

JEFFERSON'S CREED.

WATSON'S

# Fourth of July Speech

DELIVERED AT

DOUGLASVILLE, GEORGIA, JULY 4th, 1893.

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# THE CREED OF JEFFERSON.

## THE FOUNDER OF DEMOCRACY.

CONTRAST THE GREAT JEFFERSON'S IDEAS WITH THE  
PRESENT ADMINISTRATION.

Delivered by Thomas E. Watson, Douglassville, Georgia,  
July 4th, 1893.

FELLOW CITIZENS: The Fourth of July, 1893, is a day upon which the American citizen can well afford to indulge in some reflection—some review of the past, some examination of the present, some thought of the future.

No man doubts that we have reached a period when great changes are hastening upon us. Vital issues which have remained in the background—issues which have stood for a generation like an armed force, resting in line of battle, awaiting the words: "Forward march," are now moving—steadily moving, irresistibly moving, to join battle with their opposing principles!

Every citizen owes it to himself to study the methods by which he is governed. Upon the laws of the land depend his prosperity, his liberty, his life. If oppressed by vicious legislation there is no escape whatsoever which he can devise by personal industry, or frugality, or rectitude. He becomes the helpless subject of national tendencies which no individual is strong enough to resist.

Let us come together in the spirit of those who seek to reason, to investigate and to know the truth. Citizens of a common country, we surely want good laws, good government. It surely must be the purpose of all of us, no matter to what political faith we adhere, to see honesty, equity and wisdom prevail, to the end that the people may be prosperous and happy.

Let us then upon this memorable day sink the bigot into the student; merge the partisan into the reasoner; banish the politician, and give place to the patriot.

### AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE A PROTEST AGAINST EUROPEAN METHODS.

Who framed this Government; and upon what principles was it formed?

You may waste ever so many hours poring over Stamp Acts; you may nod drearily through Webster's assertions that the Revolution was fought upon a Preamble; you may believe, because you have heard it so often, that the American Colonies cut loose from England because the mother country insisted upon "taxation without representation."

All of which is true, but doesn't begin to touch the real point in the case.

The pith and marrow and vital spirit of the whole business went vastly further.

Our ancestors came here protesting against the order of things in the old



world. They were kickers; pioneers of a new creed, seeking a new country in which to plant it. They put the ocean between themselves and the things they hated.

What were those things?

1st. A religious tyranny which compelled them to support a faith and a priesthood which they abhorred.

2nd. A political tyranny which denied them the essential rights of manhood.

Combating the savages and the wilderness, the stout-hearted Anglo-Saxons gradually grew strong.

And in exact proportion to their growth in strength, they showed their dislike to the European forms of Government.

Nearly every township in the Colonies was a small Republic,—teaching Democracy, practicing Democracy, and drifting steadily to the time when the ideas of that Democracy must meet in death grapple with the ideas of the English Monarchy.

In 1774, those small republics, scattered along the coast from Maine to Georgia, thought the time had come to test the question as to who was the "best man"—Democracy or Monarchy.

The Stamp Act, and all conceivable Preambles, were mere incidents, or precipitants to the conflict. The issue at stake was the vital difference between the principles which prevailed on the different sides of the Atlantic.

Such a difference was certain to lead to a fight sooner or later, Preamble or no Preamble.

#### THE OBJECTS AIMED AT BY OUR CONSTITUTION.

Democracy fought, suffered and won.

Casting off European forms, it fashioned a government which still endures.

When our forefathers wrote down those articles of agreement and contract, which we call the Constitution of the United States, they prefaced it by stating that it was done in order to "form a more perfect union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquility, provide for the common defense, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity."

We are the posterity.

We are the legatees to whom they bequeathed "justice, domestic tranquility, general welfare and the blessings of liberty."

Magnificent bequest!

Let us look into the treasure chest today; let us make inventory of our political goods and chattels, lands and tenements and ascertain how much of the estate we still possess. The executor was ever a good man to watch; let us see how much of the trust has been converted to his own use rather than to ours.

Learned authors tell us that there have never been more than three kinds of governments: The Monarchy, the Aristocracy, the Democracy.

Monarchy is the government of a single ruler; and it may be absolute or limited.

Aristocracy is the government of a favored class, which exercises all the power and gets all the benefits, and absorbs all the privilege.

Democracy is the rule of all the people; it may be exercised by the people themselves or by their agents. In the latter case it is called a Republic.

In theory our government is founded upon the principle that all the people rule—no monarch, no aristocracy, no privileged class. The country being so large that it is impossible for the citizens to transact their government affairs in person, they adopt the plan of selecting agents, or representatives.

Thus ours is a Republic based upon the idea that the people govern themselves.



## ENEMIES TO DEMOCRACY.

From the very foundation of the Government, this Democratic principle had its mortal enemies. During the war of the Revolution, they sought to neutralize the efforts of our armies, and keep America in subjection to the King and the Aristocracy of England.

After our Independence was established, there were those who thought the English form of Government the best; and they exerted every energy to have our Constitution modeled after a limited Monarchy, with its privileged class.

Although they failed, their failure was far from complete. Our Senate is really a House of Lords, almost entirely out of touch with the people; while our Federal Judges are completely independent of the theoretical sovereign of the land—the people.

As soon as the Constitution was adopted, over the strenuous objection of some of the ablest and purest statesmen of the time, (because they considered it too centralizing and undemocratic); the men who had done so much to fetter its democratic principles at once began to seek congressional legislation which would utterly transform our Government—legislation which would infuse the spirit of monarchy, of aristocracy, of class rule, into the body politic of the Republic.

The leader of these enemies of Democratic principles was Alexander Hamilton. He laid down the law for them then, and his ideas control them now. Wherever special privileges are asked for favored industries, Hamilton's Report on Manufacture is ransacked for arguments. Whenever legislation intended for the building up of a moneyed aristocracy as a partner in the Government is desired by the capitalists, Hamilton's plea for the National bank is trotted out. Whenever the speculator demands the turning of the Paper Money, which pays no interest, into Bonds, which do pay interest, and which form the basis of Banker's money, (which also fetches interest), Hamilton's ideas on Funding come to the front.

## THE APOSTLE OF DEMOCRACY.

The leader of the other side was Thomas Jefferson.

From the beginning to the end of his career he was the chief apostle of the common people. Though an aristocrat by birth, and a man of wealth, special privilege aroused his inveterate hatred. Class distinctions were his abomination. The equality of all men before the law; the right of every citizen to be secure from the spoliation of unjust taxes; the absolute freedom of speech, of thought and of action; the integrity of individual rights as against centralization in government, or monopoly in business, were the fundamental articles of his creed.

Entering the Virginia legislature at an early age, his first assault was made upon the land monopoly which there existed in the form of "entailed estates." Against the bitterest opposition upon the part of the aristocracy of the Old Dominion, he unshackled the soil of Virginia from its feudal chains and threw it upon the market, where it would necessarily be divided up among smaller holders.

Following this law he passed another destroying primogeniture—the right of the eldest child to inherit the entire estate. This principle has always been dear to the aristocracy, because it keeps the estate together; encourages accumulation and prevents distribution.

The law of entails, coupled with the law of primogeniture, had already established in Virginia a landed gentry—proud, idle and arrogant—fashioned upon the model of English nobility and seeking to imitate its style.

Jefferson hated this system with implacable aversion, and he destroyed it.

Another evil he remedied, while in the legislature.

He found the Episcopal church in partnership with the State. The tax-



payers, no matter what their religious faith, were taxed to maintain the Episcopal clergy. So naturally do principles go together, that the good old state of Virginia, after imitating England upon the land system, quite as a matter of course, copied her on the ecclesiastical question. The Land Monopoly and the Church Monopoly were having a gay time in co-partnership.

Jefferson broke it up. The Episcopal church was divorced from the State treasury, and made to earn its living just as the other churches had to do.

He likewise secured the adoption of a thorough system of common schools. "Trust the people; teach the people," were two of the strong-pillars upon which he sought to rest the splendid fabric of popular government.

The Aristocracy of Virginia, both lay and clerical, hated Jefferson with intense hatred the balance of his life. In the eyes of these high born creatures who had been ousted from their special privileges and placed on a footing with common mortals, Mr. Jefferson was a demagogue, an incendiary, a stirrer up of strife—arraying the poor against the rich for base political purposes.

Such was his magnificent work in the Virginia Legislature—a monument to his worth, loftier than sculptor could raise, and more enduring than marble or brass.

One other piece of work the great reformer attempted.

He tried to abolish slavery.

Would to God he had succeeded!

The million men who butchered each other in battle would never have left their fields, their shops, their homes.

The fearful legacy of sectional hate would never have been ours.

The billions of treasure wasted in causing misery, would have been a blessed offering in the Temples of Peace.

Shylock's opportunity never would have come, when the Government found itself forced to borrow from its own selfish speculators and had to submit to the infamous exactions of the New York, Boston and Philadelphia Bankers.

The professional politicians, North and South, never would have been furnished, free of cost, with a stock in trade which would last him thirty years; and upon which he could thrive, dominate and destroy; upon the sole condition that if he lived North he should curse the South and if he lived in the South he should curse the North.

#### FEDERALISM AGAINST DEMOCRACY.

When Jefferson entered national politics he found Hamilton developing his schemes and carefully laying his plans. Both of these able men belonged to Washington's cabinet. Jefferson was Secretary of the State; Hamilton Secretary of the Treasury. Almost immediately the irreconcilable difference of opinion appeared. The contest between them being one of vital principles, it raged during all of Washington's time, all of Hamilton's life, all of Jefferson's life; it has raged ever since; it rages now, and it will continue to rage as long as the Republic endures. For, state it as you will, it is the everlasting hostility which, in every wealthy community, arises between the masses and the classes; between the privileged and the unprivileged; between the rich, trying to establish Aristocracy, and the middle and lower classes, determined that Democracy shall never die.

The creed of Hamilton was the basis upon which stood the political organization called the Federal Party.

What were its principles?

They believed that the English Monarchy was the most perfect form of government known to man, and they wished ours to resemble it as far as possible. They wished the Federal government to grow at the expense of the States. They sought to create a moneyed aristocracy by a means of Bond system and National



Banks. They wished to specially foster manufactures by legislating protection. They wanted a strong, consolidated nation, sustained by powerful military and naval forces.

In short, the Federalists had no faith in the people, no belief in popular self-government.

Hon. H. C. Lodge, in his work on Hamilton, says that his purpose in creating the Funding System and the National Bank, was not less political than financial.

His plan was to "bind the wealthy men, being at that day the aristocracy bequeathed by provincial time, to the new system, and thus assure to the property of the country the control of the Government."

In other words, Hamilton wanted the Dollar to rule this land—not the people!

Mr. Lodge is frank enough to say that Hamilton had endeavored to introduce a Class influence into the Constitution at the time it was framed, by limiting the suffrage for the President and Senate with a property qualification.

Failing in this direct attempt to establish Class rule in the organic law, he immediately went to work to devise other means of doing it. His Funding System and his National Bank was the result.

The creed of Jefferson became the basis of a political organization known during his life as the Republican Party. He gave it that name himself, and always spoke of it by that title.

What were its articles of faith?

I quote them from the illustrious founder. In each sentence, I will give you the words of Jefferson himself.

#### JEFFERSON'S DOCTRINES.

In his first Inaugural Address he laid down this "Golden Rule" of Government:—

"A wise and frugal government, which shall restrain men from injuring one another, which shall leave them otherwise free to regulate their own pursuits of industry and improvement; and shall not take from labor the bread it has earned. This is the sum of good government."

Further he said, in words which have become venerated wherever the principles of Democracy are cherished:

"Equal and exact justice to all men of whatever state or persuasion, religious or political; peace, commerce and honest friendship with all nations, entangling alliances with none; the support of the state governments in all their rights as the most competent administration for our domestic concerns and the surest bulwark against anti-republican tendencies; the preservation of the general government in all its constitutional vigor as the sheet-anchor of peace at home and safety abroad; a jealous care of the right of election by the people; a mild and safe corrective of abuses which are lopped by the sword of revolution where peaceable remedies are unprovided; absolute acquiescence in the decision of the majority, the vital principles of the republic, from which there is no appeal but to force, the vital principle and immediate parent of despotism; a well-disciplined militia; economy in the public expenses, that labor may be lightly burdened; the honest payment of our debts, and sacred preservation of the public faith; encouragement of agriculture, and of commerce, its handmaid; the diffusion of information, arrangement of all abuses at the bar of public reason; freedom of religion; freedom of the press; freedom of the person under protection of habeas corpus, and trials by juries impartially selected—these principles form the high constellation which has gone before us, and guided our footsteps through an age of revolution and reformation."

Listen to these further words:



"Men by their constitutions are naturally divided into two parties; those who fear and distrust the people, and wish to draw all power from them into the hands of higher classes; those who identify themselves with the people, have confidence in them, cherish and consider them as the most honest and safe, although not the most wise, depositors of the public interests. In every country these two parties exist."

Hon. W. L. Wilson of West Virginia, one of the ablest and purest Democrats now living, thus summarizes the principles of the Republican party, founded by Thomas Jefferson:

1. Opposition to the funding system.
2. Opposition to the National bank.
3. Opposition to the internal revenue, or excise system.
4. Opposition to the protective tariff.
5. Opposition to centralization in the federal government at the expense of State rights.
6. Opposition to Hamilton's plans to foster the money class, and to build up an alliance between the capitalists and the government.

This is a fair statement from page 59, of Mr. Wilson's "History of the Democratic party."

These were Jefferson's remedies for Hamilton's poisons. These were the breastworks he erected to check the Federalist Aristocracy. These were the principles which were to preserve to the people the freedom their fathers had won, and these were the principles which were always dear to the followers of Jefferson as long as desire to be right was stronger than the love for office.

#### TESTING THE PRESENT BY THE PAST.

On July 4, 1826, this great statesman died. Two generations have come and gone, since he folded his hands in eternal rest.

The government which he did so much to establish, still survives. A political party which professes to follow his teachings, is in full possession of every branch of the administration.

Its platform of principles, recently revised, repaired and replenished, is known to all the world. Its policies are being outlined by its leaders, and being debated by all classes of citizens.

Let us to-day do ourselves the justice to firmly investigate our political status.

Let us without the assistance of beef-tea, or other doubtful compound, imagine that we are all Cobbs of Alabama, and anxious to know

#### "WHERE ARE WE AT?"

What were the evils that Jefferson most feared?

We have already seen how he dreaded slavery. Wisely did he foretell its consequences.

In the year 1821, he said that "the public mind would not bear" his proposition made in 1776, for gradual emancipation. "Nor will it bear it, even at this day"—(1821.) "But the day is not distant," continued the prophet, "when the public mind must bear it, and adopt it, or worse will follow! Nothing is more certainly written in the book of fate than that these people are to be free."

Knowing how terribly correct was his foresight upon this subject, his warnings upon other subjects increase in importance.

#### JEFFERSON'S FEARS.

1. He foresaw the dangers of the funding and national banking system. He saw that Hamilton encouraged the speculators to gather up all the paper money, which they bought for a song, upon his intimation that they might exchange it



dollar for dollar for government bonds bearing a high rate of interest. He denounced this funding scheme as a plot to get the money and the wealth of the country into the hands of a favored few. The national bank was even more pernicious. Listen to his words. In a letter to Mr. Gallatin in 1803, he writes:

"This institution (national bank) is one of the most deadly hostility existing against the principles and form of our government. \* \* \* Ought we then to give further growth to an institution so powerful, so hostile? \* \* \* Now, while we are strong, it is the greatest duty we owe to the safety of our constitution to bring this powerful enemy to a perfect subordination under its authorities. The first measure would be to reduce them to an equal footing with other banks, as to the favors of the government. But, in order to be able to meet a combination of the banks against us, in a critical emergency, could we not make a beginning towards an independent use of our own money through the government's sub-treasuries?"

He predicted that the special favors granted by the government to the national bankers would result in creating an aristocracy of capital, which would dominate legislation, corruptly influence elections and subsidize the press.

But while he thus denounced national banks he was still severer upon state banks.

In his famous letter to John W. Epes, he entered into an elaborate discussion of the dangers, the rascalities, the corrupting influences and the swindling rapacities of state banks. I mean, of course, state banks of issue.

Mr. Jefferson writes: \* \* \* "And so the nation may continue to issue its bills as far as its wants require and the limits of circulation will admit. Those limits are understood to extend with us at present to \$200,000,000.

"But this, the only resource which the government can command with certainty, the states have unfortunately fooled away, nay, corruptly alienated to swindlers and shavers under the cover of private banks.

"But although we have so improvidently suffered the field of circulating medium to be filched from us by private individuals, yet I think we may recover it if the states will co-operate with us." \* \* \*

In another letter he sums up the whole matter by saying that the object of these private banks of issue "is to enrich swindlers at the expense of the honest and industrious part of the nation."

#### JEFFERSON'S FINANCIAL PLANS.

What, then, were Jefferson's financial doctrines?

1. He believed in the free and unlimited coinage of Silver and Gold. His report to that effect was the law of the land from 1792 till 1873. The ratio was slightly altered, once, but the principle was never violated until John Sherman, the Republican, and Thos. Bayard, the Democrat, demonetized Silver in 1873. On page 1150 of the Congressional Globe, part 2, second session, 42d Congress (1872-73), you will find the proofs of what I say. Mr. Bayard's name is signed to the Conference Report which struck down silver, just as John Sherman's is signed.

2. He believed in a direct issue of Treasury Notes by the Government, in a quantity as great as the needs of the hour demanded, and the channels of circulation could hold. In 1803, he said the limit of the treasury notes the country could stand was \$200,000,000.

Since that time the population and business have increased more than ten fold. Therefore, the country could now carry, without depreciation, Two Billions of Dollars of Treasury Notes, according to Jefferson's own figures.

How much do they actually give us?

Only \$346,000,000, not one-fifth of what Jefferson said we could safely carry.



All the balance of our paper money is merely representative of coin which does not circulate.

To bring conviction to any one who doubts Jefferson's position on this most important matter, let me quote him further.

In devising a means by which the Government might drive State Bank money out of circulation, he says in the Epes letter, already mentioned:

"If Treasury bills are emitted, on a tax appropriated for their redemption in fifteen years, and (to insure their preference in the first moments of competition—with the notes of the State Bankers) bearing interest at 6 per cent., there is no one who would not take them in preference to the Bank paper now afloat. \* \* This credit once established, others might be emitted, bottomed also on a tax, but not bearing interest; and even if their credit faltered, open public loans, on which these bills alone should be received as specie. These, operating as a sinking fund, would reduce the quantity in circulation, so as to maintain that in equilibrium with specie."

This language is so plain, its meaning so clear, the financial plan outlined so undeniable, that I shall not take the trouble to quote other passages in other documents, to the same effect.

Mr. Jefferson believed that Money was a National agent; should be created by the National Government and for the use of the Nation. He scouted the idea that this tremendous power should be farmed to our private individuals, for private purposes, in order that one Class might fatten upon all the others.

Nor did he see the logic of the position that it was wrong for the Government to create money "by getting a machine to work and stamping it," but entirely proper for the Government to allow thousands of Bankers to "get their machines to work and stamp it" by the millions.

It is only a non-Partisan camp-follower of these latter days who can see the loveliness of such logic as that, and flop down upon his supple knees and cry "Hosanna!"

#### EVILS FORETOLD.

But the main question is, has Jefferson's warning proved to have been well founded? Was he right when he said the National Banks were institutions of deadly hostility to the spirit of our Government? Was he right when he foretold that they would create an aristocracy of wealth, which would dictate the policies and the legislation of this country?

The evidences which meet us upon every hand, show that his statements were not only true, but appallingly true.

Obtaining their supply of money from the Government at one per cent., lending it to the business men at from 8 to 10 per cent., clothed with the enormous advantage of contracting and expanding the volume of currency at pleasure, the National Banks have had, since the war, the most amazing opportunities of making money at the expense of the masses of the people that any government ever granted to a favored class.

#### CORRUPT LEGISLATION.

Their net gains from this special privilege, granted them at the expense of the people at large, have equaled the enormous average of \$50,000,000 per year for the last twenty-five years.

Who doubts that they have corruptly controlled legislation?

How else can you explain the laws and the policies which have been adopted in their favor?

Who believes it was right to pay them the interest on their bonds in advance?

Who believes it was right to change the contract with them so that they could demand payment in coin?



Who believes that it was right to say that the treasury notes of the United States government should be good enough for the merchant, the farmer, the lawyer, the doctor, but should not be good enough for the holder of United States bonds?

Who doubts that it required the use of boodle to secure the passage of laws which thus made one currency for bond-holders, and another for the people at large; one currency for the favored, another for the unfavored?

Who believes that it was right to lend to these national bankers, free of charge, huge sums of the tax money of the people to be loaned by the bankers at high interest to the very people whose money it was?

Who believes it was right to pay these bankers fifty odd millions of dollars of the people's money in order to get the privileges of paying bonds which were not due?

When did the world ever see such finance as that before?  
No wonder we have about us the rule of a plutocracy.

#### GOLDEN CALFISM.

Money rules—insolently, defiantly, corruptly, ruinously!

Money is the test of standing, social and political. Money passes laws, elects candidates, dictates policies. It controls the press, which at its bidding must defend the most infamous laws.

It controls politics, for without campaign boodle the old party mare takes the studs does and not go a step.

It maintains its chosen band of agents and attorneys in every legislature in America; and the United States senate, with a few honorable exceptions, is a mere group of corporation magnates or attorneys, whose chief duty it is to preserve the special privileges of the favored classes which sent them there.

#### OLD PARTY METHODS.

How do they maintain these privileges which no one defends?

By wise, unscrupulous management.

Some of the National Bankers belong to one party, some to the other. Some of the huge Corporations are Democratic, some Republican. Some of the Bondholders are of one faith, some of the other.

The Campaign fund of the Democrats comes from their Bankers, Corporations, favored Bondholders, etc., etc.

The Campaign fund of the Republicans comes from similar sources.

Hence, no matter how the election goes, the favored classes are on top.

Campaign thunder may roll over their heads pending the canvass; the lightning of stump eloquence may blast many a tree in the backwoods as the rampant "snollygoster" denounces class legislation.

But the Booodle magnates care nothing for that. The storm is too far off to hurt. They know perfectly well that the law will continue to be written just as they want it.

This is precisely the state of things Mr. Jefferson warned us against.

Would to God, that the party which pretends to be Jeffersonian, did not have such a moral aversion to all of Jefferson's doctrines!

Would to God that the Democratic masses would study for themselves the creed of the founder of their party, and thus be enabled to see how far the party bosses, for purely selfish purposes, have led them from the old landmarks!

Yes, Jefferson foresaw all these things, but there is one view of the case which I trust was spared him. I hope that his old age, made gloomy by loss of fortune, and by seeing the forces of vicious legislation creeping steadily and treacherously towards the citadel of the Republic, was not made unspeakably



wretched by the knowledge that Hamilton's legions would march to victory under Jefferson's flag!

Let us trust that even his keen eye, scanning the future, caught no glimpses of the time when the money kings would bring practical politics to the perfection of a fine art; when they would apply, with a success never dreamed of before, the adage of "Divide, and Conquer." When they would, by a boldness and adroitness almost incredible, keep their chosen representatives in control of the machinery of both political parties, and thus have the people divided, while the Bosses were united.

He had no data upon which he could base the belief that the time would ever come when National Bankers, Monopolists, untaxed Millionaires, and specially privileged classes, would not only seize possession of the party of Hamilton but also of the party of Jefferson.

He could not suspect that a Statesman, calling himself a Jeffersonian Democrat, would act as the partner of a John Sherman in violating the principle of bimetalism, which he established in 1792, and in thus striking down Silver Money which had served the people nearly one hundred years.

He could not think that a Democratic President, of 1893, would deliberately override the law of the land, in order to discriminate against Silver and enhance the advantage of gold!

How could he dream that Democrats would aid in destroying the value of Silver by law; and then, while those unjust laws were still upon the statute books, complain that Silver sank beneath such legislative attack?

What would he have thought of Democratic editors, who complain of 65-cent dollar, and who yet decline to help us repeal the adverse and stealthy legislation which crippled its value?

It was left for later times, when Wall street should produce a class of Democrats, the like of which the world never saw before; Democrats who believe that the Government does a wise thing when it issues one paper-promise-to-pay-a-thousand-dollars, calling it a Bond, but does a most injurious and foolish thing when it issues one hundred paper-promises-to-pay-ten-dollars, calling them Treasury notes.

Only a few capitalists get hold of the bonds and make them a basis for Bank-paper-money; hence they are good things.

Every citizen can get hold of the Treasury notes and they afford no more privileges to the rich man than to the poor one; hence they are bad things and must not under any circumstances be tolerated.

Both silver and gold are the fundamental money coins of the Republic; so made by our organic law. The equality of each in business, upon the ratio which experience demonstrated to be the true one, is cardinal doctrine of Jeffersonian Democracy. We now find that all the influence of Presidential position and patronage is being used to perpetuate the effect of "the crime of 1873," which, while out of power, Democratic politicians and newspapers so vigorously denounced.

In the Platform of 1884 we find a demand for "the gold and silver coinage of the Constitution."

In the platform of 1888 we find a distinct reaffirmance of the platform of 1884.

The "silver coinage of the constitution" was the free and unlimited turning into standard silver dollars at the ratio of 1 to 15 of all silver brought to the mints—just as was done with gold.

The Sherman law of 1890 was denounced in the last Democratic platform as a makeshift, because it evaded free coinage and limited the amount to be coined. Previous to the election the Sherman law was a guilty thing because



too unfriendly to "free silver." "After the election, they denounce the Sherman Law as a sinner because it is too friendly to silver."

Only a close student of American politics can realize the infinite impudence of such a position.

By the terms of the Sherman law the silver bullion purchased was, after July, 1891, to be coined into standard silver dollars and in sufficient quantity to redeem the treasury notes issued for the purchase of the bullion.

Previous to July, 1891, it was optional with the secretary of the treasury to pay either silver or gold in redemption of these treasury notes. It was thought, of course, that he would at least use some of the silver, and discretion was given to him to coin 2,000,000 ounces of it for that purpose. But on July 1, 1891, all discretion ceased.

The explicit words of the law are that *the bullion must be coined and used to redeem these notes.*

The statute has been shamefully violated. None of the silver bullion is coined; none of it is used. It has been bulked up in the vaults, a useless commodity, while the government has lent its helping hand to the Wall streeters in their raid for gold.

To prove my correctness on this important subject, I will quote the words of the act:

"Sec. 3. That the secretary of the treasury shall each month coin 2,000,000 ounces of the silver bullion purchased under the provisions of this act, into standard silver dollars *until* the 1st of July, 1891. *And after that time he shall coin, of the silver bullion purchased under the provision of this act, as much as may be necessary to provide for the redemption of the treasury notes herein provided for.*"

I submit it to any legal mind in Georgia whether that statute does not mean this: Up to July 1, 1891, the secretary is compelled to coin the arbitrary amount of 2,000,000 ounces of that silver for the special purpose of taking up those treasury notes. After July 1, 1891, no arbitrary limit is fixed to the coinage. But the mandate is specific: "Coin enough to redeem those notes as they are presented."

Then I submit further, to any fairminded man, lawyer or not, whether the president and his secretary are not violating the laws of the land, both in letter and in spirit, when they refuse to coin any of that bullion at all, and insist on pleasing the gold conspirators by paying nothing but gold!

A more alarming state of affairs never faced a people.

The Chief Magistrate overriding the law and marshalling under the flag of the administration the dread legions of Bankruptcy and Panic!

Shrinking values appeal for support; trembling prices seek a point at which they may rally; agriculture, almost despairing over its own troubles, looks on with wonder to see commerce vainly trying to steady its wavering lines. Banks topple and stern disaster shakes its warning fingers at every industry in America; yet the president of the United States is chiefly concerned because the despotism of the single gold standard has not been completely established. He hungers for peace of the Warsaw kind—"they make a desert and call it peace." He grudges the slender footing which its enemies have left to silver, and, utterly forgetting the McKinley bill and its robbery of "the poor, down-trodden taxpayers," bends all his mighty energies to the absolute and final destruction of bi-metalism—which John Sherman and Thomas F. Bayard so grievously wounded in 1873.

And all this time we are told that the administration is a friend to silver. We are asked to believe that they honestly think they maintain the "parity of the two metals" by giving all the turkey to gold, and all the buzzard to silver; all of the rose to gold, and all of the thorns to silver; all of the favors to gold, and all the kicks to silver.



This is no mere declamation. It is the literal fact. For both Mr. Carlise and Mr. Cleveland announce that the true way to maintain silver on equality with gold is to pay out gold in preference to silver. The true way to prevent discrimination, is to discriminate; the orthodox way to keep silver up, is to fling it down and sit on it.

The Judas kiss never had a more elaborate ceremonial and more stupendous success than it is now showing in all the phases of this financial question.

#### JEFFERSON OPPOSED THE TARIFF.

At the same time that Hamilton brought forward his plans of funding and of national banks, he formulated his protective system.

His report on manufactures is the foundation stone upon which our tariff rests.

Mr. Jefferson protested against it, contending that there was no warrant whatever in the constitution for using the taxing power to foster any special branch of industry.

He opposed it at a time when its proportions, compared to its present colossal magnitude, were utterly insignificant.

Hamilton only demanded that a few leading articles should be put upon the dutiable list; nor did his wildest conception take in the possibilities that custom houses would be erected anywhere except upon the coasts.

Surely he never imagined that his 8 per cent. rate of duty would swell until upon some articles of prime necessity it would reach the shameful extortion of more than 100 per cent. Surely his dreams were never haunted by the thought that selfish manufacturers would walk insolently into the room of the committee on ways and means at the capital and absolutely dictate the amount of "protection" they demanded.

Bold as Hamilton was, much as he loved a wealthy class, strongly as he believed in favored industries, he was yet an honest man and a patriot, and he would have shrunk with horror from the prostitution of his ideas of statesmanship to the sordid purposes of the privileged, who seek to plunder the unprotected.

#### CUSTOM HOUSES RUN MAD.

Even Hamilton would have been shocked at the waste of public money in the erection of custom houses at interior towns hundreds and even thousands of miles from the coasts, and filling them with useless employes, whose only duties consist in "drawing their salaries and their breath."

Scores of "ports of entry" have been established off the sea coast.

They are run at a yearly expense of millions of dollars, to say nothing of the enormous sums of money which have been spent in building the custom houses.

Every dollar of this money is absolutely thrown away. The duties which are collected at the interior ports would have been collected on the coast at no additional cost to the government. The establishment of the interior stations accomplishes only two purposes: They give that particular city a handsome building at the public expense, and they furnish shady places for importunate office-seekers.

This particular branch of the Tariff question, has been so completely overlooked, that perhaps you will allow me to give you a few samples of the ludicrous and preposterous and outrageous system.

In the State of Virginia, the Customs Duties amounted in 1890 to \$22,000. How much do you suppose it cost to collect it?

Thirty thousand Dollars!



At the town of Alexandria, a dried up interior village, they have a Custom House outfit which costs the tax-payers \$1,200 per year.

How much duty do they collect?

One hundred and twenty-five dollars!

At Cherrystone Virginia, the Custom House outfit costs the people \$1,950 per year.

How much do they collect?

NOT ONE CENT!

What on earth those office holders do to keep up their self-esteem, God in his majestic wisdom only knows!

In West Virginia, the entire Custom House collections were \$240.

This modest sum is gathered into the treasury painfully and conscientiously, at a moderate annual cost of \$1,150.00.

In Florida the farce grows even merrier.

In Appalachicola they collected \$1,000 and they spent \$1,400 to do it!

At Fernandina they spent some \$2,500 in the frenzied toil of collecting thirty odd dundred.

At St. Augustine, a tropical climax is reached: a climax of the warmest color and the richest foliage. They arduously toil all the year; they spend \$1,800 of the peoples taxes, and *they collect fifteen cents!*

At St. Marks they collect \$24.00. Twenty-four actual *bona-fide* robust palpitating dollars.

They spend \$3,500 in doing so!

At Annapolis, Maryland, they spent in 1890, the modest total of \$925. They collected absolutely nothing.

In 1891, however, business was brisk and the collector undoubtedly perspired; for he collected \$43.50 at a cost to the tax payers of only \$952.50.

In Taquina, Oregon, they spent \$1,100 in salaries and collected \$50 in duties.

At great Egg Harbor, N. J., the office holders get \$831, and the treasury gets \$17.

At Sagg Harbor, the collector has a nice snug salary of \$684, and he collects nothing at all.

In the State of Georgia \$75,000 was collected in 1890 at a cost of \$25,000.

At Savannah \$58,000 was collected at a cost of \$15,000.

At Brunswick \$7,000 at a cost of \$5,000.

At Atlanta they collected \$7,000 at a cost of \$2,000.

At St. Mary's they raked in \$69 on tonnage duties, at the moderate expense of \$1,400.

In 1891 this booming seaport spread herself. She spent \$1,800. Collecting \$50.

At Chattanooga (1891) they collected nothing, and drew a salary of \$500 for doing it.

At Beaufort, North Carolina, they collected nothing, and drew salaries of \$1,134.

Beaufort, South Carolina, the office-holders determined to make the North Carolina town ashamed of itself.

So they collected \$1,900, and charged the "poor down trodden taxpayer" \$5,000 for doing it!

At Georgetown, S. C., they whirled in and harvested \$30 as the gross result of twelve months official toil.

Their charges to the tax-payer footed up \$1,100.

At Vicksburg, Miss., the weary office holder had to collect \$2.00.

The weary tax-payer paid him \$533 for doing so.

Comment on such a state of things would only weaken the force of the facts.

It is safe to say that of the \$7,000,000 now paid every year to collect the tariff



taxes, at least \$2,000,000 are absolutely thrown away in erecting Custom Houses at places where the only demand for them comes from those who want to *get* within the genial atmosphere of a government appropriation.

#### THE INTERNAL REVENUE SYSTEM DENOUNCED.

Mr. Jefferson also denounced Hamilton's "excise"—the parent of our Internal Revenue System.

He opposed it during the administration of Washington and of Adams. When he, himself was elected President he swept the entire system with its horde of spies, informers and pap-suckers, off the face of the earth!

It was one of the achievements of his administration in which he most gloried that he had utterly destroyed that much of Hamilton's bad work. He supposed he had uprooted it permanently.

To-day it is fastened upon us more heavily than ever before conceived of.

It supports an army of officials, fortifies the power of the terrible whiskey trust, and exerts a control over legislation which a stranger to our laws could not believe.

The fact that the government created the system, and demands a tax of 90 cents per gallon upon distilled spirits, does no harm to the distiller, because his customer pays the tax. But he uses this 90 cents tax as a leverage to extort favors. He compels the law-makers to establish for his benefit a sub-treasury or warehouse system, to the loss of the tax-payer and the gain of the Whiskey Trust.

No legislative body ever passed a more indefensible act than that which allows the distillers to put their "fire-water" in a bonded warehouse, and obtain a certificate of deposit, and a loan of the tax for three years at 5 per cent interest.

From the official report of 1891, I find that the enormous quantity of 112,000,000 gallons were thus left on deposit for that year. At 90 cents per gallon the tax would have been \$100,800,000. This amount was due, then and there.

But the government steps in by special legislation and agrees to lend them that sum of the people's taxes at 5 per cent interest.

Corn juice can get its warehouse, its subtreasury, its certificate, its loan, but the corn itself cannot!

#### SUBTREASURY FOR WHISKEY.

In the hands of the farmer it is the staff of life—Necessary to mankind. The rich must have it, the poor must have it. Destroy it and the cheek of the world pales at the fear of famine. Preserve it and the health and strength of all men and beasts are assured.

In the hands of the distiller, it is the weapon of death—a pestilence to the universe. It goes among the children of men, hissing malice to the murderer, carrying rags to the wife and her children, filling the squalid home with vice and crime, staining the streets with bloody riot.

But when the farmer pleads, as an escape from the grievous wrongs which the government has done him through class laws, that they allow HIM a warehouse and a loan, he is scoffed at, abused, ridiculed, insulted and ignominiously driven away.

"Equal and exact justice to all men," said the great apostle of democratic principle.

"Special favors to corn whiskey but none to corn itself," say the modern political bosses who wear the name of Democracy and trample upon its principles!

#### JEFFERSON ON TAXATION.

Mr. Jefferson's theory of taxation was altogether different.

He knew that Hamilton's system would concentrate wealth in the hands of the favored class, thus making the rich richer and the poor poorer.



His idea was that taxation was a public burden, and should be laid upon the shoulders of those who were able to bear it.

It was no part of his democracy to put the heaviest burden upon the weakest shoulders.

It was no part of his dream of "equal and exact justice to all men," that a few thousand manufacturers should so frame the law that 60,000,000 of consumers would be compelled to buy from them, whether the price was reasonable or not, a result of which lovely system would be that the manufacturer would fleece the consumer \$700,000,000 while the government was collecting \$200,000,000 tax.

No country can be far from despotism or revolution when the tax power is given over to a favored class in order that they may levy tribute upon the balance of the people!

Mr Jefferson saw this. He realized the dangers of concentrated wealth. He dreaded the advent of the millionaire.

His conception was that the earth was a common stock given to us all by the Creator, and from which we had the right to demand a living in return for labor. The right to work and be paid a fair price for it, he designated as "a fundamental right."

Therefore he was bound to see that in proportion as a few men seized upon the land and the products of the earth, there would be scarcity and suffering and oppression to the many.

According to his belief, the earth and all it contained were God's provision for his children. That all had a right, by labor, to eat, to wear and to live.

Hence when a million dollars was accumulated in the hands of one fortunate individual, the common stock of all men was to that extent lessened. The opportunity of all others to labor and to live was to that extent diminished.

Great fortunes accumulated in the hands of a few, meant great poverty to the many. Thus class distinctions would arise, inequalities would become unjust and dangerous, manners would be corrupted, morals depraved, politics debauched, and money would become more important than the man.

He had observed in France the evils attending such a system. He had seen the Princes of the State and the Princes of the Church in possession of almost the entire wealth of France. He had seen how arrogantly they overrode the common people of the State and the poorer priests of the Church. He had seen among the favored few, reckless extravagance, riotous living, shameless morals, godless lives. He had seen among the unprivileged, squalid misery, wretched huts, fields stripped to barrenness by exorbitant taxes, labor robbed of its right to reward, bent and starved by the rigorous cruelty of undeserved poverty.

The poor paid all the taxes and got none of the blessings of Government.

The rich paid none of the taxes, and got all the benefits of Government.

Go read the letters of Jefferson written from France previous to her bloody revolution!

You young men into whose hands are speedily coming the destinies of this Republic—go read these letters and ponder them well!

And then remember that suffering humanity, having appealed in vain for peaceful redress, rose up in mighty wrath and swept that foul tyranny of Church and State off the face of the earth, in the red fires of revolution.

#### THE DAY OF THE PLUTOCRAT.

Just as clearly as he foresaw the terrors of the slavery question, Jefferson's vision beheld the horrors of plutocracy.

Among the shadows of the uncertain future of his country he saw the tremen-



dous inequalities of wealth, the rise of the untaxed millionaires, the colossal fortunes of the national banker and the protected manufacturer. His prophetic eyes saw the vision of which we have made a reality—The regal splendors of Fifth avenue and the abject misery of Five Points; the splendid hospital for pet dogs, and the pestilential tenement rattletraps for ragged, hungry, outcast humanity; the gorgeous yacht and parlor car for successful plunderers like Gould and Huntingdon and Stanford and Rockefeller, and the rockpile, the coal mine, the ball and the chain of horrible convict life for the awkward rascals who steal a loaf to eat, a coat to wear or a cup of milk to drink; the upper terrace of life where vicious laws like roving corsairs, have stored all the fruits of modern legalized piracy, and where the gilded rascals of high society enjoy all the spoils of special privilege; the lower plane, where the struggle of existence goes on like a terrific battle every day with its thousands of killed, wounded and missing, and with its dreadful choice between hunger and crime, between virtue and vice.

Upon the one hand a charmed region where all is light and music and festivity; where the banquet board rivals the splendid waste of a Roman Emperor; where the gorgeous apparel, flashing with gems, represents the spoliation of a thousand homes, and where every note of joy rising as it does from the pride of ill gotten gains, has its deep counterpart in the groans of the wretched, from whom their subsistence was taken that it might be squandered in plutocratic debauchery.

On the other hand, what have we? Numberless unhappy mortals, brothers and sisters to us, crowded like brutes in stifling huts and cellars and garrets—almost unclothed, well nigh unfed; their gaunt fingers always outstretched in the mute plea of want; their bed a stone in the street, or a corner in the alley; knowing the law only as their enemy; knowing the government only as the partner of victorious robbers who despoiled them; knowing the church principally by its dignified ministry and magnificent temples—a ministry which shuns the contamination of their touch, and a church whose velvet pews they are not expected to soil—these are the people and these are the human slums which are the legitimate offsprings of our infamous system. These are the quarters we make for crime. These are the citadels we furnish vice.

Crouched in these lairs are all the evils civilization abhors and creates! It is here that the rum shop finds a stability that nothing can shake; immorality an impulse nothing can check; crime a seedbed nothing can sterilize; pestilence a source nothing can exhaust; religion a barrier nothing can level!

All honor to such men as Booth and his salvation army; all honor to the Sisters of Mercy of the Catholic church; all honor to the mission work of the Protestant; all honor to evangelists like Sam Jones and Sam Small, and Moody and Parkhurst!

But I venture here, this deliberate prediction: Emanuel's Kingdom will never float its standards, in complete triumph, over the lives of men until some of the glorious doctrines in behalf of common humanity, some of the warm-hearted democracy of Jesus Christ, finds a place in the laws of his professed disciples!

#### REMEDIES CONSIDERED.

What was the remedy Jefferson proposed for this threatened evil?

First, and most essential, to have no class legislation.

Second, to have a system of taxation which would exempt altogether the small property, while it taxed the large fortune on a graduated scale which was to make the tax increasingly heavy as the fortune grew increasingly large.

These are his words:

"Another means of silently lessening the inequalities of property is to exempt all from taxation below a certain point and to tax the higher portions of property in geometrical progression as they rise."



The Atlanta Constitution quotes this paragraph approvingly in its editorial columns to support its demand for an income tax. The position is quite correct as far as it goes. It certainly does not go far enough. Mr. Jefferson was speaking of the excessive accumulation of property and of taxing that excessive accumulation. His idea was that a man who had only a million should not pay as high a tax, even in proportion, as Jay Gould, but that as we went up the ladder the tax should be increasingly heavy for each million.

The theory was to discourage excessive concentration—a concentration which can bring no happiness to the individual who accumulates it, but which must do enormous harm to the mass of the people from which it is taken.

In other words, he desired to create a means to prevent any one man from taking from the common stock so much more than his share—so much more than his legitimate industry had earned or his legitimate needs required.

#### LISTEN TO THESE WORDS.

"I am not one of those who fear the people. They, and not the rich, are our dependence for continued freedom; and, to preserve our independence, we must not let our rulers load us with a perpetual debt. We must make our selection between *economy and liberty* or *profusion and servitude*. If we run into such debts as that we must be taxed in our meat and in our drink, in our necessities and our comforts, in our labors and amusements, for our callings and our creeds as the people of England are. Our people, like them, must come to labor sixteen hours in twenty-four; give the earnings of fifteen of these to the government for their debts and daily expenses; and the sixteenth being insufficient to afford us bread. \* \* \* We must be contented with penury, obscurity, exile and the 'GLORY' of the nation."

#### JEFFERSON OPPOSES MONOPOLIES.

Writing from Paris to Mr. Madison in 1787, Mr. Jefferson said that one of his chief objections to our present constitution was that it did not more strongly provide for the restriction of monopolies.

The corporation is dangerous enough, heaven knows! But when you allow the resistless power of the corporation to unite itself to the evil spirit of monopoly, the issue of the foul cohabitation is tyranny of the most ruinous sort.

Take every one of the colossal estates which are to-day a menace to the Republic, and you will see that Monopoly created it. And Railroad Monopoly has created more of them than all the other branches of business combined.

We have no farmer millionaires—a fact that may be worth digesting at your leisure.

We have few merchant millionaires.

We have scores of manufacturing millionaires.

We have many among the National Bankers.

But it is in the Corporate Monopoly in its worst form, that we have individual fortunes climbing up into the hundreds of millions.

Consider the half dozen men who have grown so fabulously rich from the Standard Oil Monopoly—a corporation which in its march to power has committed almost every crime known to the Code!

It has subsidized newspapers, corrupted the ballot box, bribed judges, used Railroads as accomplices in felony, driven individual property owners to beggary and ruin—and to-day has its Attorneys in the United States Senate to guard its interest.

Go read the record of the methods by which Jay Gould, and Stanford and Huntington, and Vanderbilt made their fortunes. This story is ever the same: Monopoly.

And in nine cases out of ten it is Railroad Monopoly.



No nation ever allowed such magnificent robbery as we have permitted to the railroad managers since the war.

Of the public land which was paid for in the money of our tax payers and in the blood of our soldiers, corrupt legislators have given these corporations an empire of 224,000,000 acres, besides such aids in money as almost beggar, surprise and stupefy indignation!

Special privileges, worth millions of dollars, have been granted by servile legislatures at the instance of well paid lobbies. Exemptions from taxation, have been voted with cruel disregard of the rights of other property owners.

Insolent in the strength of such wealth, such privileges and such consciousness of what it can do with our law makers, the Railroad Monopoly defies the Government, oppresses the laborer, plunders the shipper, destroys a market, ruins a city with discriminating rates and utterly bankrupts the small business if paid to do so by the large one.

Not satisfied with their stupendous power as railroad monopolies, they are reaching out their octopus arms to take in other tributaries. They are partners now of the Standard Oil Trust; they are the controlling spirits in the Coal Combine; they are taking in the mines and quarries and the timber supply. How on earth is the government to deal with corporations so much richer, so much stronger, so much shrewder, so much greedier than itself?

No law against them can pass the senate—for their tools have seats in the highest of legislative chambers. No federal decision will ever be against them—for they either keep the sons of the judges employed as their lawyers (as for instance the son of Judge Jackson of Tennessee) or they secure the appointment of their attorneys to the bench—as for instance Stanley Mathews, late of the Supreme Court. He was Jay Gould's lawyer.

At this moment the Attorney General of the United States is also Attorney for the leading Northern and Eastern Railroads—drawing a salary of \$50,000 per year from them.

But not only do they guard their interests in these directions, but they make terms with party managers, previous to elections, and it is upon these terms that the campaign boodle is supplied.

#### THE DREADFUL FUTURE.

Who does not shrink from a future dominated by such influences?

What remedy shall we apply?

The plain simple treatment which was applied by our fathers to so many other agencies which were too dangerous to be trusted to private individuals—Nationalization!

Let the government take charge of these highways of commerce and operate them for the benefit of all the people.

In no other way under God's skies will you ever do it!

Either you must trust the government to operate your railways, as it does your postoffice, or you must submit to the financial despotism of uncontrollable corporations.

And what is true of railroads is likewise true of those iniquitous monopolies, the express, telegraph and telephone companies.

#### GOVERNMENT OWNERSHIP.

To all reflective men, the railroads themselves are making out our case for us. C. P. Huntington, and Jay Gould and all the other magnates have urged the benefits of consolidation. They say that all the vast railroad interests should be managed from one central point under one central authority.



Very well. We concede it. But the blindest citizen can see that if one corporation controlled every one of the million men who serve the rail roads, directed with the unity of consolidation, every dollar of the nine billions at which they are capitalized, held every city, every town, every individual industry at the mercy of their tremendous power of discrimination, menaced every pound of cotton, every bale of hay, every bushel of grain, every barrel of pork, every foot of lumber, every piece of merchandise, with a centralized and inaccessible privilege to tax, through freight and passenger rates:—the blindest citizen, I say, would appreciate the startling truth that our government would be a puny, helpless rival to such a colossal combination.

It would have a greater patronage than the government, a greater income than the government, and its mighty hand, unchecked by popular indignation, unsympathetic with the popular needs, would take its Wall street greed for its impulse, its unlimited stretch of opportunity for its field, its Pinkerton Mercenaries for its guards, and would loot this continent, all its states, all its territories, all its trades, all its professions, all its cities, towns and hamlets, to the Vanderbilt motto of

“THE PEOPLE BE DAMNED.”

Not only have they made out our case for us on the point of consolidation, but also on the point of government operation. They have fallen out among themselves, the gluttonous thieves, and scores of the roads have been thrown into the hands of the United States courts. The government is running them.

They have asked the federal courts to take the laborers by the neck and hold them to the engines. The courts have done so.

Very stupid is that citizen who will not conclude that if the consolidation be a good thing, if government management, when asked by the capitalist, be a good thing; if government control of the trains, engines and laborers (when asked by the capitalists) be a good thing:—then government management asked by the laborers, asked by the people, is equally as good a thing, and will forever settle this eternal strife between unscrupulous corporations and the subjects of their rapacity.

JEFFERSON OPPOSES STANDING ARMIES AND NAVIES IN TIME OF PEACE.

One of those points upon which Mr. Jefferson most earnestly and constantly insisted was that a large military and naval establishment in time of peace would be subversive of our liberties. He never lost an opportunity to warn the people against it. He also opposed the creation of numerous offices and the extravagant expenditure of public money.

Let me quote from Thomas H. Benton's great work, “Thirty Years' View:”  
“The total number of men in the (naval) service in 1841 was a little over 8,000; the total cost about \$6,000,000.”

Mr. Benton protests against this naval establishment as altogether too large and too costly. He shows how it has been doubled since 1833, in direct opposition to Jefferson's views and the demands of the country.

The population of the country at the time Mr. Benton speaks of (1841) was 15,500,000.

The naval establishment cost \$8,000,000.

To-day our population is 60,000,000; and the navy costs us nearly \$30,000,000, and they are building new battle ships all the time.

For twenty-five years we have had profound peace. The ocean waters that we have around us, and the teeming millions of our population make us absolutely secure against foreign attack. Especially as every European nation has its enemies at home. Who would profit by such an opportunity as an invasion of this country would furnish?



Then why this eternal building of battle ships costing about \$5,000,000 each? Simply to get upon the same footing of class rule and class power which prevails in Europe, which our snobs and codfish aristocrats are trying to copy and which they know can only be maintained by strong military equipment.

#### MODERN ECONOMY.

According to Mr. Benton, the current expenses of our government during Jefferson's administration were about \$3,500,000. The population was then about 6,000,000. The cost of the government was therefore slightly less than sixty cents apiece.

"At the end of Monroe's administration" (says Mr. Benton) "the expenses had risen to \$7,000,000."

This was in 1825. The population was about 11,000,000. The cost of government to the people was, therefore, less than seventy cents each.

"In the last year of Van Buren's administration" (says Mr. Benton) "they had risen to about \$13,000,000."

This was in 1841. The population was about 17,500,000. The cost of government was, therefore, about seventy-five cents per head.

To-day, the regular annual expenses of carrying on the governmental machinery is \$400,000,000!

The population being 60,000,000, the cost of government is now nearly seven dollars apiece.

More than ten times in excess of the Jeffersonian standard, fixed by Jefferson himself.

Eliminate pensions altogether, and our expenses are still five times greater than the Jeffersonian standard, even after allowing for the increase of population!

#### INTERNAL IMPROVEMENTS NOT DEMOCRATIC.

Jefferson, and all the early fathers of democracy, opposed Internal Improvements; and denied the constitutionality of the system.

I may remark, in passing, Senator Toombs, of Georgia always opposed River and Harbor grabs, and I think Mr. Stephens did also.

In 1871, the River and Harbor Bill carried \$3,445,900.

By 1873 it had reached \$5,588,000.

By 1879 it had jumped to \$8,000,500.

In 1882 it snatched \$11,451,300.

In 1883 it climbed to \$18,738,000.

By 1886 it had reached the alarming size of \$22,000,000.

And in 1891 this publican sat in the House of Representatives and saw the enthusiastic disciples of Thomas Jefferson taken early *fifty million* (directly and indirectly) and dump it into the greedy maws of contractors and shipping companies—to carry out the Internal Improvement system which Jefferson abhorred and condemned!

#### THE LETTER TO ELBRIDGE GERRY.

At the beginning of this address I quoted Jefferson's inaugural, which is usually referred to as embracing his theories of government.

Pardon me for saying that his letter to Elbridge Gerry seems to me to be even more clear, more explicit, and more admirable.

"I am for preserving to the States the powers not yielded by them to the Union. \* \* I am for a government rigorously frugal and simple; applying all the possible savings of the public revenue to the discharge of the public debt; and not for a multiplication of officers and salaries, merely to make partisans, and for increasing by every device the public debt. \* \* I am for relying, for internal defence, on our militia solely, till actual invasion, and for such naval force only,



as may protect our coasts and harbors from such depredations as we have experienced; and not for a standing army in time of peace, which may overawe public sentiment; nor for a navy which by its expenses and the eternal wars in which it will implicate us, will grind us with public burdens, and sink us under them.

*"I am for free commerce with all nations; political connections with none; and little or no diplomatic establishment. I am for freedom of religion, \* \* and freedom of the press, \* \* and I am for encouraging the progress of science in all its branches."*

These were his matured views in 1799.

"A government rigorously frugal and simple," not one which would give nearly \$5,000,000 to a greedy Chicago corporation; spend nearly \$50,000,000 upon rivers and harbors; or donate \$8,000,000 annually as a bounty to the Millionaire Sugar Planters.

"I am for applying all possible savings to the payment of the public debt;" not for hunting new avenues of waste, so that the public debt may last forever, and be a perpetual blessing to the favored classes, while it curses the taxpayers!

"I am not for the increase of officers and salaries, that partisans may be made for the party," hence he would be lost in wonder if he could see the army of useless officials who now crowd every department of the service.

"I am for relying solely upon the militia until actual invasion," hence he would have doubted his ears, had he been present in the last House, when a committee of enthusiastic Jeffersonian scholars brought in a bill to nationalize all the volunteer troops, put them under national control, drill them under national direction, and thus raise, indirectly, an army of 150,000 men, fashioned upon the model of the German Landwehr.

Who defeated that well laid scheme?

A publican; a sinner; a Populist.

"I am for such naval force only, as will guard our coasts and forts. Not for a navy which, by the expenses and the eternal wars in which it will implicate us, will grind us with public burdens, and sink us under them."

Oh that the fervid apostles of Jeffersonianism who are now running this Government would ponder these precepts; would cease to build battle ships and gunboats at enormous cost in order that our navy may compare proudly with Queen Victoria's or the Emperor William's!

And would never again spend \$100,000 on mere naval display, to show how fast we are drifting to imperialism.

"I am for FREE COMMERCE with all nations!"

Read that, ye ardent enemies of the McKinley Bill! Read it slowly and distinctly, and then tell us why a Tariff passed under Harrison is a withering curse; while a Tariff passed under Cleveland will be a sumptuous and overflowing blessing?

Tell us why a Tariff of forty-odd per cent is not as vicious in principle as one of fifty-odd per cent.

"I am for little or no Diplomatic Establishment."

So speaks the Teacher. How do the Scholars talk?

"Give us Ambassadors; give us Ministers Plenipotentiary; give us Consulates—give us all the fat places Queen Victoria gives her pets. It will be an eternal shame to the American tax payer, if we don't spend as much of his money abroad, idling, feasting, and parading at foreign capitals, as is spent by the useless flunkies, titled dead beats and aristocratic loafers, who wear the gaudy circus-ring uniform of the Diplomatic Corps of the Kings and Emperors."

For mark you, my masters! When you once set the dollar mark, as the stamp of worth, you must obey the logic of the rule you make.



In any age where riches outweigh character, the dress and style of living will decide the status of the man. The uniform becomes more important than the wearer; the hat more influential than the head it covers.

It is upon this line of reasoning, that the scholars of Jefferson have adopted the Diplomatic System of Europe, and with their Ambassadors, royal receptions, and brilliant display at foreign Courts, will prove their veneration for Jefferson's creed by trampling it under their feet!

GO BACK TO THE OLD LAND MARKS.

Thus, fellow citizens, have I endeavored to outline the principles of the great friend of popular government, Thomas Jefferson.

On this day it is always appropriate to do so.

At this stage in the history of our government, it seems peculiarly important to do so.

For it does seem to me that the old land marks of government of the people are being covered by new doctrines and new practices.

Surely no man wants a moneyed aristocracy established in the land—no class tyranny, no corporation rule.

"Resist the beginnings" is the precept of profound wisdom, and at no time did it ever deserve more attention.

"A little patience, and we shall see the reign of witches pass over, their spells dissolved, and the people recovering their true sight, restoring their government to its true principles!"

So wrote Jefferson in 1798 when he was gathering all his strength to rally the people against the federalist forces of Hamilton.

"A little patience and the witches of the night shall pass away!"

We thank thee, Oh! spirit of the dead, for the prophecy—and its fulfillment.

For Jefferson was patient, endured the storm of hatred and the tempest of passion, trod the fiery furnace of pitiless persecution, marshalled the host of the plain common people and led them in serried array against the would-be aristocrats, the pampered classes, the fatteners upon special privilege!

And when the morning of the nineteenth century approached, as the year 1800 came rolling up, the sunlight was upon it; the foul witches of the night had passed away and victory lit with its golden splendor the advancing spears of triumphant Democracy!

Then followed the sweeping away of part of Hamilton's system; internal revenue abolished, army and navy cut down, offices diminished, expenditures retrenched, and the way blazed out by which stern old Andrew Jackson, who had taken the farmers, and their squirrel rifles and destroyed the English veterans at New Orleans, should organize those same farmers and lead them to the utter rout of a still deadlier foe—the national banks.

They refused to hear Jefferson on the slavery question, and another war came.

Then once more the classes laid their plans. Once more the old game was played of buying up paper money and funding it into bonds; of destroying the currency of the government to make way for the money of the bankers; of for establishing national banks to enjoy special favors, to exercise tyranny over business, to coin fortunes at the expense of the public, to corrupt elections and dictate politics.

Jefferson and his immediate followers destroyed the national banks once. Jackson destroyed them next.

Now they are here again—vultures that have followed upon the track of war, sweeping down upon the fields made desolate by conflict to feast and fatten upon the disasters of the fatherland!

Who shall deliver us from this body of death?



Who shall drive away the trooping hordes of federalism, of class legislation which once more have seized our citadel and are rioting upon our substance?

The patriot citizen is bowed with grief, filled with alarm and doubtful of the future.

"A little patience, and the witches of the night shall pass away and the people will turn once more to the true principles of their government."

God grant it!

This publican yields to no man in his love for the republic; in his veneration for the creed of its founders; in his confidence that no class rule will blight forever the prospect of popular government.

I believe in the Jeffersonian creed with all my heart and think that all the aims of good government can be covered by that one sentence:

"EQUAL AND EXACT JUSTICE TO ALL MEN."

To the rich and to the poor; to the farmer and the merchant; to the banker and the miner; to the scholar and the ditcher. And I emphasize here what I have been so misrepresented and blamed for saying before, that this republic will never reach its true grandeur as long as a dead line is drawn between one section, and another, one color and another.

I yield to no man in my pride of race. I believe the Anglo-Saxon is stronger in the glorious strength of conception and achievement than any race of created men; but from my very pride of race springs my intense scorn of that phantasm manufactured by the political bosses and called "negro denomination!"

Socially I want no mixing of races. It is best that both should preserve the race integrity by staying apart. But when it comes to matters of law and justice I despise the Anglo-Saxon who is such an infernal coward as to deny legal rights to any man on account of his color for fear of "negro domination."

"Dominate" what? "Dominate" how? "Dominate" whom?

It takes intellect to dominate. Haven't we got it?

It takes majorities to dominate. Haven't we got them?

It takes wealth to dominate. Haven't we got it?

It takes social, financial, legislative, military, naval, ecclesiastical and educational establishments to dominate. Haven't we got them?

For a thousand years the whites, the Anglo-Saxons, have had all these advantages. Armed with the garnered wealth of ten centuries, equipped with all the mental advantages of school systems, hoary with ages, holding all the land, all the avenues of commerce, all the sources of political power, outnumbering the blacks eight to one, and continually gaining on them, what words can paint the cowardice of the Anglo-Saxon who would deny "equal and exact justice" to the ignorant, helpless, poverty-cursed Negro in whose ears the clank of chains have scarcely ceased to sound—upon the ground that he feared "Negro Domination!"

Away with such contemptible timidity of counsel.

For twenty-five years the Eastern democracy has whipped Southern and Western democracy into repulsive positions by the threat of helping Republicans "put the Negro over us!"

In the name of common sense, let us throw off this yoke and be men.

No power on earth will ever reverse the decree of God.

For these convictions I have battled and have suffered. In their behalf I am ready to battle and suffer again.

I have an abiding faith in the triumph of reason, of truth, and the day will not fail to come when the people of Georgia will appreciate my motives, and do justice to my work.

My enemies have pursued me with a bitterness which made no allowance for honesty of conviction, and which has sought in every way to make life unendur-



able. They have given me many a bitter hour because of the difficulties they threw in my way, and of opponents they arrayed against me even among those I was trying to serve.

All this they have done, and they are proud of it!

But one thing they have not done—nor will they ever do!

They have not planted one doubt in my soul, one fear in my heart, nor one recreant word upon my lips!

With whatever strength it pleases God to give me, the future shall find me where the past has put me, in the vanguard of those who love Jefferson's creed, and who denounce those that surrender it.

The work that I did, *somebody* had to do. The abuse I took, *somebody* had to incur. The losses I have sustained *somebody* had to dare.

I *did* the work, *took* the abuse, *risked* the loss; and am proud of it!

Proud of my record, proud of my principles, proud of my friends!

Four years ago the plain people took me up and bade me carry their cause to the front, and plant their banner where the fight was heaviest.

As sacredly as a man ever achieved a task, I tried to perform mine.

At that time, the cause was ascendant and all men could see its merits. To day it struggles for existence, and some of the very men it pushed into power can see no good to come out of that Nazareth.

Comrades! Here is one man who honors you today more highly than in the hours of your greater prosperity, and who will share to the last whatever fortune comes to you.

Right is everlastingly right. Wrong is eternally wrong. No shifting of electoral success can alter a principle, and that man who flies the field and abandons the cause at the approach of danger and at the discouragement of defeat, is at heart a pitiful coward or an infamous renegade!

Today—Jefferson's day—let us pledge ourselves anew to the holy mission of bringing back the Government to the old landmarks.

Let us go hence with new fires of purpose blazing in our hearts!

Let our hopes, our labors, all be consecrated to the work for better government and juster laws.

And the prayer of this Publican is for a new era in the affairs of the Republic; a reign of the best men and the best laws to the end that the land may be blessed; that industry may prosper in all her fields; commerce in all her marts; that honesty may be cherished in all her rulers; justice in all her courts; equity in all her statutes; purity in all her temples and happiness dwell in all her homes.

#### BERRY JENKINS' CURIOSITY—SENATORIAL FUNERALS, ETC.

*Hon. T. E. Watson, Thomson, Ga.*—Dear Sir: Upon page 3245 of the *Congressional Record* I find concurrent resolution of the Senate to print 8,000 copies of eulogies delivered in Congress upon Hon. Leland Stanford, late a Senator from the State of California, fifty copies to be bound in morocco for the family of the deceased. Upon page 3358 I find it was agreed to in the House and that the estimated cost of the same is \$2,650.

Will you please tell us in the columns of THE PEOPLE'S PARTY PAPER when this custom obtained, and if it isn't a new freak of this present Democratic (?) Congress?

Yours for reform,

BERRY JENKINGS, JR.

Mill Haven, Ga., March 15, 1894.

P. S.—Also please tell us how much the funeral of Senator Hearst, of California, cost Uncle Sam.

B. J., JR.



EDITOR'S REPLY: The foregoing letter explains itself. So does the postscript. In fact the postscript outweighs the letter.

This curiosity upon the part of my friend Jenkins is very creditable to him. If every tax-payer were to exercise like zeal in trying to learn why certain expenses are charged up to him by our statesmen-at Washington, we would soon bring our law-makers to the necessity of paying some attention to what is legal and right.

There is no law whatever for spending \$2,650 of the people's money in printing the memorials of Senator Stanford, or of any other Senator or Representative. No law whatever! Custom alone warrants the expense. In other words, previous Congresses have been doing this illegal thing for many years, hence a "custom" is established. The illegal thing having become "customary," every Congress now does this illegal thing because it has been done so often that the wrong has become right.

By this Congressional logic, you have only to keep on doing wrong a certain number of years in order to make an illegality legal.

Every year many thousands of dollars of the people's money are spent to print the "Memorial Addresses" delivered in honor of deceased statesmen. I again repeat most positively that there is no law for it. Congress just does it, and the tax-payer has to stand it.

Now as to funerals.

Mr. Jenkins wants to know something of the funeral expenses of the late Senator Hearst, of California. Very well, here are the facts:

On page 111, Annual Report of Secretary of the Senate for the year ending June 1, 1891, I find the following:

March 7. For undertaker's charges for the funeral of the late Senator Geo. Hearst, viz: Draped Stein casket.....	\$ 290 00
Metal lining, \$85.00; hearse to depot.....	92 00
(Page 112). Sterling silver plate and engraving.....	25 00
Cypress shipping case.....	75 00
Embalming arterially.....	100 00
(Page 114). Paid for carriage hire at funeral.....	20 25
(Page 116). Paid for Pullman cars, sleepers, and for supplies furnished funeral committee.....	1,400 00
Service of Pullman dining car.....	700 00
Separate Pullman private car for Mrs. Hearst and family.....	105 00
Commissary supplies, meals, lunches, served in dining car.....	3,463 00
Transferring baggage Senate Committee.....	8 00
Now the House Committee:	
Special train, five cars.....	6,400 00
Hauling special train, various lines.....	2,936 00
	868 00
	612 00
	30 00
	1,992 00
Use of car for remains.....	700 00
Carriage hire, again.....	13 50
same.....	36 00
same.....	16 00
same.....	20 00
same.....	3 00
Porterage.....	6 00
Baggage transfer, again.....	32 00
same.....	12 00
Hotel bill.....	212 50
Telegrams, postage, etc.....	117 20
To reimburse Senator Vance.....	174 00



[This last item needs explanation, and I will give it. Senator Vance saw fit to leave the committee and the Pullman car, and to return to Washington by another route. The chartered Pullman cars went all around by way of Monterey, El Paso, Texarkana, St. Louis—and thence to Washington. Senator Vance evidently felt too sad to go on his extended pleasure trip, on chartered Pullman cars, so soon after a funeral, therefore he went straight from California by way of the *Northern Pacific Railroad* to Washington. Whether he traveled on a free pass is not stated. But the Senator pocketed \$174 of the people's money all the same, when if he had joined the excursion of the other heartbroken Senatorial mourners, and taken a jaunt down through Southern California and up through Texas and Missouri, those elegant Pullman cars would not have cost a cent more.]

Now, Jenkins, brace yourself and get ready for further items:

(Page 119). Secretary's report: 1 doz. silk sashes for committee at  
 Senator Hearst's funeral.....\$ 45 00  
 Two doz. pairs silk gloves..... 30 00  
 (Page 120). Hotel bill of Joint Committee at the Palace Hotel, San  
 Francisco..... 777 00

Now let us add up the various sums which the tax-payers had to spend in the burial of one Senator—a millionaire Senator at that:

The items on pages 111 and 112 amount to.....	\$ 582 00
Those on page 116 aggregate.....	19,228 00
Those on page 117 amount to.....	629 00
Those on page 119 to.....	75 00
Those on page 120 to.....	777 00
Item on page 114.....	20 00
Grand total....	\$21,311 00

The late Senator Wilson, of Maryland, was buried within a short distance of Washington (221 miles), yet the expenses of the Senate and House Committees *in going to the funeral and coming back* were one thousand, five hundred and twenty-nine dollars! Seventy dollars per mile seems somewhat steep.

See page 111 of the Official Report. In addition to this sum, it cost the tax-payers \$615 to prepare Senator Wilson's body for burial. See page 111.

Now bear in mind that the salary of a deceased member of the House or Senate is always continued to his widow, to the end of the unexpired term, and you will be in a frame of mind to do some hot talking.

There is no law which authorizes either the House or the Senate to bury their deceased members at public expense.

There is no law which authorizes Congress to continue to pay salaries after Senators and Representatives are dead.

It is an outrageous piece of illegality and spoliation; nothing else.

In the case of Senator Hearst, it will be seen that we not only paid all the lavish expenditures of a millionaire's funeral, but we even paid the expenses of carrying his heirs to the grave yard!

#### HOW CONGRESS SPENDS YOUR MONEY.

At no time since the late Civil War have the people of this country been in a better frame of mind to examine into the conduct of their rulers.

Party tyranny has been rudely shaken by its own errors.

Party bosses have presumed too far, and the people who were blinded by passion in 1892, now realize that the keeping of a certain set of professional pol-



iticians in office is not necessarily synonymous with the salvation of the Republic.

Believing that the time has come when the honest citizen, whether Democrat or not, would like to know how his taxes are being spent, I have been looking into the official reports of the disbursing officers of the House and Senate, with a view to telling the tax-payer some things which his party bosses and their hireling newspapers will never tell him.

These reports give an itemized account of the moneys spent by Congress in salaries, supplies, incidental expenses, etc.

Of course most of the expenditures are authorized by law and are free from criticism.

But the people have been so negligent about these matters and the temptation to be liberal with somebody else's money is so strong, that many an item, involving thousands of dollars, has crept into these accounts to the utter violation of law and to the disgust of all the better class of Congressmen.

Remembering that every dollar thus squandered, without authority of law, comes out of your pocket, let us examine the items of the account.

First, we will take the report of Mr. Kerr, Clerk of the Democratic House over which Mr. Crisp presided.

It appears that he paid out \$425 for a coffin and fixtures for Gen. Spinola, a wealthy New Yorker, who died while serving a term in Congress. For silk gloves, carriages, telegrams, embalming, etc., connected with same funeral, he paid out \$123.75. For other telegrams connected with same funeral, for Pullman cars to New York for the funeral party, etc., he paid, further, \$224. The widow, it appears, stopped at the Westminster Hotel, in New York, three days, and the Government paid the board bill of \$43.00. Paid it out of your money. The same Hotel was paid \$62.40 for the board of the funeral committee, also.

The Government also paid the New York undertakers \$252.20 for their services. Paid it out of your money. All this you will find on page 114 of Mr. Kerr's official report.

Now turn to page 302 of the Statutes at Large of the United States for 1891 to 1893, and you will find that Congress paid Gen. Spinola's widow an additional sum of \$5,000! A whole year's salary was given the widow of this wealthy New Yorker who died before he served you a single day of his term.

Gen. Spinola was a Democrat, and the House whose concurrence was necessary to the passage of this appropriation, was overwhelmingly Democratic.

On page 93 of the official report of the 50th Congress there is a statement of the funeral expenses charged up to you for the burial of the Hon. Sam. J. Randall. The coffin and fixtures cost you \$525; the embalming \$50; the black silk sashes \$84; the white silk sashes \$104; black silk gloves \$15; white silk gloves \$22.50; draping the church \$125; and a few other items which run that part of the bill up to \$1,039.50.

Then came the expense of carrying Mr. Randall's family to the funeral and back; also the expense of the committee to Philadelphia and back. Total cost of going to the funeral and coming back \$877.16. Eighty-one persons, including the family and committee, were carried to Mr. Randall's funeral at your expense. The porters on Pullman cars always expect "tips" from travelers; that is, little presents of a dime or a quarter. On this funeral train this custom was strictly adhered to. The porters got \$5.00 in "tips."—Your money. See page 94 of the report.

Remember, also, that Mrs. Randall got an appropriation from Congress similar to that of Mrs. Spinola.

On page 301 of the Statutes at Large you will find appropriations of \$5,000 each for the widows of Messrs. Ford, Gamble, Houk and Lee, all of whom died



just after election and never rendered you a day's service. To each of those gentlemen a successor was immediately chosen, and this successor also drew full pay covering the same term for which Congress paid the dead men.—Out of your money.

The Speaker of the House is, as you may have heard me remark, a very high and mighty potentate. In other words, one of the biggest of the big bugs.

Naturally, therefore, it requires a good many men to wait on him, and help him sustain the arduous responsibilities of his exalted station.

Hence Congress supplies him with an official called "Clerk to the Speaker." This gentleman discharges no public duty whatever. His sole task is to puff the Speaker in the newspapers, and to scarify and traduce the Speaker's enemies. For this service he is paid about \$1,600 per year.—Out of your money. The "Clerk to the Speaker" at this happy period of the world's history is "E. W. B." and his puffs of the Speaker regularly appear in that crazy-quilt of journalism, the *Atlanta Constitution*.

But "E. W. B." is not the only candle-toter to the Speaker. He is also supplied with a "Private Secretary," at a cost, to you, of \$2,000 per annum. Then he is likewise furnished with a "Clerk to the Speaker's Table," at \$2,000 per year. Also with a "Messenger to the Speaker," at a cost of \$1,000 per annum.

Thus you will observe that Mr. Crisp is supported, buttressed, armed and equipped in the most elaborate and costly style of red-tapery.

At your expense.

If you should go through these official reports, page by page, you would see many things which would astound you.

You would find our Statesmen fitting up Barber shops on a costly scale, in order that they may be shaved inside the capitol building. No rent is charged the barbers. No revenue to the people comes from the investment. Several thousand dollars of your money is simply squandered in order that a lazy Statesman may have a convenience.

Turning the leaves of this pamphlet, you would be surprised to find how many curious directions your money takes.

You find yourself paying Henry Burmeister \$25.00 every month for winding up the Senate clocks!

And by the time you catch your breath after this item, you find yourself paying Henry \$123 in a lump, for repairing sundry clocks. (See page 129, Senate Report.)

Then you find yourself paying \$800 for a marble bust of Chester A. Arthur. Then Henry Burmeister gets hard up again, and you pay him \$50 for winding the clocks in the Senate chamber from Jan. 1, to Feb. 29, 1892.

You find yourself buying 4,900 pounds of ice in January, and a like amount in February; and you begin to tremble to think how much ice the Senate *will* want when summer comes.

At this stage of the game, Henry Burmeister rolls up again and demands \$25 for winding the clocks of the Senate *from March 1, to March 31, 1892.*

To cool yourself off after paying a man one dollar per day for winding two clocks, you whirl in and buy 59,881 pounds of ice; 59,000 pounds of ice for less than 100 Senators during March, 1892! That makes 590 pounds for each for one month. Divide 590 by the number of working days, and you have more than twenty pounds of ice each Senator consumed in a winter month. The Senate rarely sits more than four hours per day. Hence each Senator, according to the official report, makes away with two pounds of ice each hour!

In the winter at that. (See page 137, Report Sec'y. of Senate, 1892.)

Recovering yourself as well as you can, proceed to page 141 and see yourself



paying the inevitable Henry Burmeister \$25 for winding the Senate clocks during the month of April.

In looking over the report you constantly find yourself buying committee room furniture regardless of cost.

On page 64, you pay for one chair for the committee on the District of Columbia \$65.00.

Enough to furnish a modest cottage.

Another chair for the same committee costs you \$45.00.

For another committee room you pay \$32 for one chair, and \$75.00 for a lounge!

No wonder your Statesmen are lazy.

It cost you \$177.50 to carpet one of these small committee rooms; \$127 for another; \$246 for another; and \$355 for another. One Smyrna rug cost you \$23; a Brussels rug \$75; another \$60, and so on. A couch for one committee cost you \$75; the pillow for said couch \$3.50. Dear me!

The Committee on Appropriations wanted a looking glass. They bought a "gold frame mirror" which cost you \$40.

To carpet a room for the reporters of the newspapers cost you \$220.

The Senate Committee on Agriculture carpeted their room at a cost to you of \$192. Committee on Public Lands struck you for \$322 for a carpet. Secretary's room cost you (for carpet) \$274. To carpet the Senate room itself you paid \$2,042!

Remember that this carpet is used but one term, then another is bought.

But we have not finished yet.

Turn to the report for 1891, page 99, and see how you buy cooling beverage for your Statesmen.

On Sept. 1, 1890, you buy \$71.50 of Lemons and Apollinaris water to refresh your poor, down-trodden Senators. On Sept. 15, you buy them \$35.25 worth of Quinine pills, Jamaica ginger, sweet oil and feather dusters. A most unholy and disconcerting mixture!

On page 97, you buy these laborious Senators \$156 worth of Lemons, Apollinaris water, and Babbitt's soap.

On page 95, is another bill of \$110.75 for Lemons and Appollinaris; also one of \$91.52 for Lemons, Appollinaris and 304 pounds granulated sugar.

Then a third bill of \$15 for same articles, same page, thus reaching the sum of \$217 which you spent in July 1890 to cool your statesmen in the Senate. With less than 100 Senators to cool, even were they all present, it would seem that \$217 per month for lemonade was liberal enough.

During the same month, July 1890, I find that you supplied the Senate with 170,000 pounds of ice!

The cost was \$425. Add this to the lemonade and you have \$642—which was charged to you, most shamelessly and illegally, during one month of the year in order that your Senators might gratify personal appetite at your expense.

In June 1890 the Senate ice bill was \$535. Their bill for lemons, sugar and Appollinaris, \$71.

On page 86, you are charged \$231 for a bill of goods for the Senate which includes among its items, 1 china bowl, 6 lemon knives, 4 strainers, 1 sugar scoop, 2 covered sugar bowls, 2 ladles, 6 sugar spoons, 6 lemon squeezers.

Sounds like a bar-room inventory, doesn't it?

Where have you ever in any law, given them the right to spend your money in fitting up a bar?

The Committee on Rules and Conference on Appropriations is a great luxury



to the tax-payers. The furniture of its room costs you a neat little fortune  
Here are the items:

1 English carpet rug .....	\$228
2 Chairs .....	48
4 Antique arm chairs .....	180
4 Turkish green leather chairs .....	220
1 Antique desk .....	90
8 Antique arm-chairs .....	112
2 Sofas .....	120
1 Antique hall-rack .....	158
1 Table .....	65
1 Screen .....	30
Mats and rugs .....	36
Table .....	7
Shades, curtains, transoms .....	270
4 Special top mirrors .....	100
2 Brass fenders .....	24
2 Fire sets .....	20
1 Wilton rug .....	133
2 Table covers .....	60
1 Table .....	35

Add up these various sums and you will see that the Committee on Rules and Conference have their room furnished at the modest outlay of more than nineteen hundred dollars!

Enough to buy and stock a big plantation.

Going from page to page of these Reports you find unlimited towels and soap charged up to you; on page 114 of the report of 1893 you pay out \$144 for soap at one bounce.

Then you pay \$20 for "one Chamois skin, large selected."

The Senate selected, you paid. Then comes \$81 for brushes; \$22 for more brushes; \$108 for more brushes; then \$6.90, \$16.50; then \$57, then \$49—all for brushes in June 1892. Not a good month for dust, either. Then \$25 for nail brushes.

Then comes cologne, and bay rum, and alcohol, and castor oil, and quinine, and ammonia, castor oil and neat's-foot oil, and gum camphor; then come \$49 for combs, \$123 for sponges, \$104 for feather dusters; \$45 for more soap, \$46 for blacking and blacking brushes; \$12 for more alcohol, \$193 for sponges, \$6 for more soap, and \$7.50 for pond-lily wash; and \$12 for Brown's ginger.

This one bill of goods for the barber shop cost more than \$1,300—for which you get no return whatsoever.

Any law for this? None!

The Reports show that not only is the pay roll packed and crowded with unnecessary employees, but that at the end of every session Congress gives the entire lot one month's extra pay. This amounts to nearly one hundred thousand dollars.

I noticed in going over these items of expenditure that one of the Reporters was buried at a cost of more than one thousand dollars *to you!*

Also that when a page, or policeman, or clerk dies, several hundred dollars are invariably given to the family as extra pay for the deceased.

Do you say these are small matters? Not so.

No violation of law can be a small matter.

No betrayal of public trust can be a small matter.

No unjust expenditure of trust funds can be a small matter.

To every citizen, to every tax-payer this matter is vitally important.



Let any man read the cold facts, just as I have given them from the Reports, and then judge how near to corruption, to folly, to wastefulness, to anarchy, the treasury has been brought by the two old parties whose unholy hands thus plunder the tax-money of the people.

### WHAT YOUR NATIONAL SENATE COSTS YOU.

The Senate of the United States is composed of eighty-eight members, not counting the Vice-President (who is its presiding officer) as one of the body.

Let us see what it cost you to support this august assembly.

Taking the official report of the Secretary of the Senate for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1891, I find that the salary and mileage of these eighty-eight Senators cost you \$464,852.19.

For pay of Secretary of the Senate, pay of clerks, messengers, mail-carriers, pages, folders, engineers, laborers, telegraph operator, chaplain, door-keepers, carpenters, conductors of elevator, stenographers, librarian, stationery-keeper, etc., \$408,682.17. For one month's extra pay for all the employees of the Senate, \$41,102.15.

The "extra pay" is a grab, pure and simple. By this indirect method of stealing your tax money, the Secretary of the Senate gets \$449 as a gift; the chief clerk gets \$250; the principal clerk gets \$216; the financial clerk gets \$250; the principal executive clerk gets \$216; the journal clerk gets \$216; the enrolling clerk \$216; assistant financial clerk \$200; librarian \$185; assistant librarian \$120; six other clerks \$185 each; five more clerks \$175 each; the keeper of the stationery \$150; his assistant \$83; two messengers \$120 each; five laborers \$60 each; ten pages \$75 each; secretary to the vice-president \$185; messenger to same \$120; telegraph operator \$100; twenty-odd other clerks \$185 each; twenty-odd laborers \$180 each; twenty-odd committee clerks \$180 each; the clerks of the Senators \$180 each—and so on until the one month's extra pay amounts to the sum already stated.

The next item is for the police. For January, February, March, April, May and June they cost you \$18,300. They got a full month's extra pay also.

The next item of expense is for stationery and newspapers. The amount from October 9, 1890, to June 29, 1891, was \$11,606.86.

Horses and wagons come next. From July, 1890, they consumed your taxes to the extent of \$5,782.64.

Materials for folding speeches and documents come next. The envelopes, paste, twine, tape, cost you, from July 2, 1890, to July 11, 1891, \$7,898.42.

Next comes the itemized statement of what you pay to have these speeches and documents "folded"—which simply means pasting the wrappers on speeches, documents and books. From July 13, 1890, to June 1, 1891, you paid these envelope pasters \$12,978.04.

For fuel, for heating purposes, you paid, between July, 1890, and June, 1891, nearly eleven thousand dollars.

For new furniture and carpets, clocks, etc., between March, 1890, and June 2, 1891, these eighty-eight Senators spent upwards of eight thousand dollars of your Money.

For cleaning and repairing old furniture they spent more than seventeen hundred dollars.

For packing boxes they spent \$1,073.

For miscellaneous items set forth from page 83 to page 85 of the report they spent \$2,950.90. Those items include typewriters, private telegraph lines con-



necting the Senate with various public offices, chisels, drills, screw-drivers, rat-traps, quinine pills, bay rum, cologne, ice, gum camphor, and an empty bottle. It also includes \$75.00 paid to Harris & Shafer for winding the Senate clocks for three months. The Senators also wanted one hundred copies of certain decisions of the Supreme court. Had them printed at your expense. Only \$888. Even money, you see.

Then comes another lot of miscellaneous items, commencing on page 85 and ending on page 91. They amount to \$2,756.90.

They include the washing and ironing of fifteen hundred and ninety-five dozens of towels!

5 copies of Webster's dictionary.

6 lemon squeezers.

2 ladles.

6 sugar spoons.

1 china bowl.

4 strainers.

6 lemon knives.

1 sugar scoop, and 12 tumblers.

Then come costly pitchers, granulated sugar, lemons, apollinaries water, soda, sweet oil, soap, camphor, alcohol, quinine pills, more soap, bay rum, German cologne, quinine hair tonic, Lubin's powders, sponges, saw dust, *fans by the gross, and street car tickets by the hundred!*

Then from page 91 to page 121 we have a long stretch of very miscellaneous items amounting to \$62,822.33.

They include additional help to the overworked employees already mentioned; also pay to the widows of Senators who died before their terms were out; also pay for newspapers, another Webster's Dictionary, more lemons, sugar and apollinaries water, alcohol, another tremendous amount of towels, more quinine pills, more sponges, more sweet oil, more rat-traps, a forty-dollar History of Greece, shaving soap, vaseline, hand-glass, flesh-brushes, witch hazel, white cosmetics, magnesia, Pinaud's tonic, cuticura ointment, bath sponges, and a puff ball and box; and large lots of every known variety of soap.

And bless my life, here on page 103 is a jar of snuff!

Bought with your money by our dandy Senators.

Then come a great many more silver pitchers, lather-brushes, shaving mugs, blacking, blacking brushes, another Webster's Dictionary and a fearful lot of towels, ice without limit, and a twenty-dollar "History of American Spiders and their spinning work." (See page 107.)

Among the miscellaneous items which make up this waste of your hard-earned money you will find, time and again, where you are charged for the carriages which are sent after absentee Senators. The item is entered in these polite words:

"For use of carriage from 2:30 a. m. to 8:30 a. m., Jan. 17, 1891, in requesting attendance of absent Senators, \$10.00."

On January 17, 1891, are four entries to that effect. Thus you spent \$40 on that one day trying to get your Senators to come to their place of business.

On Sept. 28, 1890, you are charged with \$124 for meals sent to a conference committee.

And each month during all this time you are paying Henry Burmeister \$25 to wind up the two Senate clocks.

You pay \$428 for the expenses of a committee which attended General Sherman's funeral; you pay upwards of \$21,000 for the funeral of Senator Hearst;



you pay \$800 for a bust of Daniel Tompkins, and \$800 for one of Thos. A. Hendricks.

On page 120 let your startled eyes rest upon this entry against you:

"June 3, 1891, For three imperial bathing tubs, porcelain lined, nickel plated fittings, for Senate bathing room, \$360."

Now turn back to page 119 and read:

"51½ dozen huck towels, made to order with U. S. Senate woven in, \$187; 9 dozen bath towels, \$27; 6 dozen bath towels, \$36."

Thus you will observe that you have not only supplied your Senators with unlimited soap, but also with bathing tubs and costly bath towels.

Beginning on page 121 and ending on page 134, we have another lot of miscellaneous items amounting to \$30,000. It is mostly made up of the expenses of special committees of Senators.

Then come \$340 for postage stamps; \$1,200 for compiling the Congressional Directory; \$12,000 for the expenses of Senators in contesting for seats.

The grand total of the expenses of your Senators for those few months were *one million*, one hundred and fifty-six thousand, seven hundred and sixty-five dollars and thirty cents—not counting the salary and perquisites of the Vice-President!

Your National Senate cost you more than \$130,000 for each of your eighty-eight senators.

Do you get any return from the money invested in these elegant Barber shops?

None whatever.

Do you get any return for all those sums spent for bar-room supplies? And for those bath-rooms?

None whatever!

Do you get any return for all that lavish outlay for furniture?

None worth mentioning. "Old furniture and waste paper" is your only source of income as an offset to the tremendous outlay for new furniture, carpets, mirrors, etc.

Your income from the old furniture, etc., which was sold to make room for the eight thousand dollars worth of new furniture was, in 1891, *fifty-seven dollars*.

In 1892 the Senate spent more than five thousand dollars of your money for new carpets, rugs, etc., to take the place of that which they had bought in 1891 and previous years. If any showing was made for the carpets and furniture thus displaced, I have been unable to find it.

#### THE REPORT OF 1892

is much the same. For the year ending June 30, 1892, the eighty-eight Senators were paid \$16,915.00, balance due them on 1891; then paid \$456,063.00 due them down to June 30, 1892.

During same period, you paid to Senate officers, clerks, messengers, pages, Senators's clerks, committee clerks, etc.	\$405,483 00
You paid to the police	19,386 00
For stationery you paid	4,452 00
For more stationery	11,215 00
For postage	300 00
Horses and wagons	3,557 00
Fuel for heating	9,143 00
New carpets and furniture	5,570 00
Repairing furniture	1,815 00
Ditto	330 00



Cleaning furniture.....	221 00
Ditto.....	1,023 00
Folding documents.....	896 00
Materials for folding.....	6,101 00
Packing boxes.....	909 00
Special committees of the Senate.....	3,732 60
Ditto.....	44,785 00
For telegrams.....	113 00
Miscellaneous.....	4,785 00
Ditto.....	31,085 00
Reporting debates.....	25,000 00
More miscellanies.....	3,844 00
Additional employees.....	2,490 00
Paid for tariff statistics.....	1,000 00
Congressional directory.....	1,200 00

Add up all these various sums and you will find the aggregate exceeds one million dollars.

In other words, there is no material difference between the regular expenses of one year and another. The number of funerals and cost of same constitute the only difference which I can find.

Do not understand me to say that all this money is illegally or wastefully spent. Salaries for the Senators; reasonable clerk hire; reasonable supplies of furniture, of books, of stationary, fuel, etc., are absolutely necessary to the Senate, as to every other legislative body.

But I do say it's a shame to fit up elegant bath-rooms, bar-rooms, restaurants and barber-shops at your expense, when you derive no revenue whatever from those expenditures and when those outlays are so unnecessary to the discharge of Senatorial duties.

I do say it's a shame that you should pay for blacking the boots, shaving the faces, oiling the hair, whitening the cheeks, dusting the clothes and cleaning the finger nails of your Senators.

I do say it's a shame that you have to pay for the carriages which are sent for them when they dead-lock national business by their absence; for alcohol, lemonade, apollinaris water, for their personal comfort; for the needless extravagance with which they gratify their taste for fine furniture; for their funerals when dead, and for the salary which is voted the widow of a man who did not earn it.

I do say it's a shame that every cranny and corridor about the Senate should be rammed and jammed with unnecessary employees until they almost block up the passages and then that the entire lot should have a gift made to them, every session, of one month's extra pay out of your money.

I do say that it's a shame to spend so much of your money on police and on horses, and "folding," and clerks and assistant clerks, when everybody knows that the tax-payer is harder up for means to pay his taxes than ever before.

The extra pay is illegal; the funeral business is illegal; the continuance of salaries to deceased Senators is illegal; the bath-room, barber-shop and restaurant expenditures are illegal; the bar-room business is illegal; the purchase of medicines for Senators is illegal.

Glance over the items in the account and you will be impressed with the fact that the amount of your money spent by the Senate, illegally and needlessly, exceeds a quarter of a million dollars for the few months of each year that they are in session.



You may say this is a small sum. You may say I am raising a row over a small thing. Not so. What I want to do is to convince you that your whole national system is afflicted with the deadly virus of lawlessness, extravagance and criminal neglect of your interests, and I can do this in no better way than to lay before you the actual facts in regard to each department of your national government.

This article concludes what I have to say about the Senate.

Next the House will be overhauled. Then the Executive mansion. Then the State department, post-office department, etc., each in its turn.

By the time I get through I hope to have given you a pretty clear idea of the whole administrative machinery, together with the cost of running it.

In each instance I will give you the facts as reported by the government itself.

#### WHAT THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES COSTS YOU.

Turning to the official report of the running expenses of the lower House of Congress for the fiscal year ending Dec. 7, 1891, the first items I find relate to clerks, pages, door-keepers, etc., etc.

The aggregate, to page 55, is.....	\$37,034.44
Next comes the pay of the police.....	18,299.90
Next come miscellaneous items.....	17,918.63

Among these, I find \$123 paid to the Pinkerton Detective Agency; \$7 for a meat block; \$74.25 for carriages to bring absent members to the House July 16, 1890; \$60 for parlor on New Jersey avenue for the World's Fair committee; \$30 for carriages for absent members; \$60 more for rent of parlors for World's Fair committee; \$30 more for carriages to bring absent members; \$60 more for parlors for World's Fair committee; \$300 for committee attending Gen. Sherman's funeral; \$75.00 for a steam oyster cooker; \$68 more for parlors for the World's Fair committee; \$348 more for committee attending Gen. Sherman's funeral; \$60 more for parlors for that World's Fair committee; \$1,039 expenses for Hon. Sam Randall's funeral; \$877 more for same; \$361 on funeral of M. L. Foote; \$250 for expenses last illness of same; \$635 for funeral of Hon. Jas. Laird; \$89 more for Sam Randall's funeral; one year's salary for a dead reporter named J. J. McElhone, \$6,000; six months salary to another dead man (a clerk) named M. L. Foote \$1,098; \$324 more for Sam Randall's funeral; one oyster box, \$15; expenses last illness, etc., of McElhone, the reporter, \$500. Several other funerals are also charged, amounting to thousands of dollars.

Then comes the bill for envelopes and paste in wrapping

Speeches.....	\$ 6,286.62
Fuel and oil.....	9,251.00
Furniture and repairs.....	7,715.00
Packing boxes.....	3,005.00
Postage.....	525.00
Stationery.....	45,260.05
Stationery to reporters and committees.....	3,337.81

Then comes the statement for the time embraced between July 1, 1891, and Dec. 7, 1891.



First we pay the clerks, messengers, door-keepers, pages, postmasters, laborers, etc., .....	\$139,332.21
More messengers and foremen.....	600.00
Police.....	16,128.22
Miscellaneous.....	666.79
Ditto .....	257.85
Stationery.....	7,325.00
Folding materials.....	5,903.00
Postage.....	135.00
Packing boxes.....	3,003.00
Fuel and oil.....	3,323.89
One month's extra pay all round, March 1891.....	37,034.44

The total of all these various sums is about \$725,000—cost of the employee and the contingent expenses of the lower House.

Now add in the salaries of members and you will have (including mileage) upwards of two millions, seven hundred and twenty-five thousand dollars!

The salary of each member is \$5,000; his mileage is 20 cents per mile each way.

In my calculation I have not included the value of books, fish, flowers, seeds and plants furnished to members at your expense.

Besides the 356 members of the Lower House who draw salary, mileage and perquisites, there are four Delegates from Territories whose pay and perquisites are the same as those of members.

Coming now to the Crisp Congress of 1892 I find salaries of officers and employees to be (up to p. 39 of report).	\$264,903.24
Special employees.....	57.96
Police.....	3,269.30
Stationery.....	39,971.33
Fuel and oil.....	3,430.79
Furniture and repairs.....	8,760.99
Folding materials.....	7,050.30
Miscellaneous.....	19,514.10
Ditto .....	2,793.46

Besides several smaller items.

The stationery bill is full of interest.

In addition to the amounts already mentioned, I find that nearly five thousand dollars worth of it was furnished to committees, etc., between the dates of July 1, 1891, and June 30, 1892. The Clerk's office consumed \$1,268 in pens, ink, paper, rubber bands, memorandum books, etc. The Door-keeper, whose office does not have any literary suggestion about it, used \$563 in stationery; the Reporters of Debates used \$325; even the engineer was free to write letters at your expense, and so was the chaplain, and so were the police. The items are duly charged up against you.

One feature of this paper and ink bill which you will admire is that the reporters of the newspapers are furnished envelopes, paper, ink, pens, pencils, blotters, scissors, erasers, memorandum books and pen holders at your expense. See page 123 of the Report of the Crisp Congress 1892.

In the Speaker's Room was used \$130 of stationery besides the \$125 which the law allows the Speaker as a Member of Congress.

Then come the Committees; and each of the fifty odd committees used stationery to the tune of from twelve to eighty dollars in addition to the \$125 of stationery which the law allows to each member of those committees.



Now let us recapitulate the expenses of running the House under Mr. Crisp from December 8, 1891 to June 30, 1892:

Salaries of Members .....	\$1,685,000
Extra for Mr. Speaker .....	3,000
Mileage of members (about) .....	200,000
Salaries of officers and employees .....	265,023
Police .....	3,269
Commutation for Stationery .....	39,971
Fuel .....	3,430
Furniture .....	11,034
Materials for folding .....	7,050
Miscellaneous items .....	22,957
Stationery for Committees .....	4,985
“ “ Members .....	7,611

Remember that Congress did not adjourn in June 1892, but held on till August, remember that extra pay, for one month, was voted to all the officers, messengers, clerks, assistant clerks, door-keepers, assistant door-keepers, pages, laborers, police, engineers elevator men, etc. etc., and that this extra pay does not appear in the above statement; remember that this extra pay equals forty thousand dollars; remember that the stationery bill and the “contingent” expenses and the “miscellaneous” outlay continued till August; remember that the last thing the Crisp Congress did was to authorize members of congress to employ clerks at your expense, during the Congressional session, at salaries of \$100 per month each; and remember that there are three hundred and thirty-seven of these clerks that you will thus have to pay one hundred dollars per month during the whole time Congress is sitting. In this one particular Mr. Crisp’s Congress added about \$37,000 per month to the expenses of the Lower House.

Thus, it will cost you about two and one-half millions of dollars to run the House of Representatives each fiscal year.

This does not include interest upon the \$15,000,000 which has been spent upon the marble building in which they meet, nor does it include repairs upon the building.

The greater part of the expenditure of this two and one-half millions of dollars is strictly necessary and legal, but a careful examination of the account will convince any citizen that at least \$250,000 of the outlay is mere waste—illegal waste of your money.

Where have you authorized your Representatives to supply the reporters for the newspapers with stationery? Where is the justice of making you pay enormous sums for new furniture every year? What goes with the old?

I find that you got only about \$300 for the displaced furniture in 1891 and 1892. Eight thousand for new furniture and only \$300 for the old looks queer.

Why should your money be paid to that infernal Pinkerton gang?

Why should you pay the doctor bill and burial expenses of reporters and clerks and members?

What law sanctions it? When did you authorize your representatives to buy oyster cookers, and charge them to you?

Imitating the lordly Senate, the House has also its elegant bath rooms, restaurant, barber shops and bar rooms.

Where is the law for it? Where is the common sense of it?

Why should you have to pay for the carriages sent after your absent Congressmen?

Do absent jurors get such dainty treatment? Do absent road-hands get trans-



portation at public expense? Do merchants send carriages after absent clerks—free of charge to the clerk?

Will you ever have real service from your congressmen as long as a premium is put upon neglect of duty?

Is there any reason why a member of Congress, absent from his post, should not be treated just as you treat a juror who is absent from *his* post?

Why should you have to pay their salaries a year after they are dead when you are also paying the members who succeed them?

This funeral business is such a fraud and such a mockery of decency and justice that they even charge you for the shoe blacks who polish the shoes of the funeral committee, and the *papers the members read as they journey to the burial!* (See page 94 of the report.)

I started out to count the number of dozens of towels you were charged with having washed. Got to 9,400 *dozens* and collapsed. Divided among 333 Congressmen this makes nearly thirty dozens of towels for each. And yet some of those Statesmen do not impress you as having been so insanely neat at all that. Enough soap is charged up in these bills to wash the election returns of both old parties. Enough combs and brushes to straighten the hair of every cow boy in America. Enough ink to float our navy.

A sample of the way the "Miscellaneous" items are run up on you may be interesting. On page 89, you will find one which is pleasant reading. It appears that Mr. R. H. Forsyth, "Special Deputy Sergeant-at-arms," was sent to Chicago after a man named J. A. Ownbey. Forsyth faces to the West January 22, 1891. Hired a carriage to go to the depot in Washington and charged you \$2.00 for it; paid railroad fare to Chicago \$23; on Jan. 23, he ate \$4.50 worth and paid the Pullman porter fifty cents of your money in order to make the porter feel that he, Forsyth, was a very big man; then he, Forsyth, took a coach in Chicago and charged you for it; concluded he had better eat some more and did so, then took a cab and charged you for it. All this was Jan. 23, 1891. Then comes more cab hire and more good eating at six dollars per day not counting \$2.50 per day for his room at the hotel; then he goes to New York, eating as he goes; then he puts out for Washington, eats and rides in carriages in good style, at your expense; feels so benevolent that he gives the porter of the car another dollar of your money; then Forsyth concludes he should take a bath and he straightway does so at your expense. Then to give his account against you a graceful finish, he charges you with "incidentals" to the snug sum of \$53.05. The entire expense of this "Special Deputy Sergeant-at-arms" in going to Chicago and return was \$223.75. Had he been paying the bills out of his own money the cost would have been less than half.

Don't be hard on Forsyth—he simply follows the fashion of higher office holders.

Public money goes like water because it *is* public money.

Because you have neglected to look into these things.

Because you have never gone over the account.

Because you have not been holding your Representatives to a strict statement of the way they spent your money.

Because you have been so wrapped up in the old parties and so intensely interested in their sham battles over Force Bills and Tariffs that you never once suspected that both of them were robbing you of every cent of your tax money they could lay their hands on.

The expenses of the Crisp Congress were substantially the same as those of the Reed Congress.



But when the Crisp Congress added about \$33,000 per month for clerks to Congressmen, to do the work Congressmen are paid to do, you can see that Crisp's Congress was really more extravagant than Reed's.

How long will this shameful state of things continue?

Until you learn to think more of *your* interest than you do of that of your office-holders.

Until you learn to think more of justice than you do of party.

Until you rouse yourselves to the realization of the fact that it's foolish for you to be so stingy at home with your private funds, while your office-holders are so wasteful of your public funds.

Until you realize that you ought to be as careful about the way your money is spent after it gets into the treasury as you were before it left your pocket.

You raise a row in every county if the Ordinary has given a few dollars too much to the wretched paupers; you squirm clean down into your shoes when the County Clerk puts a new fence around the court house; you howl wrathfully if the Legislature of your State advances the tax rate one mill; your wife has to tease and coax for a month to get a new bonnet; your little girl has to climb on your knees and twine her tender arms about your neck and smile her sweetest smile and give you her kissiest kiss to get a new ribbon and a new pair of shoes;—yet every year you allow your idle, intemperate, greedy, pledge-breaking Congressmen to throw away in absolute waste a quarter of a million dollars in running the Senate and as much in running the House.

Spent on drinks, nick-nacks, luxuries, perfumes, hair oils, illegal salaries, lavish and illegal burial expenses!

Half a million dollars per year is not much you say.

No, perhaps not; but, all the same, it would give every child in Georgia a six month's term at the public schools every year!

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#### THE PRESIDENT, THE MALTBY HOUSE AND CONGRESSIONAL JUNKETING.

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The annual salary of our Chief Magistrate is \$50,000.

He is furnished, free of charge, with an elegant residence called the White House.

The President is a very costly fowl.

First comes the expense of electing him; but as the funds for this purpose are furnished by the whisky ring, the sugar trust, the railroad syndicates and an occasional speculator who buys him an office and pays for it in advance (as Van Alen did), we need not attempt to go into that part of the subject.

Having declared the result of the election, the next thing is to swear in the President. Formerly the cost of doing so was next to nothing. For instance, Thomas Jefferson rode on horseback to the Capitol, hitched his old mare to the fence, walked in and took the oath without its costing anybody a cent. And the beauty of it was that he kept the oath after he took it. But the Democracy of to-day is ashamed of the simple ways of the men and women of the olden time.

To administer the oath of office to Grover Cleveland on March 4, 1893, cost you the sum of \$3,278.66.

The items for this expenditure will be found on pages 147, 148, 149 and 150 of the report of the Secretary of the Senate for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1893.

The above sum does not embrace the cost of the inaugural ball or any other indirect expenditures.



Having sworn the President in, we duly install him at the White House, and we proceed to provide for his comfort.

In the Sundry Civil Bill, passed by the House March 20, 1894, I find that you supplied Mr. Cleveland with \$25,000 for new furniture and repairs; \$3,000 for fuel for mansion and stables; \$4,000 to repair the flower houses; \$1,500 for same; \$2,000 for same, and \$2,500 to *buy a picture of Benj. Harrison*, the Republican President who preceded the present Republican President!

Then you supply Mr. Cleveland with \$14,000 to pay for lamps, matches, lamp-lighters, gas and gas-fitters, fuel, etc., and \$766.50 for electric lights.

The sum total of these items is upwards of \$50,000.

Turning to the appropriations for 1893, I find that \$27,000 was appropriated for the same purpose. Thus Mr. Cleveland has drawn \$77,000 out of the treasury since March, 1893, for expenses in the White House—not counting his salary and the expense of swearing him in. And the misery of it is that he refuses to observe the oath of office after it's costing so much to have him take it.

But this is not all.

You pay \$5,000 to keep the grounds around the house in order; you furnish him with secretaries, clerks, door-keepers, steward, ushers, engineer, etc., at the yearly cost of more than \$35,000.

Then, for fear there may be shortage somewhere, you supply him with a "contingent fund" amounting (in 1893) to \$8,000.

In their Campaign Book of 1880 the Democrats accused the Republicans of wasting the people's money on these White House expenditures, but the regular annual sums now spent in running the Presidential establishment is greater than it has ever been.

The President's Cabinet is composed of the heads of the different governmental departments. There are eight of these gentlemen and they cost us \$8,000 a year each.

The Vice-President also gets \$8,000 per annum.

#### THE MALTBY HOUSE.

On the north side of the Capitol grounds stands a large brick building known as the Maltby House. It used to belong to the Republican campaign committee. They unloaded it on you at a heavy price, though you had no real need for it. The building has eighty-odd rooms. Some of them were turned over to committees who claimed there were no conveniences for them in the Capitol building. By far the greater part of the house, however, is occupied by the Senators themselves. Each Senator, with few exceptions, has a private office in this building of yours, and this private office is furnished at your expense. This private office, unless rumor lies, becomes the place of free and easy enjoyment on the part of your Senators. Much ugly talk is current in Washington concerning this Maltby House and the manner of people your Senators meet there.

But it only concerns me to give you an idea of how your money is spent upon these private rooms; and the facts I shall give you come from the last official report of the Secretary of the Senate, made August 7, 1893, to Hon. Adlai E. Stevenson, Vice-President.

On page 132 of the report I find that you spent \$1,152.10 for *clocks for this Maltby House!*

Forty clocks for our Senators at one clip! And you paid eleven hundred and fifty-two dollars for them. I am afraid to guess how much it will cost you to get these clocks wound up each year, hereafter.

For I actually find in this last report, which Hon. John Davis of Kansas was kind enough to send me a few days ago, that ever since July, 1892, Henry Bur-



meister has been getting \$40 per month for winding the two clocks in the Senate chamber.

You will remember that up to that time he had only been charging \$25 per month. So it occurs to me that if they keep on raising the wages of the clock-winders, and keep on buying more clocks, it is merely a question of time when the government will have to bust.

The only way to save the country, so far as I can see, is to offer Burmeister half the clocks to wind the other half.

To keep this Maltby House in running order you pay to messengers, conductor of elevator, fireman, engineer, laborers, etc., \$714 per month.

On pages 75 and 76 of the report I find that you paid upwards of \$9,000 for new furniture for these Senatorial offices in July, 1893.

This furniture embraces couches at \$35 each, mirrors at \$25 each, rugs at \$23 each, carpets of fine imported velvet, etc.

#### SELECT COMMITTEES.

Except when you have to bury them, your Senators and Representatives cost you more when serving on traveling committees than at any other time.

As a specimen, I will take an itemized bill from the last report.

On pages 102 and 103 will be found an expense account of \$1,758.04 for a Senatorial committee which imagined it was "investigating" the immigration question but which was, in fact, having a "junket" to Cuba at your expense.

This committee was made up of Senators Voorhees, Call, Gray, Proctor, and Dubois. Here are the items:

#### 1892.

Aug. 8.	Advanced to Senator Call for expenses.....	\$135 00
Aug. 12.	Advanced to Senator Voorhees for expenses.....	127 00
Aug. 12.	Advanced to Senator Gray for expenses.....	25 50
Dec. 24.	Carriage hire at Washington.....	8 50
Dec. 27.	Meals, lunches and buffet car "services" to Port Tampa, Fla..	169 25
[Buffet car services, outside of meals and lunches, means "drinks and smokes."]		
	Tickets to Havana from Tampa.....	80 00
	Supper.....	13 50
Dec. 28.	Meals, lunches and "services" on steamer.....	63 75
Dec. 31.	Landing, hauling baggage, etc., at Havana.....	48 50
	Hotel bill in Havana.....	398 05
	Carriage hire and services interpreter.....	123 50
	Railroad fares in Cuba.....	43 00

#### 1893.

Jan. 1.	Meals, lunches and services back to Tampa..	52 85
	Supper and carriages in Tampa.....	32 25
Jan. 2.	Breakfast and carriages, Jacksonville.....	36 00
	Dinners and carriages at St. Augustine.....	51 50
Jan. 3.	Breakfast and carriages, Atlanta, Ga.....	29 00
Jan. 4.	Meals, lunches and services to Washington.....	152 20
	Telegrams.....	27 95
	Expenses, Senators Proctor and Dubois, meals, lunches, etc....	76 35
	Same for Senator Proctor and Representative Covert.....	34 25

Then comes this delicious morsel to quit on:

"Postage, newspapers, portorage and other necessary expenses not included in the above items, \$30.00



These Senators left Washington Dec. 24, 1892, and got back on Jan. 4, 1893. They had a pleasant winter trip, of ten days, to Florida and Cuba.

They rode on free passes till they left our shores, and after that we paid their way.

And you will observe that this ten day pleasure trip cost you seventeen hundred and fifty-eight dollars.

You will also observe that this committee was partly Democratic and partly Republican. You will also observe that these Senators did not arrive at Havana till Dec. 28th. They left on Jan. 1. Thus they were at the hotel three days. During that time they spent \$398.05 of your money!

If that hotel bill were itemized you would learn that it included the finest wines that money could buy. The fact that each of these Senators cost you nearly eighty dollars for a three days' stay at a hotel is proof positive of the recklessness with which public money is spent.

And to think of a Senator drawing \$5,000 per year for six months' work (during which time he never makes an average of four hours per day) and then charging you with the cigars he smokes, the liquor he drinks and the newspapers he reads!

The money thus spent in violation of law is your money. You dug it out of the ground. You slaved for it behind the counter. You toiled for it in the mill.

How kind it is of you to deny to yourself and to your wife and to your children the comforts of life in order that Senator Voorhees and Senator Call may cut a big dash in St. Augustine, in Tampa, in Havana and in Atlanta, riding around in carriages at your expense and spending nearly thirty dollars per day in wines and cigars and dainty food.

If you did not love your dear old party so well you would feel unhappy over such prodigality as this.

But as your old party did it, you know it is all right.

The sums of your money spent by these junketing statesmen is almost incredible.

In the report of 1891 I find on page 128 that you paid \$5,000 for expenses of the Senatorial Committee on Indian Affairs.

On page 132 I find that the Committee on Immigration costs you \$5,000.

These committees of the Senate in 1891 cost you a total of \$28,000.

In 1892 they cost you upwards of \$47,000.

In 1893 nearly \$50,000.

In the House, those outlays are not so large, but they are twice as large as need be.

Some of the special committee work and expense is legitimate and legal, but at least three-fourths of it is a wicked consumption of public money to gratify the pleasures of your individual Senators.

This traveling committee business is almost as much of a joke at Washington as the Maltby House is. Nobody looks for Congress to adjourn, either winter or summer, without mapping out these pleasure trips for weary statesmen who, having grown tired of Washington bar rooms, lunches, theatres and Pollards, desire to recreate amid fresher scenes.

At you expense.

But the "form" of public labor is kept up. Always. Therefore they invariably carry along a Secretary or Clerk (at your expense) and this Secretary or Clerk writes out a formal report of the "investigations" made by our Senators. This report is presented in the Senate by some owl-like statesman, and it is straightway ordered to be printed.



It is printed at your expense, stuck away in the vaults beneath the capitol—and that is the last of it.

In some cases, as I have said, these committees do good work, and their reports are valuable; but I state only the actual facts when I say that, as a rule, there is no fraud more glaring and indefensible than that of these special committees who take vacation trips over land and sea at your expense—while you are neither able to have the vacation nor the trip.

#### PUBLIC PARKS, CEMETERIES, THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA, ETC.

For the fiscal year ending June 30, 1892, I find that it cost you seventy-four thousand dollars to maintain and beautify the parks in Washington City during that year.

Besides this sum you spent upwards of \$12,000 to take care of the Washington monument.

It seems incredible that it should cost you an average of twelve thousand dollars per year to preserve one marble monument and to operate an elevator in it, but such is the literal fact.

To give you some idea of the items which require this expenditure I will state the details, from the account of August 5, 1892:

For ordinary care of LaFayette Square, \$1,000; of Franklin Square, \$1,000; of Monument Grounds, \$2,500; for improvement of "Reservation No. 17," \$5,000; for post-and-chain fences, \$1,000; for manure, \$5,000; for painting the lodges of watchmen, fences, lamps, etc., \$750; for the purchase of seats, \$1,000; for tools, \$2,000; for trees, plants, lime, labels, etc. \$2,000; for removing snow and ice, \$1,200; for flower pots, baskets, etc., \$1,000; for the care and construction of fountains \$1,500; for the improvement of the Smithsonian Grounds, \$5,000; for Judiciary Square and the Pension Building Grounds, \$3,000; for other reservations and grounds, including wages of watchmen, etc., \$12,000; then comes the Washington monument, its custodian, engineers, firemen, conductor for elevator, its day watchmen and night watchmen, its fuel, lights, heating apparatus, repairs to engine, etc., etc., costing you, for twelve months, the extravagant sum of eleven thousand, five hundred and twenty dollars.

A few sight-seers who can go to Washington and take a ride on the elevator to the top of the Washington monument, enjoy this luxury very much indeed, but the great mass of the tax-payers derive no benefit from it whatever. If every visitor was charged twenty-five cents for the elevator privilege, this monument would pay its own way. There is no more sense in taxing 65,000,000 people to afford a free ride to the favored few who visit Washington than there would be in taxing a thousand farmers to pay for a free railroad trip for one.

The list of employees to look after this one monument, and to operate the elevator, is as follows:

One "custodian" at \$100 per month; engineer, \$85 per month; assistant engineer, \$50 per month; fireman, \$50 per month; assistant fireman, \$45; conductor, \$75; one attendant on floor, \$60; ditto on top floor, \$60; three day and night watchmen at \$60 each—in all, \$8,500 in salaries. Then comes the fuel, repairs, etc., at \$3,000. Costly monument!

The Botanic Garden is where they cultivate flowers and ornamental plants and shrubs.

For the year 1892-3, you paid \$5,000 for certain repairs to the buildings.

The manure for the flowers, the tools, the fuel and the new plants purchased cost you \$5,000.



The salaries of the men who take care of the establishment cost you \$13,893. Add up these items and you will see that you were good enough to supply the favored few with flowers at the expense of nearly twenty-four thousand dollars for that one year.

Add to this sum \$3,000 for improvements to the buildings and grounds and \$40,000 for Botanical "Investigations and Experiments," and you will have a grand total of nearly sixty-seven thousand dollars of your taxes spent in Washington for flowers during one fiscal year.

The Smithsonian Institution is the National Museum in which you keep specimens of snakes, lizards, buzzards, turkeys, terrapins, alligators, and various other dead animals and various other curiosities.

For the fiscal year 1892-3, you spent the following sums upon your appetite for curiosities:

For salaries, and for specimens to be exhibited.....	\$132,500
For glass cases to put the curiosities in, and for some more salaries.....	10,000
For heating, lighting, etc.....	11,000
For stamps and postal cards.....	500
For printing the "Proceedings" of this Institution.....	12,000

In connection with this Institution you maintain a Zoological Garden wherein you keep a number of live animals—something of a stationary menagerie!

This cost you \$25,000 per year.

In the same connection you maintain at an expense of \$9,000 per year, an "Astrophysical Observatory."

I wanted to tell you what "Astrophysical" means but I am not able to do it. The Webster's Unabridged Dictionary which I have just consulted does not contain the word. The date of my edition is 1873.

I guess the word has been invented since that time just for the purpose of getting your \$9,000 per year.

Connected with said Smithsonian Institution is a department called "International Exchanges." It was created for the convenience, I suppose, of swapping American curiosities for foreign curiosities. Its chief aim is to make a good exchange of rare bugs and curious skeletons.

It only costs you \$14,500 each year.

Then comes the Department of Ethnology of American Indians. Having killed nearly all the Indians, we are now consumed with a desire to study their ancient habits and history. Our forefathers burnt their towns, stole their lands and punched holes in them with bowie knives and rifle balls. Hence we are disposed to be very highly interested in digging up the bones and studying the race peculiarities of the men whom our ancestors destroyed.

It only costs you \$40,000 per year to do it.

The Smithsonian Institution and branches cost you for the fiscal year ending June, 1892, the grand total of \$311,000.

In 1893, it cost you practically the same.

#### THE CAPITAL BUILDING.

At the first session of the Fifty-Second Congress the following sums were appropriated for the Capitol building:

For general repairs.....	\$20,000
Repairs of heating apparatus.....	2,375
Improving ventilation and for improving the kitchen of the Senate restaurant.....	97,496
For improving the Capitol grounds.....	15,000
For the Capitol terraces.....	8,000
Lighting the Capitol and grounds.....	24,000
Engine house and stables.....	500



Thus \$145,000 of your money, during the first session of one Congress, went to the keeping up of the Capitol building and grounds, exclusive of the large sums spent on furniture and interior fixtures and supplies. Those sums have already been given you from the reports of the Clerk of the House and Secretary of the Senate.

The Fish Commission costs you in round numbers \$300,000 per year.

The Inter-State Commerce Commission, \$225,000.

The Coast and Geodetic Survey, \$500,000.

Light House Establishment, \$2,307,000.

The Revenue Cutter service costs you about one million dollars per year; the Life-Savings Service one million; the Geological Survey half a million.

#### PUBLIC PRINTING.

In the expenses of the Senate and the House, heretofore given, nothing has been said about the cost of printing books, reports, speeches, memorials, laws, decisions, etc.

Taking the appropriations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1892, you will find them itemized thus:

For salaries, materials, binding, and composition in the office of the Public Printer you spent in one fiscal year the enormous sum of \$2,610,500.

From June 30, 1892, up to March 3, 1893, I find that you spent in printing at Washington, \$2,497,000.

And as I will show you hereafter, this huge sum was not enough and they took nearly half a million more.

#### THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA,

as you know, is a small strip of National territory in which the city of Washington, our National Capitol, is situated.

It is supposed to be under the direct government of Congress. As a matter of fact it is governed by local bosses just as other cities are.

The inhabitants of the District of Columbia have no representation in Congress and have no vote upon National questions. The purpose of our forefathers was to have the National Capitol a sort of non-political affair where peace and quiet would reign, and the voice of faction would not be heard.

As a result of this peculiar condition of things, Washington City considers itself a political pet and takes all the privileges of a spoilt child of a great Nation.

You have to pay one half of the expenses of this wealthy city, which is especially the home of millionaires.

Out of your taxes come one-half of the sums spent upon streets, drains, public schools, police departments, fire departments, health departments, telegraph and telephone service, prisons and reformatories, support of deaf and dumb, public charities, militia for the District, expenses of the water departments, and all the other items of cost of a city government.

It strikes one as being a very singular thing that the tax payers of this Republic should have to pay more than seventy thousand dollars per year for sweeping and sprinkling the streets of Washington, but it is a fact all the same.

The City of Washington, like all other cities, has been shingled over with bonds by the bosses who fattened on the spoils, and I find that one million two hundred and thirteen dollars was appropriated by act of Congress of March 3, 1893, to pay for "interest and sinking fund on the funded debt, exclusive of water bonds."

The annual amount spent on the City of Washington is five and a half million dollars, in round numbers. You pay half of it.



Remember that this sum does not include the amounts already given for keeping up your public buildings and grounds in Washington.

This huge outlay is in addition to those items.

The richest man in Washington can send his children to school with the satisfaction of knowing that the general tax-payers of the land must pay one half of the expense.

You pay for half the cost of the trees planted, of the streets graded, of the pavements laid, of the jails built, of the asylums and hospitals. You pay one half of the expense of lighting the city, maintaining its police, and feeding its poor. You pay half of the expense of the Washington Market Masters, coroners, town commissioners, city attorneys, city treasurer, school teachers, school books, janitors, watchmen and all the other thousand and one hangers on of a municipal service.

All the expenses herein mentioned are in relation to Washington City itself.

In addition to the parks you maintain in the capital, there is the Yellowstone Park in the far Northwest, which costs you \$75,000 per year; and the Chicamauga Park in Tennessee which costs you from \$200,000 to \$250,000 per year.

Reflect upon all these items and then decide whether you are satisfied with the manner your money is being spent.

The questions concern you all, for each of you, however poor, pays his full share of the taxes out of which these great sums are spent.

The National taxes being so laid that you pay them when you buy articles of clothing, articles of food, and articles of house furniture, and implements of labor (such as plows, axes, chains, hoes, etc.) there is no citizen who is not deeply interested.

Unless you examine into the accounts and have this wastefulness stopped, your taxes will continually grow heavier—while you grow less able to pay them.

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#### THE AGRICULTURAL DEPARTMENT; WHAT IT COSTS AND WHAT IT DOES.

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Occasionally one citizen out of a hundred gets a package of seed from his Congressman. To this extent said citizen knows there is such a thing as the Agricultural Department.

Another citizen out of ten thousand gets a copy of the government's valuable work on the Diseases of the Horse, and to that extent feels kindly to the whole establishment.

But it is a safe assertion that so far as the average tax-payer is concerned the Agricultural Department is a myth, except as to its ravenous appetite for money.

I find that for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1892, they spent one hundred thousand dollars for seeds, vines, trees and bulbs to be distributed among the people, while for the same period the office-holders of the department drew two hundred and fifty-six thousand dollars in salaries!

A more costly lot of seed this world never saw!

To give you some idea of the way offices are multiplied and salaries piled up I will state that the Secretary of Agriculture draws \$8,000 per year; his assistant \$4,500; a chief clerk, \$2,500; private secretary, \$2,000; stenographer, \$1,400; private secretary to the assistant Secretary, \$1,600; librarian, \$1,800; assistant librarian, \$1,400; stationery clerk, \$1,600; two clerks of class four, \$3,600; three clerks of class three, \$4,800; four clerks of class two, \$5,600; seven clerks of class one, \$8,400; eight clerks (class not given), \$8,000; six clerks, \$5,040; engineer, \$1,600; fireman, \$900; assistant fireman, \$720; another at \$600; two nightwatch



men, \$1,440; carpenters, laborers, messengers, painters and charwomen, \$1,500.

This batch of salaries in the office of the Secretary of Agriculture amounts to \$89,500.00 per year.

Then comes the Division of Accounts and Disbursements.

The salaries in this branch of the Department of Agriculture amount to \$19,100.00.

Then comes the Division of Statistics with salaries to the melody of \$36,100.

The salaries in the Division of Botany reach \$8,600.00.

The Division of Entomology carries salaries of \$9,500.00.

Entomology means the science or natural history of insects.

Then comes the Division of Ornithology, Mammology, and Biological Survey, and the salaries are \$9,860.00.

Biology means the science of life; ornithology relates to birds; and mammology relates to animals which suckle their young.

Then comes the Division of Pomology, in which the salaries are \$6,300.00. Pomology is the science of fruits.

Then comes \$4,700.00 as annual salaries for the Division of Microscopy; \$5,600.00 for the Division of Vegetable Pathology; \$17,000.00 for the Division of Chemistry; \$7,820.00 for the Division of Forestry; \$6,300.00 for the Division of Records and Editing; \$17,000.00 for the Division of Illustrations and Engravings; \$13,520.00 for the Division of Seeds; \$8,460.00 for the Document and Folding Room; \$2,500.00 for the Superintendent of the Experimental Garden and Grounds; \$3,840.00 for the Curator of the Museum and his assistants.

The grand total, as before stated; is \$256,800.00.

More than a quarter million dollars in salaries alone!

For the collection of Agricultural Statistics \$102,500.00 was spent during that year; for Botanical Experiments, \$40,000. (This item has already been mentioned)

For investigating the history and habits of Insects, \$27,800; for Biological investigations, \$15,000; for Pomological information, \$5,000; for investigations with the microscope, \$2,000; Vegetable Pathological investigations, and experiments, \$15,000; for Chemical experiments and investigations, \$19,400; Fiber investigations, \$10,000; for investigations on Forestry, \$15,000; for Illustration materials, \$2,000; for the purchase of Seeds, \$105,400; materials for folding room, \$2,000; for materials, labor and improvements in the Experimental grounds and gardens, \$28,500; Museum supplies, \$4,000; for furniture, cases and repairs, \$12,000; books for Library, \$2,000; postage, \$500; contingent expenses, \$25,000; salaries and expenses of the Bureau of Animal Industry, \$500,000.

This branch of the service is charged with the inspection of meats and animals with a view to the prevention of the spread of disease.

Fifteen thousand dollars was spent for that year on Quarantine Stations for imported cattle, and \$728,000 on Agricultural Experiment Stations.

If you happen to need a red hot opinion on Experiment Stations you just drop a line of inquiry to Hon. Jim Barrett, of Augusta, Ga.

Fifty thousand dollars was spent that year on experiments in the manufacture of sugar.

The total sum of all these various items was for that year, \$1,731,600.

In connection with the Agricultural Department goes the Weather Bureau. It is charged with the duty of telling us what sort of weather we may expect if we behave ourselves and pay the preacher. For the fiscal year ending June 30, 1892, this weather prediction service cost you the tuneless total of \$879,753.50.

To be kicked around by storms, scared to death with cyclones, and washed out of house and home by cloud bursts is bad enough, heaven knows; but to pay



a million dollars per year to have a lot of cranks telling us about it before hand seems to be a heathenish luxury.

By the act of March 3, 1893, the Weather Bureau got \$951,100. So you see it is climbing up.

After a while the cost of this service will be so tremendous that the weather prophets will do us more damage than the weather does.

By the act of March 3, 1893, the sum of \$2,115,600 was appropriated for the Agricultural Department, not counting the Weather Bureau.

Thus you will see that for the fiscal year 1893 the Democratic administration added nearly half a million dollars to the extravagant sum which the Republicans were spending upon this department.

#### COST OF INTERIOR DEPARTMENT, TREASURY DEPARTMENT, ETC.

The salaries in the office of the Secretary amounted (fiscal year, 1892), to the sum total of.....	\$ 192,210 00
His law clerks cost us.....	40,550 00
His land inspectors.....	5,000 00
Contingent expenses of the office of the Secretary.....	75,000 00
Stationery for Interior Department and Civil Service Commissioner.....	60,000 00
New books.....	500 00
Rent of Building for Bureau of Education, Geological Survey, Indian Office, General Land Office, and storage room for documents....	36,000 00
Postage to foreign countries.....	4,000 00
Then comes the salaries of the General Land Office.....	546,500 00
Land Inspectors.....	10,000 00
Law Books for Land Office.....	500 00
Maps of the United States.....	14,840 00
Salaries of the Indian Office.....	110,120 00
Salaries of the Pension Office.....	2,296,810 00
Special Examiners, Pension Office.....	210,000 00
Investigation of Pension Cases.....	215,000 00
Salaries in the Patent Office.....	692,990 00
Books and expenses of sending Patent Office Reports to foreign countries.....	3,000 00
Official Gazette.....	55,000 00
Plates, copies of designs, trade marks, etc.....	100,000 00
Salaries of Bureau of Education.....	48,620 00
Books, Statistics, etc.....	6,000 00
Salaries in Railroad Office.....	14,420 00
Traveling expenses, etc.....	2,500 00
Salaries in the office of the Architect of the Capitol.....	19,924 00
Salaries in the office of the Geological Survey.....	35,540 00
Grand total of salaries and contingent expenses in Department of Interior, proper.....	4,796,574 00
Then comes the public land division. Salaries in office of Surveyor-General of Arizona.....	5,500 00
Surveyor-General of California.....	16,500 00
Colorado.....	9,500 00
Florida.....	3,600 00
Idaho.....	5,500 00
Louisiana.....	6,800 00



Minnesota .....	4,800 00
Montana .....	12,500 00
Nevada .....	4,300 00
New Mexico .....	5,500 00
North Dakota .....	7,000 00
Oregon .....	5,000 00
South Dakota .....	9,500 00
Utah .....	5,500 00
Washington .....	10,000 00
Wyoming .....	6,500 00
Contingent expenses in these various offices .....	23,400 00

In round numbers, therefore, it will be seen that the entire cost of the Interior Department for the fiscal year 1892 was five millions of dollars—most of which was for salaries.

To this must be added the cost of printing books, documents, blanks, forms, reports, etc., of the several Bureaus of the Interior Department, etc. The annual cost of printing ranges from three hundred thousand to nearly half a million dollars.

#### INDIAN AFFAIRS.

We pay fifty-nine Indian Agents annual salaries of .....	\$ 90,200 00
Interpreters .....	25,000 00
Five Indian Inspectors .....	15,000 00
Traveling expenses of the inspectors .....	2,000 00
School Superintendent .....	4,000 00
Traveling expenses of same .....	8,000 00
Buildings at Agencies .....	30,000 00
Traveling and incidental expenses of Indian Agents .....	45,000 00
Expenses of Citizens' Commission, Support of Comanches, Kiowas and Apaches, and fulfilling Treaties with same .....	48,200 00
Same, Cheyennes and Arapahoes .....	38,500 00
Ditto, Chickasaws .....	3,000 00
Ditto, Chippewas .....	5,000 00
Ditto, Choctaws .....	30,032 00

Then follows itemized statement of various tribes, the cost of supporting same, fulfilling Treaty stipulations with same and the cost of schools for the education of Indian children.

The grand total for the "Indian Affairs" is in round numbers seven millions of dollars.

There are less than 150,000 Indians whom the government assumes to maintain and educate. Could these few survivors of the owners of this continent really and honestly get the benefit of the millions of dollars voted them by Congress no tax payer would grudge it to them. But it is an open secret that most of this money stops with the Lobbyists, the Special Attorneys and Indian Agents.

#### SECRETARY OF STATE.

The salaries in his office for 1892 were .....	\$ 119,870 00
Stationery .....	6,000 00
Books and Maps .....	2,000 00

Contingent expenses, etc., being added, the annual cost of this office is \$139,150.00.



## SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY.

The salaries in this office amount to.....	\$ 489,331 00
Then comes the Supervising Architect at.....	7,720 00
Then comes the office of the Comptroller with salaries to the amount of.....	100,420 00
Then comes Commissioner of Customs with salaries of.....	49,430 00
Next we have the First Auditor, and salaries amounting to....	88,810 00
And Second Auditor, with salaries to the tune of.....	319,230 00
And Third Auditor, and salaries.....	193,850 00
Fourth Auditor.....	\$ 75,030 00
Fifth Auditor.....	47,610 00
Then the Sixth Auditor jerks us for.....	558,590 00
And we pass on to the office of the Treasurer of the United States.	
Salaries, here, amount to.....	\$ 273,364 80
Register of the Treasury and clerks and messengers cost us.....	139,750 00

## OFFICE OF COMPTROLLER OF CURRENCY.

The salaries amount to.....	\$ 103,420 00
The annual cost of stationery in the Treasury Department is.....	28,000 00
Postage.....	1,700 00
Newspapers and Books.....	2,500 00
Freight, expressage, telegraph and telephone service.....	3,500 00
Horses and wagons.....	4,000 00
Ice.....	3,500 00
Coal, wood, etc.....	10,000 00
Gas, electric lights, etc.....	16,000 00
Carpets, rugs, etc.....	6,500 00
Clocks, boxes, sofas, chairs, washstands, etc.....	10,000 00
Washing and hemming towels, window-shades, alcohol, benzine, turpentine, varnish, baskets, belting, bowls, brooms, flower-garden, street and engine hose, lace-leather, lye, nails, oil, pitchers, paint, powder, tumblers, traps, towel racks, etc.....	10,000 00

Want of space prevents me from giving more of the items, but the sum total of the annual expenses of the Treasury Department exceeds \$3,000,000—most of it salaries.

To this must be added the annual cost of printing, a sum which exceeds a quarter million dollars annually.

In 1893 the sum appropriated for this purpose was \$285,000.

If a committee of competent and honest and fearless business men were appointed to go through these departments, and to scale the salaries and the number of employees to a reasonable and business-like footing, you would save at least one-fourth of the money now being spent on salaries and contingent expenses.

Here is a table showing an increase in all the departments of the public service from \$320,619,959.92 to \$459,374,887.65. In the half decade from 1888 to 1893 the public expenditures of this Government, according to this information, have increased \$138,754,927.73.

The table is as follows:



	1888.	1889.	1890.	1891.	1892.	1893.
Legislative.....	\$ 6,593,156 11	\$ 9,872,820 31	\$ 7,034,723 73	\$ 7,471,598 43	\$ 7,683,514 32	\$ 8,308,057 07
Executive:						
Executive, proper.....	174,569 27	449,529 33	186,544 74	174,897 20	177,615 59	329,616 50
State Department.....	1,715,881 88	2,049,418 02	1,773,066 75	2,170,047 47	1,877,905 01	2,138,952 77
Treasury Department...	95,295,468 00	103,584,941 58	80,974,450 88	103,295,449 93	85,674,980 46	87,949,440 67
War Department.....	41,456,912 40	46,973,559 91	47,920,604 79	52,051,426 97	49,310,405 00	52,024,488 84
Navy Department.....	17,240,272 93	21,702,722 47	22,347,101 35	26,476,587 68	29,554,678 61	30,522,939 03
Interior Department....	94,397,285 05	101,878,095 38	123,087,314 88	148,225,125 75	155,801,339 94	182,444,411 36
Postoffice Department..	57,750,411 75	62,125,482 33	69,829,553 88	72,880,313 86	77,547,934 42	84,321,489 03
Department Agriculture.	1,114 173 90	1,750,026 57	1,612,796 12	1,797,147 16	2,943,862 47	3,141,880 73
Department of Labor...	.....	140,943 43	137,925 64	143,682 50	168,259 40	179,689 18
Department of Justice..	224,718 47	638,261 90	364,749 70	810,112 74	856,985 68	913,742 80
Total .....	309,669,693 65	341,395,980 92	347,234,168 73	408,024,791 26	403,414,466 58	443,975,650 91
Judicial .....	4,357,110 16	4,295,788 20	4,349,692 06	5,808,080 77	4,855,825 66	7,091,179 67
Total disbursements...	320,619,959 92	355,464,589 43	358,618,584 53	421,304,470 46	415,953,806 56	459,374,887 65

NOTE.—In this table the Postoffice Department is included, and the appropriation properly stated; but it should be borne in mind that the Revenues of this branch of the service pay nearly all of its expenses. The shortage never exceeds five or six millions.

T. E. W.



A FINAL GLANCE AT NATIONAL WASTEFULNESS; THEN AN EXPLANATION  
OF HOW THE TAX IS COLLECTED.

Want of space and time will prevent me from going further into the details of governmental extravagance.

The same loose and lavish manner of spending your money prevails in each and every department.

For instance, there is just as much justice in spending your taxes for the funerals of millionaire Senators as there is in paying Thos. F. Bayard \$17,500 per year to act as "Ambassador" at the royal court of Queen Victoria.

We have a Consul-General at London who is paid \$5,000 per year to attend to all the real international business between our government and that of England. Bayard is the Democratic criminal who acted as partner to John Sherman, the Republican criminal, in committing the "Crime of 1873"—which crime of shutting the mints to silver the politicians used to denounce as worse than "war, pestilence or famine."

At Paris we have another "Ambassador" drawing \$17,500 of your money every year. At Berlin another at the same price.

What service do they render you in return for that huge salary?

They give Balls and attend Balls. They give Receptions and attend Receptions. They give Diplomatic Dinners and attend Diplomatic Dinners. That is all. Once a year perhaps they call at the palace to present Mr. Cleveland's "condolences" or "congratulations" as the case may be. Once a year they may rig themselves up in the gorgeous humbuggery of Diplomatic "uniform," and may make a little speech assuring the President of France that the President of the United States loves France almost as well as he loves a game of poker or a snipe hunt. Absolutely it is true that these Ambassadors render no service to the business interest of the country which cannot be performed by the Consul who is paid \$5,000 per year.

Thus I might go all through the Diplomatic establishment, which costs you upwards of one and a half million dollars annually, and disclose rottenness from top to bottom.

In like manner you would be surprised to know that a million and a half dollars of your money goes every year to pay army officers on what is called the "Retired List." Gen. Daniel E. Sickles, Democratic Congressman from New York, is now drawing several thousand dollars of your money as an officer on the "Retired List" and also drawing \$5,000 per year, of your money, as Congressman.

Which fact illustrates very clearly the beauties of the system.

I may also add that Gen. Sickles also draws a big pile as pension money, besides the two sums above stated. If Sickles is not happy, it is not your fault.

Much space could be profitably used in exposing the annual steal known as the "River and Harbor Bill." Perhaps in all the unwholesome list, it is the most putrid. From ten to fifty millions of your tax money go to the contractors and jobbers every year under the name of "Rivers and Harbors."

Then we might expose the post-office appropriations, where so much favoritism is shown that New York, Boston, Philadelphia, Chicago, and cities of like magnitude, get their mails carried *free* to the desk of the business man and to the door of the citizen *six or eight times per day*, while you, who pay most of the taxes, are glad if you can get three mails per week by riding several miles after them.

Then, there is the unspeakable "Custom House service" and the "Internal Revenue service," where indignation gets tired and disgust is painful and stifling.



Go through the list, if you have the stomach for it, and see how "Ports of Entry" and "Custom Houses" have been established hundreds of miles from the sea and where thousands of dollars are paid annually in salaries for no purpose whatsoever except to please the office-holder.

[See list of these fraudulent Custom Houses, in Watson's Campaign Book; also in his 4th of July speech, 1893.]

But having shown you how your money is squandered, having explained to you why it takes nearly \$500,000,000 per year to run the government, I must now explain how that enormous sum is pulled out of your pockets.

#### HOW THEY GET YOUR MONEY.

In the first place, you paid to the Federal government, in the year 1892, a tax of \$31,000,000 on tobacco. That was below the average. You do not pay the tax directly to the Tax Collector, but you pay it all the same.

The merchant who sells the tobacco has to pay the tax to an Internal Revenue Officer. Then the merchant adds the tax to the price of the tobacco, and whenever you buy a plug of tobacco, or a cigar, or a pinch of snuff, you pay your part of that tax.

Hence the day laborer when he buys a plug of tobacco pays just as much tax as the richest land-owner in the country who likewise buys a plug.

In the second place, you paid the Federal government, in the year 1892, a tax of \$121,000,000 on whisky and fermented liquors. You do not pay it directly to any tax collector; but you pay it just the same. The liquor dealer has to pay the tax to an Internal Revenue Officer, who collects it and pays it over to the Federal government. Then the liquor dealer adds the amount of the tax to the price of the whisky; and every time you tackle John Barleycorn the Tax Collector gets your money.

You pay the tax when you buy the whisky.

And the poorest ditcher, when he buys a drink of whisky, pays just as much tax as the richest man in the State, who likewise buys a drink.

In 1893, these whisky and tobacco taxes amount to \$160,000,000.

Then comes the tariff.

Every year you pay \$200,000,000 in tariff taxes on your blankets, your clothing, your household and kitchen furniture, your plantation tools, your axes, nails, window glass, jute bagging, cotton ties, etc., etc. You do not pay these taxes directly to a Federal Tax Collector; but you pay them all the same.

An Englishman, a Frenchman, a German, or a Dutchman, brings goods over here to sell to you.

The American manufacturer says to our government, "Don't you let that 'blasted foreigner' sell goods over here without paying for a license."

Our government obeys the command. Makes the "blasted foreigner" pay a heavy tax at the Custom House for the privilege of selling you those goods. This Custom House tax is called the "Tariff," and the money so collected goes into the treasury, where Congress can finger it. I have already told you how much they collect in that way. Likewise I have been trying to show you where it goes after Congress gets hold of it.

So far, so good. The "blasted foreigner" has shelled out the money at the Custom House and is now at liberty to sell you his goods; his clothing, hats, shawls, calicoes, blankets, crockeryware, ironware, and so on.

But just as the tobacco dealer put the tobacco tax on the price of the tobacco you bought, and just as the whisky dealer put the whisky tax on to the price of the liquor you bought, so the "blasted foreigner" adds to the price of *his* goods



the amount of the tariff tax which he paid at the Custom House—and thus you are the man who finally pays the tariff tax.

And the rail-splitter who buys him an axe pays just as much tax as the richest man on the continent, who also buys an axe. In other words, this tax, like those on whisky and tobacco, catches the consumer in proportion to what he consumes.

George Gould, buying a pound of rice for a sick child, pays no more tax than Coxey's tramps.

Such a tax as this catches the poor man as in a vice, and keeps him poor.

But what becomes of the American manufacturer of the goods similar to those the "blasted foreigner" wanted to sell?

It was the American manufacturer, you recollect, who wanted the government to tax the "blasted foreigner."

The American manufacturer knew the foreigner would have to add that tax to the price of his goods in order to make any profit.

Therefore the American added a similar advance on his *own* goods, and made you pay it.

Thus, while the "blasted foreigner" added to his price the tax which he had really paid, the patriotic American added to his price a tax he had *not* paid. He robbed you in the name of "Protection."

He plundered you under the false pretense of paying high wages to American "labor."

At this blessed moment the millionaire protectionists who fatten upon this tariff system, which they advocate in behalf of "Labor," are shooting down those laborers like dogs because the poor creatures contend for a wage which will support life in some decency and comfort.

Now stop and study the situation.

The tax you pay on tobacco and whisky amounts to about two dollars and fifty cents apiece for every man, woman and child in the Union.

The tax you pay on clothing and general household and plantation necessities amounts to more than three dollars apiece for each man, woman and child.

In a family consisting of five members the yearly amount of Federal tax you pay amounts to a bale of cotton.

Are you satisfied with a system which taxes the poorest of you a bale of cotton every year, in order that Congress may have money enough to waste twenty-odd thousand dollars in burying one plutocrat?

If so, you have a perfect right to spend your money that way.

If not, you have the right and the power to put a stop to it.

#### INCOME AND OUTGO.

The most careless reader will have seen that our national expenditure is greater than the national income.

The tobacco, whisky and tariff taxes already mentioned amounted to three hundred and sixty millions dollars in 1893.

Besides these taxes the Federal government has no income excepting about twenty millions dollars annually from miscellaneous sources—such as sale of public lands, consular fees, the one per cent tax on national banks, etc.

Adding these miscellaneous items to the regular taxes on tobacco, whisky, and the three thousand articles of general consumption taxed by the tariff, and we had in 1893 an income of \$385,818,629.

Your money, my brothers! They spent every cent of it, and more, too. The regular appropriations for *ordinary expenses* for the year 1893, were \$383,477,954!



A few days ago Mr. Sayers, of Texas, Democratic chairman of the Ways and Means Committee, brought in a "Deficiency Bill" and said on the floor of the House that it would take ten or twelve millions of dollars more to cover the expenditures of 1893!

This huge sum of nearly four hundred millions dollars does not include it all. There must be added the special appropriation for public buildings, for postal deficiencies, for sugar bounties, etc., etc., which push the grand total of your yearly expenses to nearly five hundred millions of dollars.

When a government spends more than it takes in, what follows?

Loans, bonds, increased taxes—leading to the final and inevitable result of national bankruptcy and universal ruin.

During the year 1894, our expenses are running ahead of our receipts in a manner frightful to see.

Already it is admitted that it will take eighty-five millions dollars in addition to your taxes to pay the national expenses.

Where is the money to come from?

Loans which will increase the drain; bonds which will mortgage your future; or high taxes which will empty your pockets of the very last cent.

This Cleveland administration has already mortgaged your national future by an issue of \$50,000,000 in bonds which you must pay. The interest on these bonds will increase your annual taxes more than a million dollars.

Another \$50,000,000 will soon follow. These bonds get your tax money and pay no tax themselves. Thus the wealth of the country is getting to cover. The millionaire is putting his riches where they escape taxation and where they grow by fattening upon the taxes paid by you and your wife and your children.



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