; when it was a little bit of a thing, and when its flag was not bigger than a pocket handkerchief; when a man would scarcely dare advocate the cause in Richmond. We went on until 1877, when we succeeded in building this cause up and giving it a place, and when we invited into it Mahone, who had been persecuted by the five or six candidates who had run for Governor. That is the first time he ever came into its ranks.

Gen. Mahone saw that Massey was getting a strong-hold upon the people; that he had collected more money than anybody else; collected it more promptly; that he had multiplied the schools; that he was making the Auditor's office an institution that we could all point to with pride, as we did in the last canvass; so much so that when they would tree us on every other question, we could point to the Auditor's office and say, "Look how we are doing there; if we had all the branches of the Government, see what we could do." I say Massey was getting up, and he had to be gotten out of the way. Mahone wanted to elect a particular man Senator. He knew that he could not do it while Massey held his position there with the Legislature that was to meet. He found it necessary, therefore, to get up a fight between Massey and the appointing power of the Senate of the United States. And that was the purpose of this caucus rule. He knew that Massey never would submit to it, and therefore, in that way, he could get rid of him. He knew of no other man in the State worthy of the place who would take the office stripped of all the powers of protection from thieves.

The rule was adopted by the caucus, and when the time came for the election of Senator, Massey went by the board in the caucus, and his particular favorite was put in. That is one cause. Another is this: It will not be long before Mahone's own successor will have to be elected. Massey, conceded to be the best auditor the State ever had, was fast gaining a hold on the hearts of the people, and becoming a formidable candidate as Senator, even against Mahone himself. When he came to elect his own successor, therefore, it was necessary to get rid of Massey. Besides that. Gen. Mahone has shown that he doesn't want any man in the party who has any manhood. (Cries of "That's so," "you have hit him this time," and vociferous cheering.) Who has any independence. (Cries of "That's so," and renewed applause.) So he continued the war. Then came on the dead-lock. There were some men in that Legislature, God be praised, who could not submit to the will of this tyrant Mahone. [Applause.] Then came on the dead-lock, followed by the most disgraceful scenes that have been wttnessed in Richmond.

After Mahone entered the U. S. Senate he sought to have his favorite elected Sergeant-at-Arms of the Senate. In this effort he was defeated. [Applause.]

As I say, this was continued. Gen. Mahone did not return to the U. S. Senate himself after achieving this wonderful feat of defeating Massey for the Senate of the U. S. Not at all. But he staid at Richmond They said, "Why this old man is ambitious; he wants office; he will break up the party but what he will get it. Remember, he was offered the Auditor's office, though with conditions. He was good enough for that office; he could have the office if he would only take it with the conditions, and let the caucus furnish him with his clerks, Mahone being the caucus. Had he done that he would have been a very good man. But being a man as he is, every inch a man, [loud applause,] he said, "I do not want the office with the degrading conditions, and will not take it." (Applause.] Thereupon they said "You are a traitor; you are Arnold; you are Judas; you are Guiteau." [Laughter.] Certainly that was it. He could have had the office if he had, like some other people, not cared whether thieves and imbeciles were selected as his clerks or not. Gentlemen, this Auditor's office handles nearly $3,000,000 annually. All of the revenues of the State go through this office. Upon such an officer, with such awful responsibility, sought this caucus to impose clerks who might prove to be robbers and imbeciles, responcible to no one; recommended by no one as to probity and efficiency.

Like a faithful, honest, and efficient officer, looking only to the welfare of the people and the responsibility of his office, Massey spurned the offer; resented the insult to himself and the State of Virginia, [loud applause,] and preserved his manhood and the respect of every true citizen. [Prolonged applause.]

As I have said, came the dead-lock in the Legislature. There were some members of the Legislature who refused longer to bow the knee to this tyrant. Loud applause.] Instantly is the cry raised of traitor! A man was expected to have no freedom of thought; to exercise no judgment of his own. Some men, however, are so constituted that they cannot do this, and happily some of those men found their way into the Legislature For them, with the consciousness of right on their side, the cry of "treason" and "traitor" had no terror.

Mahone was now desperate; there was the dead-lock; it must be broken, or all his personal schemes would fail; how could it be done; every means conceivable that could possibly be resorted to was resorted to, but all to no purpose; the evil character of the man and his dangerous propositions were disclosed, and there was no help for him.

Still he persevered; still he sought for means. At last he thought he espied a way. Among other members of the Legislature was a Mr. Wingfield, a republican. Mr. Wingfield was a funder He acted with the democrats in preference to the readjusters, and voted with them. They wanted to get Mr. Wingfield's vote, and they thought they could do it and thus break the dead-lock, and beat Massey. He was very small at first. To beat Massey they sent a delegation to New York to see Mr. Huntington, who is the President of the Chesapeake and Ohio Railroad and they spent eight days with him. Mr. Wickam, of Virginia, is the Vice President of the Chesapeake and Ohio Railroad Co. Mr. Huntington really owns the road, or his syndicate does. Mr. Wickham and Mr. Wingfield lived in the same neighborhood. Mr. Wickham has a very great influence with Mr. Wingfield. Follow me a little. As I said there was a delegation sent to New York to get Mr. Huntington to bring the power and influence that the Presidency of that road gave him over Mr Wickham, the Vice President, to bear upon Mr. Wingfield to get him over to the other side to break the dead-lock Now mind you Mr. Wickham is a straightout republican funder of Virginia, and so is Mr. Wingfield. And here is a combination formed by Mahone with Wickham and Wingfield, republican funders. To do what? Why, to whip Massey. Then they go to Mr. Wingfield and they get him over, and he does vote with them; they brack the dead-lock, and they elected Allen, Auditor. What did they promise Wingfield as an inducement for him to vote with them—that they would leave a judge on the bench in Richmond who was a particular friend of his.

They failed to keep this promise, however, and Mr. Wingfield seeing how they had proved false to him, refused longer to act with them; he went back and remained with the democrats.

When Mr. Massey, the Big Four, and these other people act in this way they are denounced as traitors. That may be treason; prooably it was. If they had any combinations between them it was treason What is to be said then of the other side; of General Mahone when he goes to New York, and makes a combination with Mr. Wickham, and Mr. Huntington, and Mr. Wingfield. There is no treason in that, I suppose? It is not treason for them, for Gen Mahone to combine with funders and republican funders but treason for anybody else to do so.

Now, we go on. Then was it for the combinations with these republican funders that Gen. Mahone is to be endorsed in his conduct in bringing on this fight? They went on and in the same line; they wanted to get the railroad influence, and so Gen Mahone forms an alliance with what is known as the Clyde Syndicate, and they were to lend him all the influence they had. This Legislature was pledged by him, as I understand. I suppose it will not be denied that he had pledged that railroad company all the legislation it wanted for its influence That was to bring in now the money power. As I say they promised them all the legislation they wanted. What legislation did they want? Why, for years the Danville Railroad, which is a part and parcel of the Clyde Syndicate had had a bill before that Legislature, asking the privilege of paying the debt it owed to the State of $600,000 or $700,000 with the bonds of the State. That was to let it go and buy up the bonds at 30 and 40 cents on the dollar, and pay its debt, which would be done in a few years with them. For four or five years I stood up in the Legislature and was one, with others, to defeat the measure when it came before this Legislature; however, in order to defeat Massey a combination was made with that syndicate, by which they were promised this legislation, and the bill was passed by this Legislature in accordance with that understandiug, by means of which the State lost from $200,000 to $300,000. I could tell a great deal more about this, and I may have to do it after awhile. There was a lobby there every year; a lobby there at that Legislature to lobby it through; a heavy lobby.

Two years ago I was utterly astonished one day when I found Gen. Mahone's particular friends and pets up