ROSCOE CONKLING.

His Great Speech in the Academy of Music, New York, Sept. 17.

Issues of the Day Presented in the Strongest Light Yet Thrown Upon Them.

The Perils of a Solid South, Which Hancock's Election Makes Permanent.

Arguments That Cannot be Answered and Facts That Cannot be Denied.

FELLOW-CITIZENS: Whoever is given greeting and audience in such a presence ought, indeed, to have something worthy, something fit, and something wise to say. Inadequate in all save only grateful and respectful appreciation must be my return. We are citizens of a republic. We govern ourselves here. No pomp of eager array in the chambers of royalty awaits the birth of the boy or girl to wield an hereditary scepter. Whenever death or revolution pours on the oil of coronation we know no scepter except a majority's constituted will. To wield that scepter in equal share is the duty and right, nay the birthright, of every citizen. The supreme, the final, the only successful arbiter here is the ballot-box, and in that return should be gathered from it, should be sacredly recorded, the conscience, the judgment, the intelligence of all. The right of free self-government has been in all ages the bright dream of oppressed humanity, the sighed-for privilege to which thrones, dynasties, and powers have so long blocked the way. France seeks it by forced marches and daring strides. Mr. Forster, Secretary for Ireland, tells the peerage of England it must take heed lest it fall, and Westminster and England ring with dread echoes of applause, but in the fullness of freedom the republic of America is alone on the earth, alone in its grandeur, alone in its blessings, alone in its promises and possibilities, and, therefore, alone in the devotion due from its citizens. The time has come when law, duty and interest require the nation to determine, for at least four years, its policy in many things. Two parties exist—parties should always in a government of the majorities, and to support and strengthen the party which most nearly holds his views is among the most laudable, meritorious acts of an American citizen, and this whether he be in official or in private station. Two parties contend for the management of national affairs. One or the other of these two contestants is sure to manage the nation's concerns for some time to come. The question is, Which of these two is it the wisest to trust? It is not a question of candidate. The candidate, if he be an honest, genuine man, will not seek and accept a party nomination to the Presidency, Vice Presidency, or Congress, and after he is elected become a law unto himself. Few things are more despicable than first to secure elevation at the hands of a party, and then, in hopes of winning pretentious non-partisan applause, to affect superior sanctity and meanly to imply that those whose support and confidence were eagerly and deferentially sought are wanting in purity, patriotism, and other titles of respect. The higher obligations among men are not set down in writing and signed and sealed. They reside in honor and good faith. The fidelity of a nominee belongs to the exalted class, and, therefore, a candidate of a party is but the exponent of a party. The object of political discussion and action is to settle principles, policies, and issues. It is a paltry incident of election affecting 50,000,000 of people that decides for an occasion the aspirations of individual men.

The Democratic party is the Democratic candidate, and I am against the ticket and all its works. The general issue confronting us is in itself, and in its bearings, sectional. I would, and you would it were not so, but it is so. If in one portion of the country one party outnumbers the other, even by overwhelming odds, the fact need not be blamable nor proof of sectional aggression; but if, in any section, any party gains and keeps control, not by numbers, but by honesty and law, and then, stifling free discussion and action, attempt to grasp the Government of the whole country, the proceeding is sectional, guilty and monstrous. In twelve States of the Union the approaching election is to be no more than a farce, unless, as has sometimes happened to be, turned into a tragedy. There is to be no free debate, no equal rights, no true expression in these States, and in several States the clear majority is to have no deciding power, not even a chance in a raffle such as that in which lots were cast and the booty divided the other day between Tammany Hall and the upper-air and solar-walk reform Democracy. Senator Hampton largely promises 40,000 Democratic majority in South Carolina, where the actual majority is 40,000 the other way. In several Southern States there is a large, well-known and often-ascertained Republican majority, but all Southern States alike, without exception or doubt, are relied on to count on the Democratic side and to score 138 electoral votes, lacking but forty-seven of a majority of all. The causes of such a condition, and the consequences if it succeeds, are matters which no sane, intelligent man can put out of view, and yet he who discusses them must be told, in the coarse parlance of the day, that he "waves the bloody shirt." It is a relief to remember that this phrase and the thing it means is no invention of our politics. It dates back to Scotland, three centuries ago. After a massacre at Glenfruin, not so savage as has stained our annals, 220 widows rode on white palfreys to Sterling tower, bearing each on a spear her husband's bloody shirt. The appeal waked Scotland's slumbering sword, and outlawry and the block made the name of Glenfruin terrible to the victorious Clan Alpine even to the third and fourth generation. I am not going to recite horrors nor to allude to them, nor to the chapter of cruelty they fill, nor to retry the issues of the war. My purpose is quite different. It is to show, if I can, what is actually at stake now; who and what the contending forces are; how much the result may mean, and which way prudence and wisdom point.

You have listened to a letter from one to whom, at least as much as to any other man, the nation owes its preservation, prosperity, and supremacy. This letter, full of common sense, hit the nail on the head. Its writer generally does hit nails—robellion and pretenders—on the head. He says: "This meeting should awaken the people to the importance of keeping control of the Government in the hands of the Republican party until we can have two national parties, every member of which can cast his ballot as his judgment dictates, without fear of molestation or ostracism, and have it honestly counted—parties not differing in opinion as to whether we are a nation, but as to the policy to secure the greatest good to the greatest number of its citizens. Sincerely believing that the Democratic party, as now constituted, is not a fit party to trust with the control of the General Government, I believe it to be the best interests of all sections, South as well as North, that the Republican party should succeed in November. Yours very truly, U. S. Grant."

Lord Chesterfield said that a letter shows the man it is written to, as well as the man it is written by. This letter bears Lord Chesterfield out. It is written to Gen. Arthur, and it reveals the confidence and esteem in which the writer holds him, informed by many years of intimate acquaintance. Gen. Grant knew and felt, as we know and feel, that he was writing not only to a friend, but also to one of the most genuine, patriotic, and honorable of men. This letter furnished a text for many sermons. The Democratic party, as now constituted and controlled—how it is constituted and controlled! There is a vast number of our right, patriotic men in it; a vast number of men who gave all and did all they should have given and done to uphold their Government and their flag in the supreme and dire hours of trial; a vast number who imperiled their lives as other Democrats laid down their lives for their country. Many Northern Democrats who cast all their weight and sympathy on the nation's side after the war was over returned to their former party associations. Many others never did so return. Were such Democrats to guide and influence a Democratic Congress and a Democratic administration, their party would not be "constituted and controlled" as it is. Because such men and their views and interests will not and cannot control in the event of Democratic success much grave peril arises. As the Democratic party is constituted, not the men of the North, not the men who were for the Union and the constitution, but the men of the South who were against the Union and the constitution, men whose policy and purposes are still hurtful to the country, are bound and predestined to control a Democratic administration and a Democratic Congress. In the Senate and in the House the South has an overwhelming majority of the Democratic members, and most of them are men who led in the rebellion. Every party measure in Congress is settled in party caucus by party majority. Thus the Southern members hold absolute sway. In possession of the law-making power, of the purse and power to confirm or reject treaties and appointments, the South is also to furnish all votes to elect the Democratic candidates, save only the forty-seven votes which must be raffled, or counted, or certified, or produced from the Northern States particularly, not excepting Oregon. Should Oregon be close, there is no knowing but the two Democratic houses may find ground on which to throw out a part or all of any State electors. With much unemployed leisure on their hands, with the danger which the Electoral Commission of 1877 alone overpassed for the time staring the country in the face, these Democratic houses have adopted no measure to insure order and right in ascertaining the result of the Presidential election. Should a controversy arise, and the election be thrown into the House, there, the vote being taken by States, the South would cast nearly all Democratic votes, and in the Senate the vote for Vice President would come from the same source. In the event of Democratic success the Southern end of the Democratic party must be to the Northern end as the locomotive is to the tender, the horse to the cart. This is plain as any truth in gravitation or arithmetic. The South controls the Democratic party.

Perhaps this point will seem to you to challenge some attention. For the population of the Southern States we must go back to the census of 1870. That count of the people was made by enumerators not selected by Southern Senators and members of the House as "non-partisans" and professional reformers. It was made by the regular Marshals and their deputies, and the compensation was so adjusted as to induce thorough visitation and at the same time to guard against aggregation of numbers. No imputation of fraud was cast upon the work. Such a thing as a plot to fabricate a monstrous increase of population in one section in order to baffle the course of nature and the logic of events in another, to change the balance of power and population in order to aggrandize one section by establishing a false basis of representation and apportionment, thus robbing other sections of their share in governing the country, in levying taxes and appropriating money, had not at that time occurred to the conservative foes of radicalism. That particular spoke in the wheel of devilry had not turned up to the shifty patriot of that day. We read of producing false heirs to thrones and estates, but to multiply false heirs without any one to personate them on a scale so grand as seems now in process, would stupefy the ingenuity of a French novelist, or anybody else, except a thorough-going non-partisan conservative disciple of the Democratic persuasion, wanting nothing for himself, but ready to do and suffer for a white man's government with reform and a change. The suggestion now is that the census-takers of 1870 undercounted their neighbors. Paid by the head, by the mile, and not by the day, it is now alleged they robbed themselves. They neither traveled, nor counted, nor charged for doing it. They were carpet-baggers, too many of them in the South. Their States were Republican; they had their ambitions and motives for increased political numbers there and power. There was not the remotest danger of any direct tax, and yet, with nothing to lose, they wronged and swindled themselves for the sake of being dishonest.

This all may be. It is the only way of accounting for the awkward wonders of the census now progressing. It cannot be called ingenious, because it is plainly the only possible explanation, and it limps badly. Ecumenical councils may sit on these recent fabulous census revelations, but men will still wonder how 43 per cent. was added to the population of a State in ten years, during which she received exactly 139 foreign immigrants, a fact established without the aid of any census. Such an increase of population anywhere would crep out in unnumbered direct ons. Production, consumption, building, tilled acreage, railway traffic, postal returns, immigration, would tell the story of such growth. Whether these telltale tests, which cannot be smothered, sustain or demolish the proposed count in the Southern States will incidentally appear further on, if your patience shall endure. In speaking of the population of the eleven States, now twelve, by the division of Virginia which seceded from the Union, and now constitute the chief power of the Democratic party—in 1870 it was: White, 7,067,313; black, 4,179,222; total, 11,246,435. The total was 29 per cent., or three-tenths of the population of the United States. The whites were one-sixth of the whole population of the country, the blacks one-ninth. The Democratic majority in all these twelve States represents about 6,000,000 people, or about 15 per cent. of our whole people. If to this number be added all the people of these States of whatever color, then they represent not more than 7 per cent. of the industrial, commercial, tax-paying, property interest of the country, the other States of the Union representing 93 per cent.

Let us see how much national control is now in the hands of the South, scant as it is in numbers and interest. Upward of thirty members sit in the House of Representatives, in the electoral colleges, by reason of counting the whole colored population as citizens with full political rights, equal in all things with the whites. This is double wrong and double robbery, to just the extent to which the freedmen are hindered or defrauded of their vote and their voice. To what extent this is true the election returns clearly show. This representation, based on stifled rights, is a plain violation of the constitution and of common honesty. But there it is, and there it votes and speaks in the nation's councils. The sixteen lately slave States, including Delaware, Maryland, Kentucky and Missouri, which did not secede, have thirty-two Senators. Thirty-nine is a majority of the Senate, so that the South needs but seven Senators from the other States to make a majority of all. She will never fail to get them, if seven Northern Democrats are there. In the House of Representatives there are 293 members—a majority is 147. The South has 106 members, lacking only forty-one of a majority of all. The Electoral College consists of 369; a majority is 185. The South has 138, lacking only forty-seven of a majority. Consider the sway these numbers have in the Senate. There are twenty-eight committees, and committees not only prepare, but virtually control legislation in both houses, and this must be so more and more as the houses and the business grow larger. Of these twenty-eight committees the South has the Chairmanship of seventeen, and the control of all the Southern Chairmanships are of important committees. Delaware, with 140,000 people, about as many as the city of Cleveland, Ohio, or a single rural county in New York, has the Chairmanship of Revision of Laws, a committee whose business was finished years ago. Virginia has the Chairmanship of the Committee on Pensions; Georgia of Commerce; Texas of Postoffices and Post Roads; Missouri of Claims; North Carolina of Railroads, and so on. I have said the South has control of all the working committees. This is true in this way: On every committee there is a majority of Democrats, and of these a majority in all cases consists of Southern Senators. The same condition prevails in the House. There are forty two committees. The Chairmen of twenty-two are from the South. All the committees are so constituted that the majority is Democratic, and of the majority more than half is Southern. During the two years while this absolute power in both houses has been so lodged the existence of the veto power and the approach of the Presidential canvass has suggested urgent reasons for "going slow." Many expected bills have not been introduced; many that have been introduced have not been passed; some that have been passed have run against such obstinate opposition as to secure present postponement or some modification. But whenever the hour strikes that the veto power is in Democratic hands, put there by Southern votes, whatever the "solid" caucus decrees will be written. That caucus will be controlled by those who represent less than one-seventh of the people of the Union.

I have said, also, that they represent not more than one-fourteenth of the producing, commercial, industrial, tax-paying and property interest of the country. Let me prove this by the official figures of the Bureau of Statistics, 1879: Customs duties, $137,250,048, collected at Southern ports, $2,145,505. This is 1½ per cent., or one-sixtieth part. Internal revenue, 1879, $116,848,221; paid by twelve Southern States, $20,332,364. This is 17 per cent., or one-sixth part. Since the war, Ohio alone has paid more internal revenue than all the late Confederate States united; so has Illinois. New York alone has paid nearly twice as much. If customs duties were added, the comparison would be more striking still. Our domestic commerce exceeds our foreign commerce twenty fold. Railways move 90 per cent. of it. In 1879, 423,013 freight cars carried this traffic. Of these cars the late Confederate States employed 31,248; this is 7 1-25 per cent., or one-fourteenth part. In 1879 the tonnage of vessels engaged in internal traffic was 2,678,067 tons. The late Confederate States employed 242,548 tons; this is 9 per cent., or one-eleventh part. In 1879, to June 30, 1880, our exports were $835,633,505. The South exported $188,629,717; this is 22½ per cent., or two-ninths part. Of this, 84 per cent. was cotton, and the New York Cotton Exchange reports that very little of it was moved by Southern capital. All that came North was handled by Northern capital. That exported directly was moved mostly by Northern and foreign capital. In 1879 to June 30, 1880, our imports were $667,953,302. The South imported, $15,934,391; this is 2½ per cent., or one-forty-third part. Exports and imports together were $1,503,586,897. The share of the South was $204,564,108; this is 13 3-5 per cent., or one-seventh. In 1879, Oct. 2, bank loans were $878,503,097; loans of Southern banks, $46,360,007; this is 5 per cent., or one-nineteenth. In 1879, Oct. 2, State and national-bank circulation was $314,103,223; Southern banks, $23,478,426; this is 7½ per cent., or one-thirteenth. In 1878, for the six months ending May 31, the latest returns, deposits in savings banks were $873,135,817; in Southern banks, $2,527,423; this is 4-10 of 1 per cent., or one-two hundred and fiftieth part. In 1879 the cost of railroads in the United States was $4,166,331,921; cost of Southern railroads, $556,274,979; this is 13 1-13 per cent., or one-seventh. The latest returns show the weight of the mails carried on railroads was 551,370,158 pounds; on Southern roads, 94,394,853 pounds. This is 17⅛ per cent., or one-sixth part. In 1870 our manufactures were $4,232,325,442; the Southern portion was $277,720,637. This is 6½ per cent., or one-sixteenth part. In 1870 the production of our mines was $152,958,994; of Southern mines, $4,996,052. This is 3¼ per cent., or one-thirty-first part. From June 30, 1870, to June 30, 1880, the number of immigrants who came to the United States was 2,812,127. Of these 2,662 came to Southern Atlantic ports, and 47,230 to ports of the Gulf of Mexico, making for the whole South 49,901. This is 1 77-100 per cent., or one-sixtieth. The latest report of the Commissioner of Education states the total income of the public schools of the country at $86,978,101; the South paid for public schools $8,536,797. This is 9 1-12 per cent., or one-tenth part. This item is presented here because it belongs to the industrial interest.

Looking into this mirror of the country's business, we see impartially and exactly reflected the respective proportions and features of the two sections. By analysis and average we see that production, industry, commerce, capital, and revenue are found one-fourteenth in one section of the country and thirteen-fourteenths in the other sections. These are hard, stubborn facts. They are not recited with pleasure; far from it. They are recited with deep regret; yet their recital will be denounced as evincing a spirit of exultation, of hostile, invidious criticism. It, will be said the South was taunted with her poverty. All this will be untruly, unjustly said. As an American, profoundly do I deplore the languor, the misfortune, and the wasted opportunities of any and every portion of our land. The ruinous course of affairs in the South comes home to every citizen of this great State whose interests and whose grandeur are so dear to me. The welfare and interest of the South and of the West, and of every portion of the country is the interest of New York, whose capital helped to build Western and Southern railways; who holds the bonds and obligations of Southern communities. When petitions are presented in Congress, praying for some action to stay repudiation by Louisiana and other Southern States, who sign these memorials, as holders of dishonored bonds? Who sells credit to the South? Who buys her cotton and tobacco? Who would gain by her increase of production and wealth? Who loses by her inertness and distractions? Do men wish to injure or destroy their own investments? Whoever will answer these questions will know that New York and her people, from love of self and love of gain, saying nothing of other reasons, earnestly long that the South may be peaceful and prosperous, and able to pay her share of taxes and bear her part of the public burdens. From the wheat fields of Minnesota to the pastures of Texas there is not an acre whose fertility does not benefit New York, nor could she profit by the misfortunes or poverty of a hamlet in all our borders.

It is not needed to the argument at this moment even to relate the causes of the mildew and sterility of the South, sunny, fertile, and blessed by nature as she is. Were I speaking to Southern men with a hope that they would listen, it would be well, indeed, to ask them to reflect upon these causes. When the war was over, had there been hearty, manly acceptance of the most generous, magnanimous terms the world ever saw accorded by victors in any case—not in any like case, because there is none like it in history; had politics and a thirst for power played less part, wasted less time, and done less wrong; had industry, enterprise, thrift, and humanity ruled the hour; had there been more mending, and building, and planting, and sowing; had there been less ostracism and hate to repel Northern capital, and keep back and drive back Northern men; had a fair day's wages been paid for a fair day's work; had there been no persecution or exodus of labor; had repudiation been loathed and shunned and not embraced—how high in the firmament of the Union would glitter the constellation of the South. But, as already said, I deal at this point with consequences and results, as they are, not with causes. Deploring, as we do, and as we should, whatever of misfortune falls on any section, when that section comes forward as a claimant of control and management of our general affairs, it is right to look, we are bound to look, into the scope and ground of the claim and into the motives, method, fitness, situation and standing of the claimant. Light is thrown upon these queries by the facts already presented, but much light may be gained from other facts of kindred import.

One thing for which we fought was the freedom of the Mississippi river. As some one expressed it, "We were determined the father of waters should go unvexed to the sea." The building of jetties at the delta of this great stream, to deepen a channel in which sea-going ships might reach New Orleans, has also attracted wide attention and stimulated the belief that New Orleans must be a vast outlet to the markets of the world and a port of entry of commanding importance. The river commerce of the Southern Mississippi is regarded as a great tie of interest; a great safeguard and assurance against purposes sectional or inimical, and a large foundation for the claims set up for Southern influence in national affairs. The canvass in some portions of the country already blossoms with literature in this behalf. This theory, as far as it was ever true, belongs to the past. The tread of man in all ages has been on the lines of latitude, not on lines of longitude. Rivers and mountains on this continent run north and south. Men bridge and tunnel them, and move east and west. This the ordinance of a power higher than a South Carolina census-taker. The enterprise which in its youth and heiplessness floated the way the water ran has changed its course. Trade has veered from one point of the compass to the other, and permanently altered its relations. The construction of railways has revolutionized traffic and transportation—four trunk lines of steel span each of which the seven ends are between New York, Philadelphia and Baltimore, now carry each one of them more freight than ever moved on the Mississippi river. The great companion and competitor to this transcontinental movement is the lakes and the Erie canal. Besides handling a vast traffic, this water route acts as a check on railway freights, keeping them down by force of competition. To this vast comprehensive modern current of business tributary streams flow in by rail and river from the North, South and West. The tonnage across the Mississippi on bridges above St. Louis is twelve-fold the tonnage to that city by river. Twenty-five years ago the commerce of St. Louis was all by river. Last year, as shown by the records of the Merchants' Exchange, the railway tonnage was 6,948,794, and the river tonnage was only 1,366,115. The single bridge at St. Louis has a capacity for ten-fold the traffic that ever floated on the Mississippi river. The actual commerce crossing this one bridge is four times as great as that of the river beneath. Traffic south of the Ohio river and of the Mississippi is but tributary to the East and West. The St. Louis Merchants' Exchange reports that last year the number of tons moved to and from the East by rail was 2,930,855 tons; moved to and from the South by river, 693,520 tons; moved to and from the South by rail, 1,951,098. Commerce takes the rail even with the river by its side. New Orleans is 652 miles further from Liverpool than St. Louis itself is; Baltimore is 920 miles nearer than St. Louis to Liverpool, making a difference in favor of Baltimore as a point for shipping to Europe of 1,572 miles as against New Orleans, saying nothing of the disadvantage of carrying products through the tropical exposure and risks of the Gulf of Mexico. Philadelphia, New York, and Boston are still nearer than New Orleans to Liverpool. But this is not all. The commercial forces of seven great cities have grasped the vast carrying trade and hold, proper, and direct it. Boston, New York, Philadelphia, and Baltimore at the East, and St. Louis, Chicago, and Cincinnati at the West, command the machinery, and the outlets and inlets through which the surplus products of the United States reach the markets of the world, and through which the merchandise of Europe is brought here and distributed. Geographical and natural advantages are favorable, but alone they would not be decisive.

The vital fact is the genius, energy, enterprise and capital of merchants, farmers, manufacturers and railway managers, aided by wholesome adjustments of tariff and other laws in the interest of American labor. Could science deepen the mouths of the Mississippi till the Great Eastern could load at the wharves of the Crescent City, the achievement would no more arrest or divert the movement of commerce from East and West than it would control the tides of the sea or change the courses of the stars. Southern commerce is simple, tardy and dependent; Northern commerce is complex, intensely active, highly organized and independent. Northern methods and progression have constantly increased their fruits; the reverse is true of Southern methods.

In 1860, the imports of New Orleans were $22,932,773; last year they were only $10,840,254. They were less last year than in any year from 1866 to 1878. In 1860, exports from New Orleans were $107,812,580; last year they were only $90,249,874, less than they were in 1870 and 1874. The tonnage account varies this statement apparently, but only apparently, because steam vessels have been used of late, and steamers count more rapidly in tonnage than in cargoes. Like retrograde and stagnation appears at other ports. Baltimore is not treated as a Southern port, because it is the ocean terminus of a great East and West line of traffic.

Now turn to Northern ports:

	1860.	1880.
Boston, imports	$ 39,366,569	$ 68,619,558
Boston, exports	13,530,770	58,023,587
New York, imports	233,692,941	543,595,398
New York, exports	120,630,955	388,441,664
Philadelphia, imports	14,625,801	35,951,292
Philadelphia, exports	5,512,755	49,512 195
Baltimore, imports	9,784,773	19,956,236
Baltimore, exports	8,804,606	76,220,870

The imports of these four ports in 1860 were $279,491,075; their exports $248,479,036; total, $549,950,161. In 1880 their imports were $668,122,604; their exports, $572,298,315; total, $1,240,420,920. In 1860 the foreign commerce of New Orleans was 24 per cent. of that of the four ports just named. In 1880 it is only 8 per cent., falling off from $130,735,450 in 1860 to $101,092,128 in 1880. The foreign tonnage of New Orleans in 1859 was 659,083; in 1860 it was 632,398; in 1880 it was 760,910. The foreign tonnage of Charleston in 1859 was 129,764; in 1860 it was 126,421; in 1880 it is 116,283.

In 1860, year ending June 30, the tonnage of vessels entered at seaports south of the Potomac was a third as large as the tonnage of all Northern ports, both Atlantic and Pacific. This year, ending June 30, 1880, it is only about one-seventh. Democratic orators bid us look at the exports of cotton.

I have looked at them, and find these facts touching cotton and breadstuffs: In 1860, bales of cotton exported, 3,812,355; value, $191,806,555. In 1870, bales of cotton exported, 2,095,328; value, $227,027,624. In 1880, bales of cotton exported, 3,810,153; value, $211,535,905—fewer bales this year than twenty years ago. In 1860, the breadstuffs exported sold for $24,422,320. In 1870, the breadstuffs exported sold for $72,250,933. In 1880 the breadstuffs exported sold for $288,036,835. Cotton has stood still, while surplus breadstuffs have multiplied twelvefold. Look again; look at the value of all exports as they have risen and fallen in one part of the country and in others. The value of all exports from ports south of the Potomac was, in 1860, $199,097,750; in 1879, $192,889,920; in 1880, $187,140,573. Here is a steady decline. These unerring proofs mark and locate the bulk and substance of the nation's wealth and business.

But some man may say, What has all this to do with electing Garfield and Arthur and a Republican Congress? I answer, It has everything to do with it. Again some men may say, All these vast enterprises and transactions are managed by individuals and corporations as private business, and what are they to party or politics? To them I answer that the good of every one of them depends on just and friendly laws and wholesome administration of the Government. I say this, speaking in the great commercial metropolis of the Western hemisphere, and speaking to men whose wisdom, integrity and enterprise have made this one of the greatest, and, in my belief, the most generous and benevolent, city on the globe. I affirm that the broad issue at this election is, whether our colossal fabric of commercial, industrial interests shall be under the management and protection of those who chiefly created and own it, or shall be handed over to the sway of those whose share in it is small, and whose experience, theories and practices do not fit them or entitle them to assume its control.

Tariffs, tax laws, finances, currency, banks, courts, appropriations, the maintenance and enforcement of national as well as State laws, these are the things upon which prosperity depends, and these are the things at stake in this election. The party which represents the tax-paying portions of the country is the party whose representatives can best be trusted to vote upon drafts on the treasury. A Congressman whose constituents "foot the bills" may not stand up alone or with a few others against his party and its caucus, but if he belongs to a party, all of whose Congressmen represent the tax-paying constituency, they may be trusted to stand together against raids on the treasury which they know all their districts would condemn. It is still more certain that if you place the tax-levying power in the hands of those who do but little of the tax-paying, your situation is like that of the man who sat on a limb and sawed off the limb between himself and the tree. The consideration of disparity of interests, if it stood alone, ought to turn the scale in deciding whether to put the Government into the hands of the Democratic party, "as now constituted and controlled," in the language of Gen. Grant. But inferiority of interest or antagonism of interest is unfortunately not the only consideration. Banded sectional resentments and sterile hates disfigure and pervert the political policy of those who dominate the South, foreboding immeasurable peril and evil should they come to wield the whole force of the National Government. Intolerance of free action and equal rights in political or even business affairs is too patent and flagrant to be denied or doubted. One glance at Southern elections proves ostracism, tyranny and wrong in monstrous proportions. In 1868 eight of the Southern States gave majorities for Grant. In 1872 seven States did the same thing. Their Republican vote was very large. Only four years afterwards 260,000 of those votes disappeared from the count. In the nine other Southern States in the same four years 300,000 Republican votes disappeared from the returns, also making an absence of 560,000 votes. Most of these stifled votes were the votes of men who had been slaves, freedmen, only just crowned with the crown of American citizenship, and proud and eager, more proud and eager than the most of us, to exercise the right to vote. Does any sane man doubt that they would have voted if they could, or that those who dared and could did vote, and that their votes were not honestly counted? If any man does doubt, let him look at the spectacle presented in individual States. The votes of Georgia were registered before the election in 1866. The white voters numbered 95,303, the colored 93,458. In 1876 the whole Republican vote counted was 50,446. Two years later the whole Republican vote counted was 5,257. Pretense being made that the freedmen of Georgia do not care to vote, and often vote the Democratic ticket, only read the savage laws of Georgia under fiction of vagrancy, and prison management, and then learn of their sickening, beastly administration, and human nature will tell you that the freedmen of Georgia do not support the Democratic party, but would cast it out if they could. In 1876 the Republican vote of Louisiana was 77,174; two years afterward the Republican vote disappeared from the election returns. Yet in 1867, in this same State, the registry of votes showed 45,199 white voters, and 84,431 colored voters, and in 1876 the registry showed a Republican majority of 22,314. In North Carolina in 1876 the Republican vote cast was 108,417. At the next Congressional election the Republican vote scarcely appeared in the count. In Alabama in 1872 the Republicans cast 90,272 votes. They elected five of the seven Representatives to Congress, and the Legislature by a large majority. In 1876 68,230 Republican votes were counted. Two years later, when a Governor and members of Congress were elected, there were but 213 counted.

This was a very carnival of fraud and devilry. Voting places in Republican regions had been established twenty-five miles apart, and the Republicans of South Carolina do not ride by night or by day. They go on foot. They are poor and ignorant, but they know what emancipation means. They know what the ballot box means. They know which side they prayed and fought for in the war. They know which side they will vote for in peace. Force and tissue ballots took care of the election in 1878 in South Carolina. It was testified before a committee of the Senate that one man put about 700 votes into the ballot box. This makes politics one of the exact sciences, much more certain than the dice or lots with which offices and nominations were raffled off here the other day.

In Mississippi more than half the population is colored. Every year until 1874 the Republicans had a majority in all elections. In 1876 the Republican vote returned was 52,605. Next year it was but 1,168, and the year after, 2,085. In all these States the Republican vote, and even the Republican committees and newspapers, have been utterly suppressed.

Alabama has just held an election. The Greenback candidate for President went there, and realized the embarrassment of the bull who butted against a locomotive. The whole proceeding was a shameful wrong, and Mr. Weaver says the enforcement of the national election law is the only thing which will make a fair election possible.

Arkansas, where, until recently, the Republicans always elected members of Congress and the Legislature, where at the last Presidential election 38,669 Republican votes were cast, and where now in no part of the State does the Republican vote appear, repudiation and Democracy prevail mightily.

I repeat here, as I said in the Senate, when the Government was taken by the throat and threatened with strangulation, unless the election laws were stricken down, that the Democratic party would have no majority in either house of Congress, except for elections dominated and decided by violence and fraud.

What use is made of all this ill-gotten power? One of its chief uses has been the repudiation of honest debts. Every Southern State but Texas has lately repudiated its obligations. The aggregate repudiation of State and municipal debts amounts to about $300,000,000. In 1872 the debts of the Southern States were $242,500,000. Now these States recognize and pay interest on only $53,978,945. A large part even of this is unpaid and funded interest. On $20,000,000 interest has been scaled down to 2 per cent. Whether the residue of the debts are also to be foresworn is now an open issue. Is there excuse or palliation for this? We are told so. What is it? It is that carpet-bag governments contracted these obligations. One difficulty with this excuse, and not the only one, is that it is not true. The anti-war debt, contracted before the carpet-bagger ever visited the South, either with knapsack or without it, was $90,000,000. No part of this debt has been paid; a large part has been repudiated. The carpet-bag governments paid the interest on it regularly. The increase of debt since the war was largely for public improvements. But the most damaging fact for this excuse is that all the alleged illegal issues of bonds charged upon the carpet-bag governments put together does not equal the sums repudiated by Georgia alone. What are we to think of men and communities who go into wholesale repudiation as "gayly as the troubadour touched his guitar." When Mr. Weaver brought forward in the House of Representatives a bill to issue fiat money and make it a legal tender for all debts, public and private, man after man from the South openly declared that if the word private were stricken out he would vote for the bill. They had no objection to paying off public debts with chaff, but private debts they thought should be paid in money. State debts are sacred above national obligations. In Southern ethics "a sovereign State is of higher essence than the nation," and this was the standing defense in rebellion for going with their States. Moreover, States and municipal obligations are for home purposes. If their own State's faith and credit is not inviolate with Southern leaders, what in their hands would be the fate of obligations which were the means, the cause, the memorials of their defeat?

But we are told Gen. Hancock would watch them. An angel might watch a tiger; a child might attempt to divide a beefsteak with a bloodhound; a lamb might lie down with a lion—but the lamb would be inside. The peril of Democratic ascendency in all the branches of the Government is deeper rooted than any measure within the scope of existing public questions. Statesmen abroad talk of "the balance of power," and of "changing the map of Europe." These sayings mean not much more than might easily occur here.

The resolution admitting Texas to the Union in 1845 provided for erecting out of Texas four additional States. The area and population are both sufficient. The area is 274,000 square miles; the population 1,550,000. Such a proceeding would add eight to the number of Southern Senators and add to Southern power in the Electoral College. From New Mexico and other Territories whose traditions and prejudices have descended from slaveholding influences, several new States may also be made. Schemes exist not in embryo, but far advanced, to obtain "a slice of Mexico." Cattle-stealing on the Rio Grande border has been and is a fruitful occasion for incursions into Mexico. Special cavalry regiments of unusual size have been raised and stationed on the Texan frontier. It is an open secret that not long ago much exertion and alertness were needed to keep us out of another Mexican war. Without violating the constitution or transcending the usages of the republic, at least seven new States could be brought in, and in the case of some of them a very plausible case could be made. The project would become a high party measure; its success would assure complete Democratic ascendency in the nation for a generation at least. It would put the Government not in the hands of the Democratic party, but of the Southern Democratic party. Why should not this be done? Who and what is to prevent it? If the Democratic party is elected, the Northern wing could never resist the Southern wing in Congress were these States brought forward for admission. The Northern wing never could, never will and never can withstand the pressure of the far stronger Southern wing. Gravitation and arithmetic make such resistance impossible, just as a pound cannot outweigh a ton, just as one man cannot outnumber a regiment. The past is pitiful in its warnings in this behalf. Despite pledges and Northern indignation, Northern Democrats in Congress united in voting down the Wilmot proviso in order to make California a slave State; united in voting for the Fugitive Slave law; united in the mighty perfidy which overthrew the Missouri compromise in order to fasten slavery on Kansas and other States and united in defeating the Homestead law, all at the behest of the Southern majority. Mr. Van Buren at last, like Macbeth, would "go no further in this bloody business," and political destruction was his reward. Mr. Douglas at last made a brave stand against sectional aggression, and he was hunted to his grave. Caucus is King, and the avenging angel is hardly more inexorable in decree, or more unerring in retribution. One of the main bulwarks of the republic is the judiciary. The courts of justice are umpire, conservator, citadel. The Supreme Court is the final arbiter of many momentous controversies. This great tribunal is very obnoxious to the Southern leaders in Congress and out. It is in their way. It does not always decide as they think. The halls of Congress rung last year with assertions uttered with passionate vehemence that the laws for protecting elections are unconstitutional. Soon afterward a case on the docket of the Supreme Court, involving the validity of these laws, was reached, and the court decided them valid. A Register in Bankruptcy, not long ago, overruled the Chief Justice on the construction of a statute, and so it often happens that the court is not able or recondite enough to get at the "true inwardness" and profound depths of the law as understood on the hustings, where the moonshiners, thieves, and the fire-eater reigns. Mutterings deep and loud breathings of dire longings to "go for" the court have, for years, been gathering in volume. In the House of Representatives for two or three years this feeling has now and again found harsh voice in unseemly, sinister words. Not only in Kentucky, through the Chairman of the Judiciary Committee, Mr. Knott, but Missouri, North Carolina, and other States assisted. I regret to say, by a Representative from this city, have uttered language gross and calumnious of the court, aspersing its integrity and its decisions as "mere drivel," "plausible sophistry," "packed, partisan, and demoralized," "packed tribunal," "decisions to be observed pro tempore" only, "dirty work of its masters," "made a political decision to order," "fiery indignation of an inflamed people." These are some of the buffetings to be found in the *Congressional Record*, delivered sometimes from carefully written speeches and sometimes received, the *Record* says, with "loud applause." To what does all this pave the way? The *Congressional Record* will inform you: On the 26th of January, 1880, Mr. Manning of Mississippi, a State well known to be jealously sensitive to the pure administration of justice and the rigorous punishment of crimes, especially hideous, cowardly murder and massacre, introduced a bill to place twelve new additional Judges on the Supreme bench. What an easy, effectual and withal plausible disposition this would make of the court. Increased business would be such an innocent excuse. The court could sit by sevens for some purposes, and meet in banque for large purposes, when State sovereignty and State-rights amendments to the constitution and cotton taxes and the like were at stake. The bill passed to a second reading, and was referred to a committee, whose Chairman, a few days afterward, came into the House and denounced the court, and said that a majority of the present Judges were "hopelessly lost in the fog." For the present it would be premature and bungling to pass such a bill. A veto might spoil it, and it might spoil the result in some of the close Northern States, but let the Democrats elect their President, or rather their party, for the party is running, and who will say that this bill will not find its way to the statute book? You can all say what kind of Judges the twelve new ones would be, but no new law is needed. Nature's law, and the statutory limit of age at which Judges may retire, will, during the next four years, vacate at least four seats on the Supreme bench. These four appointments will decide the political complexion of the court. With what Judges would the Democracy fill them? The Circuit and District Courts are obnoxious also. They are still more easy to deal with. Like the Judges of the Supreme Court, these Judges hold their places during good behavior, but legislation, as has often been seen in States and in the nation, has ways to plow around this stump, abolishing a circuit or district, or adding to it, another takes his seat out from under a Judge and gets rid of him, and finally he is "legislated out." Thus the whole judicial establishment of the republic is at the disposal of the law-making power. With courts revolutionized to conform to reactionary notions and dogmas, prejudices and interests, what may be the fate of the question affecting commerce among the several States, revenue, bank and legal-tender currency, the taxation of Government bonds, the currency in which these bonds are payable, the civil-rights acts, election laws, claims growing out of the war, claims for funding the war tax on cotton, the late amendments, and many other grave matters, no man can predict.

The army, too, is envied, its "offense is rank." Less than four lines of the Revised Statutes are all that denies commissions in the army to men who, educated at the country's cost, and presented with their country's sword, drew that sword against their country's life. A bill to repeal these four lines is now pending in the Senate, already passed to a third reading by the solid Democratic vote. On the 25th of February last, Mr. Herskell, of Maryland, was relieved from the operation of this exclusion, and a Senator from Arkansas moved, as an amendment, its total repeal. The ayes and noes were demanded, and thirty-six Senators, every Democrat who was present, voted aye; Ohio, New Jersey, Pennsylvania and New York contributed their Democratic votes to this Southern proposition of "reform." Subsequently the mover and all concluded to reconsider and drop the amendment. A sagacious conclusion