The Indiana State Sentinel.

VOL. XXIII—NO. 49 INDIANAPOLIS, TUESDAY, JULY 21, 1874. WHOLE NUMBER 1,759.

THE REPUBLICAN ADDRESS

DEMOCRACY AND REPUBLICANISM CONTRASTED.

THE RECORD MADE BY THE TWO PARTIES—THE ISSUES BEFORE THE NATION DISCUSSED.

To the People of the United States:

You will soon proceed to select your representatives for a new congress. The occasion invites us to submit for your inspection the record of republican achievements since the party was called to the administration of national affairs. We seize the opportunity to avow that record, not to apologize for it. We challenge your approval, not your pardon.

The obligations of government and people, like the obligations of servant and master, are mutual.

The government, like the servant, owes faithful service. But the people, like the master, owe honest recognition of faithful service. Every thoughtful employer knows that he can not with impunity decry faithful labor. He who does so habitually will soon have no faithful laborers. The faithful servant will not submit to be treated as a faithless one. If so treated, he himself will become faithless, or he will give place to one who is faithless.

DEMOCRATIC STATESMANSHIP.

It is thirteen years since the republican party was first called to the administrationn of the national government. For more than thirty years previously the government has been almost uninterruptedly under democratic control. Of that control there is hardly a memory left at which the nation should not blush. Seemingly, it was inspired by but one ambition—the bad ambition to make our foreign policy as ignoble as our home policy was shameless. Our intercourse with powers weaker than ourselves was spirited enough. We bullied Austria out of a Hungarian refugee. We despoiled Mexico of a portion of her territory. We demolished Greytown. We jingled millions in the ears of Spain as a lure for Cuba, and the bribe was spurned.

In 1854 three of our ministers abroad assembled at Ostend and issued a manifesto, in which they declared: "After we shall have offered Spain a price for Cuba far beyond its present value, and this shall have been refused, then it will be time to consider this question: Does Cuba in the possession of Spain seriously endanger our internal peace and the existence of our cherishen union? Should this question be answered in the affirmative, then by every law, human and divine, we shall be justified in wresting it from Spain if we possess the power."

It adds piquancy to that extract to know that two of the ambassadors who, in 1854, could think of no way of saving "our cherished union" but to wrest Cuba from Spain, were Pierre Soule and John Y. Mason. The third was James Buchanan.

But during all that time, and in spite of all that gasconade, there was not a single naturalized citizen who could safely revisit his birthplace, for there was not one whose citizenship was not absolutely denied by the sovereign under whose dominion he was born.

No American, native or naturalized, could send a letter abroad except upon onerous conditions. We had then formed postal conventions with but seven foreign countries.

The lowest rate of postage stipulated in those conventions was ten cents for a letter weighing not more than one-half ounce. The highest rate of postage for the same letter was thirty cents.

We tamely relinquish to Great Britain a portion of our territory in the Northeast; another and a larger portion in the Northwest. We described the line agreed upon in the Northwest so loosely that Great Britain immediately laid claim to large islands on our side of it. That insulting claim was neither resisted nor admitted. It was compromised by permitting the claimant to hold armed possession of one end of San Juan, the most valuable of those islands, while we quietly squatted on the other end. And while by successive concessions we were constantly adding to the area of the Canadas, we stupidly relinquished to their products free access to our markets, as the equivalent of being allowed to send similar products from the Northwest through Canada channels, to such precarious markets as they could find on the other side of the Atlantic.

Such were the achievements of our diplomacy during these years of democratic supremacy.

CHEAP GOVERNMENT.

The story of our home rule would be sadder still, if anything sadder could be.

It has been loudly vaunted that those were cheap administrations. Compared with the expenditures of these times they were cheap, very cheap. Compared with their worth to the country they were probably the most profligate the world ever saw. They cost the people from $50,000,000 to $75,000,000 per annum. Those millions maintained for us the empty pageant we called government. It was the worst pageant that could be contrived. It was not even showy: it was vulgar. It had all the features of a government, but without its faculties. There were the three regular organs—Legislative, Executive, Judicial. There was a constant succession of Congresses, Presidents and Courts. The courts of course were useful in hearing and determining private controversies. But what is there to show from the labors of the political departments? It seemed to be the sole end, if not the sole aim, of government to collect money enough yearly to pay itself. It did not always succeed in doing that, as many loan bills enacted in times of profound peace still bears witness. Indeed, that party was peculiarly embarrassed in the collection of revenue. It dared not levy a tax except on the importation of a foreign commodity; and it always dreaded to tax the importation of a foreign commodity lest it might unwittingly promote some domestic industry. No well educated democrat could tolerate such a result. So deficient revenues were, from time to time, aided by loans. Such was the case in 1841, 1842 and 1846.

The first act, passed at the first session of the thirty-fifth congress, authorized the issue of Treasury notes, and almost the last act of the same session authorized a loan. In June, 1860, a further loan of $21,000,000 was authorized, and on the 8th of February, 1861, an appeal was made to the market for $25,000,000 more.

Through all those years Congress assembled annually. The long sessions were extended over periods of seven, eight and nine months. But, long or short, the sessions produced little in the way of legislation beyond the tax and appropriation bills. The talk endured for months; the work was accomplished in weeks. The first session of the thirty-second congress was prolonged until the 31st of August. The acts passed embrace 144 pages of the statutes. All but the first 37 pages are covered by acts approved on the last two days of the session. Earlier administration had planted the national capital, had framed the leading features of our land system, had dedicated liberal portions of our public domain to the cause of popular education, and had commenced the Cumberland road and other works of internal improvement. When, after nearly thirty years of misrule, you drove the democratic party from power, the Cumberland road was still unfinished, and the party had been educated to believe that the national government had no constitutional power to complete such work.

That singular faith did not prevent the party from entering upon such works, but, seemingly, only from completing them. They did not refrain from making appropriations, even for improving rivers and harbors. Sometimes such appropriations were made regularly and sometimes irregularly. Apparently they were scrupulous only that appropriations should be made at such times, in such sums, and for such purposes as would promote commerce least and party interest most. On the approaches to Wilmington, N. C., appropriations were made at various times, amounting to more than $300,000. Wilmington has swelled from a population of 7,000 in 1850, to 13,000 in 1870. On the Red river in Louisiana there was expended at different times more than $500,000. The river washes eight counties of the state of Louisiana. Those eight counties had a population in 1840 of 54,000; in 1870 of 166,000. On the harbor of Chicago, which is the gateway to the northwest, the home of millions, they doled out appropriations amounting to $217,000. On the harbor at Milwaukee they appropriated, in 1844, $20,000. Eight years later they resumed the work, apparently with the determination of completing it; $15,000 were appropriated that year. The year following they appropriated the munificent sum of $163 94, and then rested from that labor. Congress voted other appropriations for similar works, which encountered the executive veto; and democratic representatives, finding they must either disobey president or people, decided to disobey the latter and obey the former.

THE LOUISVILLE CANAL.

The great natural highway, the Ohio river, along which is poured a commerce of incalculable value, was obstructed by a rapid near Louisville. The interests of that commerce required a canal to be built around those rapids. Congress did not assume that duty, nor even let it alone. The state of Kentucky chartered a company to construct that canal and to toll the commerce of the Ohio. The United States aspired to the dignity of a stockholder in that company, and achieved it. The government took and paid for 2,902 shares at $100 each. Private parties took 7,098 shares. The canal was built, the tolls were fixed, commerce bled, and the company's treasury filled. The revenues were so large, it seems a pity the government should share them. But as a stockholder the government was entitled to nearly one-third of the net revenues. The government was not represented in the management of the company. That was governed by five directors, each of whom was a stockholder. Those directors concluded they could make a better use of the revenues than to divide them with the government. To that end they resolved the canal ought to be made free. In order that it might become free it was resolved that the net revenues should be applied to the purchase of the private stock. Having found a market for the stock, there was nothing left but to fix the price of it. That was modestly set by the directors at only fifty per cent. premium.

Kentucky sanctioned the arrangement; the United States was not consulted. But it was evident that if the earnings which belonged to the United States were appropriated to purchase private stock, the United States would soon own a majority of the stock. To avoid such a catastrophe Kentucky required the directors to pay for the stock with government funds, but to have the stock transferred to the directors, who should hold in trust for the United States, but vote on it as the legislation of Kentucky required.

In pursuance of these directions, the directors proceeded to apply the surplus earnings to the purchase of the private stock. Between 1842 and 1855 they paid for such stock, of the par value of $709,800, the sum of $1,709,262. Then the directors admitted they had received enough, and notified the secretary of the treasury they were ready to transfer the canal to the custody of the "general government so soon as the department may be prepared to receive it." But it happened that at that time the secretary was also a Kentuckian. He evidently felt that he could take some liberties with his friends. He accordingly replied that congress had not authorized the acceptance, "but requested the president and directors each to retain one share, (for eligibility), and to manage it under the charter until authority might by law be conferred on the department to receive it." The president and directors very promptly acceded to that request. It should be noticed that the conduct of the secretary exhibits an instance of deference to legislative authority on the part of a high executive officer which is believed to be quite unique. He could not feel free to take charge of the canal himself, because congress had not told him to do so; accordingly he gave it to his friends. Such exhibitions of scrupulous regard for the limits of jurisdiction are seldom witnessed. It is gratifying to know that this one was duly rewarded. When the distinguished secretary retired from the treasury he was made president of the canal company.

Of the subsequent management it is only necessary to state that the directors at once reduced the rate of tolls 50 per cent. But as the canal was only two miles long, and there were only five directors, they could manage to spend for their own salaries and that of their assistants but $44,012 per annum, to which they added $22,000 for contingencies; consequently the revenues accumulated in the treasury of the company. To make that money useful, the directors organized themselves into a savings bank, and then the canal company deposited their surplus with the banking company. If the latter received as much for the use of the revenues as the former did for collecting, they ought to have been content. But avarice rarely is content. This anomalous corporation, with one head, one body, but two faces, was not content. When it was ascertained how profitable they could make money derived from the work they did not own, they desired to get more money.

They hit upon the expedient of hypothecating the canal, and raising money under pretense of enlarging it. In 1860 congress authorized the directors, "with the revenue and credits of the company, to enlarge the said canal." Under that act the company mortgaged the work for some $2,000,000, and it is not yet known whether the government will be able to recover it or not.

OTHER SPECIMENS OF DEMOCRATIC RULE.

That party did not overturn our land system, notwithstanding it was a very good one. During the year 1841 the system was much improved; that must be confessed. But the Democratic party was not in power that year. We ought also gratefully to remember that the grants of lands made for educational purposes were not repealed. The fact furnishes a striking illustration of sparing mercy. But the phenomenon is not difficult to explain. Such grants were made only to states in which the lands were. Such lands were found for the most part only in new states. The new states were very unanimously democratic in politics. The states receiving the grants could alone administer them, and the party seems to have felt confident that grants so administered would not promote the cause of education more than grants of money had promoted the cause of commerce. All who are familiar with the early experiences of the school funds in the Southern and some of the Western States, will need no other assurance that that confidence was not misplaced.

The capital was not transplanted. But when the democratic party retired from control in 1861 scarcely a building belonging to the government was finished. Perhaps, however, the party would have avoided that cause of reproach if they had earlier formed the design of transferring those buildings to the use of another government.

Armies were then maintained. Their ranks were thin, but they were sumptuously officered—officered far too largely by those who had been educated in every soldierly grace save that of allegiance.

A navy was suffered to exist. But as it was found a little too loyal to desert its flag, and a little too gallant to surrender it, when the hour of national peril had arrived that navy was scattered in remote seas.

DO-NOTHING POLICY.

The president of those half-forgotten years were all diligent by annual and special messages, to explain why the federal government could do nothing. Like two brothers engaged in the temperance cause, one of whom lectured on the evils of intemperance, while the other furnished a shocking example, so democratic presidents were perennially eloquent in expounding the impotency of the national government, while democratic congresses were as persistent in illustrating it.

The pretext for this strange sluggishness was an amiable one. Constitutional inhibitions were pleaded in excuse for all omissions. They constantly neglected great national interests, because they feared to infringe upon the prerogative of states; they proclaimed themselves the champions of the state rights; they arrogated to themselves the name of the state rights party.

It was a spacious pretense, but it was utterly insincere. So long as our archives remain, so long that very party will be known as the one which struck the foulest blow at the rights of states which could be contrived.

That is the party which, on the 18th of September, 1860, wrote the fugitive slave act in the statute book. By that act the United States commanded the federal courts to multiply court commissioners without limit. By that act the United States offered such commissioners a clean bounty of five dollars each for certificates that residents of Massachusetts, or any other state, were fugitives from Texas or some other state; and, when such a certificate was obtained, pledged all its forces to remove such residents to the state wherein he was claimed, which made that certificate, so purchased of such hucksters, conclusive evidence of the right to remove, and commanded every tribunal within the insulted state to be still, and all its citizens to aid the outrage—a statute the very first victim of which was a free man from Pennsylvania, who, being declared a fugitive by a five-dollar commissioner, was transported to Virginia by the United States, and finding no man there base enough to claim him, he was allowed to get back at his own expense.

In all those years the national character had not been raised an inch. On the contrary, through them all it had fallen constantly lower and lower.

When England and France proposed, in 1852, to join with the United States in mutual renunciation of all designs on Cuba, an American secretary of state did not hesitate to assign as a reason for refusing to join such a convention, "that it would give a new and powerful impetus" to attacks "on the island of Cuba by lawless bands of adventurers from the United States, with the avowed design of taking possession of the island"—attacks which, he argued, no administration would be strong enough to resist.

NO POWER TO SAVE THE GOVERNMENT.

A government which denied its rights to aid commerce over the Des Moines rapids, and which advertised its impotency to control its own fillibusters, could hardly be expected to make a becoming figure when confronted with war. When, therefore, in 1861, the standard of rebellion was raised, and state after state wheeled defiantly into the ranks of revolt, it was, perhaps, not so very surprising that one-half of the democratic party joined the revolt, while the other half exclaimed it could not be resisted—not so very surprising that the six per cent. bonds issued in February, 1861, were sold at a discount of six per cent., and not so very surprising that Great Britain should have proclaimed the rebels to be lawful beligerants before she knew a gun had been fired.

But it was surprising that a president of the United States should address a special message to congress to persuade the public that although the rebellion was illegal, yet the government had no right to suppress it: for by that act he introduced to the world a government, the like of which had never before been seen—a government against which it was unlawful to revolt, and by which it was unlawful to suppress revolt. Such a government is described nowhere in political history, save in the message of President Buchanan.

Such was the style of administration to which the republican party succeeded on the 4th of March, 1861. The party was instructed to but one duty. As you had never known the national government to do anything, you evidently did not expect it to do much. You simply commanded it to save your territories from the deflement of slavery; that was all.

That command has been fulfilled There is no slavery in any of your territories. That will scarcely be denied, even by the opposition journals. There is just as little slavery in any of the states. Something more than you then thought possible has been accomplished.

OTHER THINGS ACCOMPLISHED.

But there is no need to dwell upon the national achievements of the last thirteen years—they were too conspicuous not to have been seen; they are too recent to be forgotten. It will suffice to present a schedule of the leading events

At home and abroad the Union was proclaimed to be disolved in 1861. The Union is restored now.

Nine states then claimed to have left the protection of the constitution forever. They have all returned to that protection now "Those that thou gavest me I have kept, and none is lost," said the Saviour of man. The republican party has preserved more than the states yet committed to its keeping. It has found those that were lost.

In 1861 the "confederate states of America," so called, were clamoring for admission into the family of nations. There is no longer any such pretense. Each one of those great, but misguided, communities now has honorable recognition as an integral part of the United States.

A race numbering millions has been raised from the condition of chatels to the state of man. Human rights have gained the sanction of three new chapters added to the national constitution. Murder organized in several States, bearing the name of Kuklux, wearing the garb and plying the trade of fiends, has been exposed, convicted, punished.

Abroad our career has been scarcely less triumphant. Great Britain has corrected the mistake she made when she assumed that the appearance of the confederate states was the sure premonition of the departure of the United States. She has done what Great Britain never did before—she has apologized for a mistake. Out of that mistake has sprung a new era in diplomacy.

Without the employment of force, but peaceably, the republic which was defied by her own citizens, and despised everywhere in 1861, has led Great Britain voluntarily to submit her conduct to the judgment of nations, and in pursuance of their judgment, she has paid a fine of fifteen millions for the wrong she did us.

That is not all. Those islands to which she made claim on our northwest coast are relinquished. That claim Great Britain submitted to the judgment of the emperor of North Germany, and submitted herself to the mortification of being told to surrender it. She was not awarded an equivalent for it. She was simply told she had claimed great possessions to which she had no right.

That is not all. If there ever was one principle of English jurisprudence which England believed to be irreversible and unalterable, it was the principle that a British-born subject could never change his allegiance. "Once a Briton, always a Briton," was a law she held to be fixed as gravitation. She fought one war with us in defence of it. But after seeing our pitiful army of 11,000 men suddenly swollen by volunteers to nearly 1,000,000, she wisely concluded it was not worth while to fight another war in defense of that principle, and by peaceful negotiation she has repealed the law she so long and so obstinately held to be irrepealable. Germany has followed that wise example, or rather set the example Belgium, Sweden, Norway and Denmark have done the same, and now when the republic grants the boon of citizenship to one of Irish, English, German or Scandinavian birth, the grant is recognized in the land of his nativity.

OUR POWER VINDICATED.

When, in October last, a Spanish vice consul in Cuba so far forgot the respect due to the United States as to seize upon a vessel sailing under the protection of her flag, Spain promptly, without firing a gun or spilling a drop of blood, made that honorable reparation which every just government is glad to make for a wrong done.

MATERIAL DEVELOPMENT.

And this is not all. Our material development has kept pace with our political reforms, and despite the discouragement to immigration, and the positive drain of a great war lasting four years, our population increased between 1860 and 1870 more than seven millions. The increase was but a little more than eight millions during the previous decade. In spite of the enormous cost of that same war, both in money and in muscle, our lines of completed railways have increased from 31,000 miles, at the close of 1861, to almost 72,000, at the close of 1873. One iron track spans the continent; others are projected and more or less advanced in construction. That vast region between the Rocky Mountain range and the Sierra Nevadas, which was almost unknown in 1861, is now traversed by highways in every direction, and its geography is as familiar to our children as the geography of New England was to the children of 1861. And here, within this very republic, which thirteen years ago the faithless democracy turned over to the republican party for burial, capital has combined to construct more miles of railway than all the rest of the world possesses. Harbors and rivers have been improved, and the trade of our western lakes and rivers now employs a commercial marine exceeding 1,200,000 tons.

Enlarged facilities for trade have swelled the volume of trade.

PUBLIC CREDIT ADVANCED.

Two facts are sufficiently eloquent of our national growth. First—The six per cent. bonds issued in February, 1861, sold for ninety-four cents on the dollar. The nation then owed but $60,000,000. The same bonds sold in June, 1874, as high as 122½ cents on the dollar, in currency, or a fraction over 110 in gold, although the nation then owed $2,000,000,000. Second—The value of annual exports of domestic commodities increased from $373,000,000 in 1860 to $649,000,000 in 1873, being an increase during the period of $276,000,000.

There are those bold enough to assert that the country is now governed worse instead of better than formerly. Some may be found weak enough to believe such assertions. But it requires a great deal of declamation to prove that the day is cold when the mercury stands at 98 in the shade. The mercury won't lie. Men, unhappily, sometimes do. And it will require a great deal of rhetoric to persuade this country that it is being ruined by a government which in thirteen years has advanced its credit throughout the money markets of the world fully thirty-three per cent., and has nearly trebled its surplus productions.

LAND POLICY.

But this is not all. Since the advent of the republican party the finishing touches have been given to our land system. It was long ago adjudged that $1 25 was a full equivalent for an acre of the public domain. Accordingly that was fixed as the minimum price. That gave to government $200 for a quarter section of land. But republicanism adjudged that a farmer was more worth to the country than $200, and so it has tendered a homestead not exceeding 160 acres to every head of a family who will make a farm upon it. And in view of a fact which no state can afford to overlook, to wit: That a successful agriculture is the primal necessity and grand inspiration of every other industry, and that, to be truly successful, agriculture, like every other craft should be learned, prosperous colleges have been endowed out of the public domain, wherein field culture may be reared from the rank of a craft to the dignity of a science; to the grandeur even of an art.

But, as establishing the future land policy of the republican party, the following resolution of the House of Representatives is submitted:

Resolved, That in the judgment of this house the policy of granting subsidies in public land to railroad and other corporations ought to be discontinued; and that every consideration of public policy and equal justice to the whole people requires that the public lands of the United States should be held for the exclusive purpose of securing homesteads to actual settlers, under the homestead and pre-emption laws, subject to reasonable appropriations of such lands for educational purposes.

THE UNION PRESERVED.

Fellow-citizens, when you committed the Union to the keeping of the republican party, it seemed on the verge of dissolution Many hoped and some feared it had received an incurable wound. We present the Union to you to-day every whit whole. The republic is at peace throughout all her borders; she is at peace with all the world. Her rightful authority is disputed nowhere; her opinions are respected everywhere. She stands in the very vanguard of sovereign states. We challenge history to produce another instance of a country raised from such humiliation to such grandeur in so short a time. And this transformation has been wrought not merely without the aid of the democratic party, but in spite of its utmost hostility.

THE OPPOSITION REVIEWED

You have seen the shortcomings of that party in administration. Its faults in opposition have been still more glaring. Perhaps they can be forgiven for allowing the ship of state to drift so near the rocks. But how can they be forgiven their struggles to prevent her from being snatched from that peril? That charity which delights to think no evil may excuse their omission to lift the country, upon the plea of incompetency; but not charity itself can see anything but malignancy in their persistent efforts to prevent the country from being lifted. The world does not resent but rather pities, the helpless crew under whose seamanship Jesus sailed for the country of the Nazarenes. It is plain that they could not still the winds which threatened to sink the ship. But if they had attempted to throw the Savior overboard when he appeared to rebuke those impious winds, the world would have known no pity for the crew. And that is the great democratic offense which still smells to heaven: not that they did nothing for the country, but that they fiercely opposed everything that was done for the country. It would not be quite true to say that the democratic party opposed the national effort to suppress the rebellion; that would have been high treason. It would be quite as far from the truth to say that they promoted that effort. The rebellion could not have lasted two years had the democratic party continued in that patriotic purpose which Douglas for a season inspired. But Douglas died, and so did that purpose.

With a sagasity, a steadfastness, and a clearness of vision which, if employed in a good cause, would be of inestimable value, the democratic party found that covert, narrow, and devious ways which lay between loyalty and treason, and they pursued that way from the middle of the year 1862 to the end of the war, always avoiding the rebuke of their country's laws, and also the reproach of their country's foes.

But even for this stinted measure of loyalty, there may have been some excuse. It may have sprung from lack of faith, and not from want of love. They professed to believe the rebellion invincible, and, if they really believed so, they could hardly be expected to display much zeal in a struggle they believed to be hopeless. The spirits are rare and very choice who lead a forlorn hope with anything like gaiety. But those who lead a real hope, no matter how forlorn, and do not merely follow a dread, are not apt to look so dismal as these democrats did when the rebellion was finally crushed.

Possibly, however, even that singular dejection was but the effect of mortification at their own misjudgment and want of prevision. But when the rebellion was crushed, and they were invited to aid in removing its cause, as well as a cause for future rebellions, by abolishing slavery, they refused to do that! How can that refusal be excused or forgiven? The great act of emancipation, while it is the grandest in history, is also the least expensive. It cost nothing but a vote, yet even this they refused to give. By simply writing "Yes" upon their ballots, instead of "No," they knew they could give freedom to four millions of human beings. They were sure of victory if they said "Yes;" they could only hope for victory if they said "No"—and yet they said "No." It was a mere question of volition. The question was squarely put to them after they had been led shuddering clear through the Red Sea, and stood dry on the other shore—stood, too, in that marvelous blaze which irradiates the nineteenth century as it sinks into the twentieth—they were plainly asked, "Are you willing the bond should be free?" and they said "No." When is that generation coming, and whence is it coming, that shall excuse or forgive that impious refusal?

And when, in spite of democratic resistance, the bond had been made free and secured against a return to slavery by an amendment to the federal constitution, this same opposition was asked once more, "May the freedmen become citizens and be admitted to civil rights?" And again the answer was "No."

And when, in spite of that resistence, the freedmen had been made citizens, the democracy was asked, "May these citizens, though they be black, have the protection of the ballot which the law benignly grants to all citizens, however humble, of every other color?" And again the answer was "No."

And when the Kuklux, armed with brand and bludgeon, hunted the new made citizen by night, hunted him through swamps and pursued him to death—when the local authorities stood powerless in the presence of organized murder and arson, and this opposition was appealed to to lend the protection of the national tribunals to the victims of such incarnate hate, they still mocked at such calamities and refused all relief.

It is often flippantly said that these crimes and horrors are past, and it is absurd to attempt to maintain a political party on the memory of them. Perhaps so. But would it not be insane to trust a political party that could so readily forget them? It is not magnanimous, it is, indeed, hardly manly, to persecute men for sins of which they have really repented. But that is not repentance; it is hypocrisy, which professes to repent of sins and does not forsake them, but embraces worse ones. Such is the anomalous repentance displayed by the democratic party. It never ceases to denounce the republican party for what it has done or is trying to do, but it straightway thunders with fiercer denunciations of what the party has not done and is determined shall not be done. The moment democrats forget to decry republican policies, they begin to belie republican motives. For twenty years they deemed it sufficiently opprobrious to call republicans "radicals;" now they claim to be radicals themselves, and denounce republicans as rascals.

DEMOCRATIC PROMISES.

Since the early part of 1872 they have been diligently seeking to suborn renegade republicans to turn state's evidence, and to swear that all political virtue is in those discomfited forces which resisted the progress of the last decade, and all villainy is in the forces which marshaled that progress. To such witnesses they have lavishly offered honors, offices, dignities, presidencies, everything which could be made the subject of a promise.

To answer to any name; to profess every creed; to follow any flag; to sleep in any bed; to fraternize with all factions, and to offer a salve for every sore—such is the mission of the opposition to-day. Never before in politics was a lie enacted so transparent and so audacious as that paraded by the democratic party in 1872, when they gravely introduced Horace Greeley to the people as their representative man. It is not possible such "signs and wonders" can "deceive the elect." So far they have failed to deceive even the electors.

If that party feels it to be unkind to remind it of its past career, how must it feel to be reminded of its present attitude? Once its members professed distinct principles; all that could be objected to them was that they professed the worst principles extant. But, bad as they were, they were more becoming than this utter abjuration of all principles. You may not like to employ, but you do not wholly despise the zealot who consistently asserts that sarsaparilla will cure every disease, and so urges it upon every patient; but who can respect the charlatan who persistently cries to the sick, "Give me your money and you may take what remedies you please."

When in 1860 democrats said, "Continue us in power and we will fleck the territories with slavery;" when in 1864 they said, "Restore us to power and we will barter with rebels, giving freedom for peace;" when in 1868 they said again, "Restore us to power and we will abrogate three great amendments to the constitution, secure government to white men, and return slavery to colored men," it could only be replied that such invitations were very unattractive. But when in 1872 they cried, "Restore us to office once more and we will do everything that anybody wants done," the invitation was utterly repulsive. And when they supplement this brazen indifference to principle by stolid indifference to truth; when, weary of opposing the measures of the majority, they combine to assail their characters; when they abandon false reasoning only to resort to false assertion, they exhibit an opposition hard, if not impossible, to parallel.

And yet that opposition, while it never was so bad, was never so dangerous as now. People can better judge the merits of a measure than the merits of a man. They can more readily detect a fallacious argument than a false statement. When the opposition denounced republicans as misguided statesmen, the people could safely compare our measures with theirs, and judge which were best. But when they denounce republicans as thieves it is not so easy to try the truth of the assertion. Besides two circumstances give slight color to the allegation First, republicans have possession of the government, and have the best chance to peculate Second, it has been the especial labor of the administration to detect and punish peculation. Some cases have been found.

He was a great statesman as well as a great poet who made Cassius say:

"In such a time as this it is not meet
That every nice offense should bear his comment."

However specious that theory may sound, many great rulers have been compelled in turbulent times to practice upon it. William III. was an honest magistrate. He had a world to fight, and he was compelled to be very lenient toward the treasons of Godolphin and Marlborough. He was slow to punish the embezzlements of Torrington, and he never did punish the manifold rascalities of Orford. During the struggle and excitement which attended the rebellion some bad men found their way into public employments. Mr. Lincoln's administration was too much occupied with graver matters to keep strict watch of every individual offender. The administration which succeeded was quite as unprepared for that duty. Congress was then much absorbed in the great work of reconstruction, and the president was not happily fitted to criticise official misconduit. But the present administration has no exemption from that work. If it is not attended to now, the administration, and not the times, must be held responsible. But it is attended to. It is prosecuted with that inflexible energy which has characterized every labor led by President Grant. Some offenses have been exposed. And every time a rogue has been punished the opposition has shouted: "See how corrupt republicans are!" It is as if whenever a surgeon removes a tumor from his patient the mob should shout: "How very rotten the doctor must be! So this unflinching reform is prosecuted at the risk of this twofold peril: First, every time we remove a rascal we lend plausibility to democratic calumny; second, every time we punish one we make a democrat. For a few years that party has been recruited, not only by those knaves we have dismissed from office, but by a still larger number who have been unable to get office. It is not impossible that by this process they may in time recover a majority. Good men can not, without uneasiness, contemplate the possibility of the country once more falling into the control of that party, when in addition to the devils, which always paralyzed it for any noble effort, it shall have been reinforced by all the unclean spirits expelled from the republican party.

INTERNAL REFORM.

The success which has attended the effort of this administration to effect internal reform is forceibly indicated, but only partiallay measured by these facts:

First. In thirteen years it has not once been forced to resort to loans except by the exigencies of war. Our rivals in popular favor, as has been seen, repeatedly resorted to loans in time of peace.

Second. In six years taxes have been remitted at various times amounting to more than three hundred millions annually.

Third. The principal of the public debt has been reduced in the same time by the sum of $355,000,000.

Fourth. The treasury note has been appreciated from 76 2-10 per cent., its gold value in March 1869, to 89 2-10 per cent., its gold value in March last.

Fifth. In spite of the financial disasters which overtook the country in September, 1873, the public debt was diminished nearly five millions during the fiscal year just ended.

Sixth. The cost of the government, excluding expenditures for improvements and disbursements made necessary to meet obligations imposed on us by the rebellion, was less per capita during the last fiscal year than during the year ending June 30, 1860.

Bad men, doubtless, are still left in the republican party, as bad men are in the democratic party. So good men are in both parties. The difference is this: in spite of the bad men in the former, it has in thirteen years raised the country higher in true national greatness than any country was ever raised before in the same length of time; while because of bad men in the other party, the country constantly declined in character and dignity while it had control. A party better than either, loftier in its aspirations, wiser in its methods, bolder in its endeavors, is unquestionably desirable. Such a party might be attained, if the wise, the upright, and the patriotic in the democratic ranks would unite themselves with the like in the republican organization. But it is impossible to frame such a party by reinforcing the effete democracy, which has not achieved a single noble end in forty years, with all the reckless adventurers and hungry place-hunters who, in former years, flocked to the Republican party, not to aid its enterprises, but to batten on its strength.

ELECT REPUBLICANS.

You are about to select representatives to a new congress. We earnestly entreat you to send the truest and ablest republican you have. But we entreat you to send republicans and not democrats. You will send one or the other. No matter what the individual may call himself, or what disguise he may wear, he will be a republican or a democrat. There is at present no room for any other style in our politics. If you do not mean to retrace the past you will select republicans and not democrats. If you mean to go forward in the future, you will select republicans and not democrats.

OUR MISSION NOT ENDED.

It is sometimes said the mission of the republican party is accomplished. If it be that no more is meant than that the party has discharged every trust heretofore committed to it, we admit it. It has been thought when one was found faithful over a few things that was a good reason for trusting him with more things. Can you do better than be instructed by such an example? Especially since you must employ either the party which you say has fulfilled every trust, or employ that only other party which has betrayed every trust.

The occasion for political effort has not passed. American progress is not ended. Other labors lie before you, lighter, perhaps, but not light.

First. You have to see that what is done shall not be undone. Republicanism offers you the best security against retrogression.

Second. You have to see that the work of reform goes forward. Three great labors demand your present consideration.

The fourteenth amendment to the constitution is not yet enforced by "appropriate legislation." Millions of American citizens are denied even the common law rights of locomotion because they are black. If such wrongs are to be redressed the republican party alone can do it.

THE CURRENCY.

The currency is in an abnormal condition and must be reformed. It is undoubtedly true that the republican party is not agreed how to effect that reform. Neither is the democratic party. Neither party, as such, yet sees clearly the right way. But there are two reasons for believing that the republican party rather than its rival can best treat this great question of the finances:

1. As the former has, hitherto, found the true way through greater difficulties, so we believe it is more apt to find the true way through this.
2. You already have abundant assurance that when republicans discover the true way they will pursue it. That assurance has not as yet been given by the other party.
3. The republican party in the future, as in the past, will see to it that the national credit suffers no detriment, and that the national honor is preserved.

INTERNAL COMMERCE.

Our internal commerce demands additional and less expensive facilities. The volume of that commerce has grown in these lusty times to enormous proportions.

Great as has been the increase of transportation facilities since the advent of the republican party, they have not kept pace with the demand for them. Not only do immense bulks seek movement, but they require to be moved over vast distances. The surplus products of those almost unlimited basins—that between the Allegheny and Rocky mountains and that between the latter range and the Sierra Nevadas—require to be dipped out into the ocean on either side. Production is not only so vast in amount, but it is so unequally distributed.

Of the spring wheat grown in the United States, Wisconsin and Iowa raise nearly one-half. Of the winter wheat, Indiana and Ohio produce nearly one-third. Of the corn raised, Illinois alone grows one-sixth. Of the tobacco, Kentucky raises nearly one-half. Nine states raise nearly all the cotton consumed in this country, and much of that consumed in Europe.

The cotton fabrics manufactured in the United States in 1870 were valued at $157,000,000. Of those $59,000 were manufactured in Massachusetts. Of course the distribution of these and the great variety of other commodities necessitates a vast amount of transportation. Eleven states occupying the Mississippi Valley send to market annually a surplus of its cereal products equal to 300,000,000 bushels.

To cheapen the carriage of that single commodity by the amount of only ten cents per bushel is a saving of thirty millions to the people.

Various expedients have been suggested for lessening the cost of transportation. In some of the states it has been proposed to place railway fares and freights under the control of the state. The objections to that expedient are so serious that it should not be embraced, if a better one can be found. This country is so new, so raw, and so undeveloped, the demands for capital are so many and so urgent, that any policy which would tend to drive capital from us should be avoided if possible. The state is but the aggregate of the people in the state.

The people are the purchasers of transportation.

The railway companies have transportation to sell.

The law also holds railroad companies to be common carries, and so bound to carry for all when the price is paid. It is now a mooted question whether that price shall be named by the company or by the people—the sellers or the purchasers of the article. Which of these two parties is legally authorized to fix that price is probably determined by the laws under which the several companies are organized; but which of them can in fact fix it is a different question.

It is manifest that if the company be allowed to fix the price they may demand too much. Venders of all commodities are very apt to want all they can get. On the contrary, if the people or their agents fix the price they may set it too low. Purchasers are very apt to want commodities as cheap as they can be had. It is not probable that either party to the transaction would always hit upon the exact equivalent. The consequences of a mistake would probably be found most injurious, if made by the people. If the company makes the mistake and charges too much, no one is obliged to employ it. The producer does his own carrying before the railway is built. He has the perfect right to do so after it is built. So, every company is compelled by the laws of trade, even if municipal law is silent, to carry products cheaper than the producer can carry them, or he will not have them to carry. The company must also carry them at a profit to the producer, else the product will cease. The farmerf of Iowa will send no wheat to Chicago unless the roads will transport it at prices which will yield a profit to the producer.

The carrier must earn money for the producer as well as for himself, else he will soon have nothing to carry. It is as absurd for the railways to demand more for transportation than the producer can afford to pay as it was for the man in the fable to endeavor to get two golden eggs each day from his hen—the attempt to do so was death to the hen.

Under favorable conditions, indeed, the carrier may demand and receive more than a fair share of the profits of production. Where such is the case, when the state finds the producer makes but ten per cent., while the carrier makes fifteen or twenty per cent., it is very easy and perfectly legitimate for it to say to the company: "The work you do can be done for less money; we will pay you for your road what it will cost to build such another, or you may keep your road and we will build another" So the people are not helpless against exorbitant charges.

On the contrary, if the people set the price and set it too low, the consequences may be graver. The company has no option. It must accept the price named or not run. If the rates named will afford a slight return on the capital existing, companies may continue to run, but no more capital will encounter like risks. If the rates will yield no return the road can not be run. Company and community in that case are alike ruined. This expedient seems to be too hazardous to adopt if a better can be found.

Another expedient is to build a double-track railway between the Mississippi and the Atlantic over which any party may run trains, and all trains to run with the same rate of speed. This is worthy of careful consideration.

The practicability of relief through governmental action is being ascertained by an able commission constituted by a recent act of congress.

A third expedient, and the most important of all, is that proposed by the Senate committee on transportation routes to the seaboard. That proposes to open or enlarge several different water channels between the Mississippi and the Atlantic. We invite your earnest and careful considerartion of that proposal. It is asserted that by an expenditure of $20,000,000 per year for six or seven years, new channels may be opened which will lessen the cost of transporting the grain product of the Mississippi valley alone in the sum of $42,000,000 annually. The figures are startling, but are far from improbable. The expenditure proposed seems large, but compared with the resources of the people it is trifling. The wealth of the nation is not less than $30,000,000,000. He who has an estate of $30,000 can not be distressed by paying $20 a year for six years. Besides, a nation which has spent $3,000,000,000 of treasure and an ocean of life for peace will not hesitate to spend $120,000,000 for prosperity.

But whatever may or may not be expedient to be done, this much seems certain: If the national government is to do anything whatever to cheapen transportation, only the republican party can be relied upon to do it. The democratic party has forsworn all such labors. Long ago they determined the constitution would not permit the government to remove an obstruction from a harbor or a river. It is vain to suppose they will find now authority to build canals or construct railways. But we are not left in doubt as to their present dispositions. Two votes given during the present session, one in the Senate on Mr. Windom's amendment to the river and harbor bill, and one in the House on Mr. McCrary's railway bill, will prove, beyond all doubt, that the democrats, like the Bourbons, have learned nothing good, even if they have forgot anything bad.

Upon all these considerations, for all these reasons, we think you should send republicans, and not democrats, to the next congress. If you cherish the deeds of the recent past, and would not see them undone; if you respect the present, and would not disgrace it; or, if you have hope of the future, and would realize that hope, we urge you to send republicans, and not democrats, to the next congress.

JOHN A. LOGAN,	JOHN COBURN,
Z. CHANDLER,	N. P. CHIPMAN,
A. H. CRAGIN,	H. E. HAVENS
EUGENE HALE,	S. R. CONOVER,
GEO. W. HENDEE,	J. W. FLANAGAN,
HENRY L. PIERCE,	JAMES WILSON,
J. M. PENDLETON,	G. W. HAZLETON
H. H. STARKWEATHER,	S. O. HOUGHTON,
THOS. C. PLATT,	J. R. LOFLAND,
MARCUS L. WARD,	H. B. STRAIT,
SIMON CAMERON,	J. H. MITCHELL,
WM. J. ALBERT,	S. A. COBB,
RICHARD F. WHITELEY,	P. W. HITCHCOCK,
GEO. E. SPENCER,	POWELL CLAYTON,
GEO. C. McKEE,	S. B. CHAFFE,
J. R. WEST,	R. C. McCORMICK,
H. S. BUNDY,	S. B. ELKINS,
JOHN F. LEWIS,	C. L. COBB,
J. M. THORNBURG,	WM. STEWART.
A. J. BOREMAN,	

Union Republican Congressional Committee.

The New York Tribune gives a well-authenticated case of cure of hydrophobia. A Mr. Burt True, of Flint, Michigan, was bitten by a rabid dog in May, 1871. The animal left the impress of several teeth in the center of his right hand. The wound was cauterized about twelve hours afterward. It healed kindly, but in January, 1872, well-marked symptoms of hydrophobia developed themselves, and Dr. Axford was sent for. The following course of treatment was pursued: One grain of morphina sulphas was injected under the skin every four hours, and half a drachm of castor oil was given per orem, mixed with sirup. The effect was the alternation of convulsions and repose, when, two days thereafter, Sunday morning, the patient was wrapped in a woolen blanket saturated with a warm solution of muriate of ammonia. Except the occasional inhalation of small quantities of chloroform, the entire treatment has been given. Vomiting proved troublesome for several days, but on Monday the patient became comparatively quiet, and gradually convalesced from that time. Dr. Axford had treated a similar case with the same result some time previous. During the convulsions the patient would seize the pillows with his teeth, shake and tear them like an angry dog, and the strength of five men was required to hold him.