

AN INHERITANCE.

The Whig Party Responsible for the State Debt,

As It Created a Major Portion of That Heavy Burden

To Which the Republicans Have Made Additions.

A Comprehensive View of the Financial Condition of the State—Public Works, Craze the Origin of the Present Public Indebtedness—What Has Been Done by Democratic Administrations to Reduce It.

Concerning the state debt Judge Lewis Jordan, of Indianapolis, says:

The legislature of Indiana in 1836 and subsequent years authorized an extensive system of internal improvements by the state. The Whig party was in control, but the craze for these public works swept over the state, and the votes of members of both parties were controlled by local interests. The money to make the canals and roads had to be borrowed, and in a few years the debt of the state amounted to over \$11,000,000.

In 1841 the crash came and the state could not even pay the interest on this vast sum, much less any part of the principal.

By the advice and influence of Governor Whitcomb the legislature of 1846 proposed a compromise to the creditors of the state, which a large majority of them accepted. By the terms of this compromise these creditors accepted the Wabash and Erie canals for one-half of the principal of their bonds and one-half of the accumulated interest. For the other half of the principal, state stock bearing 5 per cent. interest was issued, and for the one-half of accumulated interest state stock bearing 2 1/2 per cent. interest. For this great service Governor Whitcomb deserves a monument erected by the state. He restored the credit of Indiana.

All the creditors of the state did not accept the compromise, and during the administrations of Governors Hendricks, Williams and Porter there was paid on these old internal improvement bonds \$712,852.18, and thousands of dollars have been paid since, the supreme court having decided that they must be paid in full, principal and interest.

The state five and two-and-a-half per cent. stocks were taken up by investing the trust funds of the state in them, but over \$5,000,000 of this old improvement debt has never been paid, and today this amount represents more than one-half of the state debt. The state has nothing to show for it.

The editor who publishes, or the stump speaker who asserts, that the Democratic party made this part of the state debt is either an ignoramus or a willful falsifier of the history of the state. The unpaid internal improvement bonds appeared in the public debt statements up to 1864, but in 1865 the state auditor left them out. Honest Governor Baker, in his last message, delivered January 10, 1873 (see house journal, page 18), said they should have been included in the annual debt statements. He estimated in that message that it would require \$569,000 to take them up, but his estimate was too low, as Governors Hendricks, Williams and Porter paid \$712,852.18 on them, and large sums have been paid since, as I have stated above.

Governor Baker said in this same message, delivered three days before Mr. Hendricks became governor, that the state debt was \$4,650,830.37, but he only included \$569,000 of those internal improvement bonds in his statement. This was \$200,000 too little, as time has demonstrated. Add this \$200,000 to the amount of the state debt as given by Governor Baker and it makes the state debt when Mr. Hendricks became governor \$4,850,830.37.

But Governor Baker in this same message admits that the state treasury was bankrupt, and said "that the collection of the revenue of 1873 will have to be anticipated by a temporary loan." (See page 20, house journal, 1873.)

This loan was made immediately after the inauguration of Governor Hendricks and amounted to \$200,000. It is justly chargeable to the administration of Governor Baker, and when added to the amount of the state debt, as stated by him, increased by the \$200,000 of additional internal improvement bonds which he did not estimate, makes the true amount of the state debt at the beginning of Governor Hendricks' term over

Five Million Dollars.

These honest and true statements of Governor Baker as to the amount of the debt and the condition of the state treasury at the close of his term, put to shame the liars who make it a business to retail their lying charges against the Democratic party during every canvass.

I now challenge them to show by the record that the state debt was permanently increased during the administrations of Governor Hendricks and Williams. It was in fact reduced, for in 1881 when Porter became governor the debt was only \$4,376,608.34.

Governors Hendricks and Williams not only reduced the state debt, but at the same time built and equipped the Insane Hospital for Women at Indianapolis, and also expended large sums for

extensive improvements on other state institutions.

The foundation for the growth of the debt was laid during the administration of Governor Porter, and he, more than any one else, is responsible for it. The legislature of 1883, while he was governor, authorized the erection of three additional hospitals for the insane, and appropriated \$600,000 "to carry out the provisions of the act." (See acts 1883, page 164.) What were the provisions of the act? The act says "for the construction and equipping of three hospitals for the insane."

Governor Porter permitted the bill to become a law without his signature, but he did select the members of the board, and was its president under the terms of the law. The state tax levy had not been increased by the legislature that ordered the new hospitals, and there was not a dime in the treasury to pay the \$600,000 appropriation.

Governor Porter and his board were not deterred from acting by this fact. They even did not confine themselves to the sum appropriated, but adopted plans which resulted in making these hospitals cost \$1,500,000. Every cent of this vast sum was borrowed, and thus increased the state debt. The location and plans of construction of these hospitals have been severely criticised, but this is aside from this discussion.

It is announced that Governor Porter is to take part in the coming canvass, and if the Republicans are anxious to continue the discussion of the responsibility for the increased state debt, some pointed questions must be propounded to Governor Porter, and explanations will be in order. He sowed the seed which yielded a large increase of the debt, and he did this when the tax payers were building the state house.

It will not do to charge that the money to pay for the hospitals was borrowed by Governor Gray. The obligations were contracted by Governor Porter's administration and had to be paid or repudiated by the state.

Boomed by a Republican House.

The Republican house of 1887 started another boom of the state debt by the extraordinary appropriations for the soldiers' monument, the soldiers' orphans' home and other state buildings. (See acts of 1887.) I am not criticising these appropriations, but fixing the responsibility for the increase of the debt. By these appropriations, which could not have been made if the Republican house of 1887 had not consented, well-nigh on to half a million dollars were added to the state debt.

This same Republican house of 1887 refused to continue the state house tax and thus made it necessary to borrow \$700,000 to complete and furnish the state house. They again boomed the state debt.

This same Republican house of 1887 wanted to borrow \$2,000,000 to squander, but a Democratic senate blocked the game. This was part of a scheme to injure Governor Gray, as the \$2,000,000 loan was to be charged up against his administration.

It never occurred to this Republican house that it was its duty to increase the state tax levy to raise money to pay the large, extraordinary appropriations it made. The Democrats have been denounced with stint for not raising the levy, but the Republican house of 1887 refused to do this very thing. The Republicans will please take a large dose of their own medicine, and take it often, so they will cease lying about their opponents. It will thus be seen from the above that the increase of the state debt in the last twelve years was nearly all caused by a Republican governor and Republican house. It would be interesting to have the names of any Republican members of the legislature who voted against extraordinary expenditures for public buildings in the past twelve years. They all voted for and advocated them. While denouncing the increase of the state debt and the increase of the state tax levy, the Republican papers are now advocating schemes which will require large appropriations to carry them out.

Since 1877 the state tax levy has been only twelve cents on the \$100. All now see and admit that this was not enough to pay current expenses and make the large improvements on state institutions and build new ones. The economical and wise administrations of Governors Hendricks, Williams and Gray made it possible to borrow money for 3 per cent. All the money borrowed has been applied to building, and the state has its magnificent institutions to show for it. It is the meanest kind of demagoguery to attempt to make political capital out of the financial transactions of the state, and by perverting the facts.

Governor Hovey saw the necessity of an increase of the state tax to twenty-five cents. Because a Democratic legislature fixed it at eight cents below the recommendation of a Republican governor it is denounced. Personally, I would have favored cutting down the state school tax to fourteen cents and increasing the state tax to fourteen cents. But the time has come for the state to face the music and pay that part of the debt which was created to build the insane hospitals, soldiers' orphans' home, institute for feeble minded children, soldiers' monument, and to make the large additions to all the other state institutions. And the time has come to call a halt in making any extraordinary appropriations until this part of the debt is paid.

The old debt of \$5,000,000 might be continued as a relic of the internal improvement craze of 1836-7.

TARIFF AND WAGES.

Difference in Factory Wages at Home and Abroad.

Workmen and others have frequently asked, says the Philadelphia Record, to state the difference in factory wages in this country and in Europe. Satisfactory answers could not always be given, because of the unreliability of the data. Earnings greatly vary with other industrial conditions. In some industries the daily wages are much higher than in others, while the days of labor are much less; so that, taking all the year round, the earnings are nearly equal in their respective employments. At the same time there has been a strong disposition in officials gatherers of statistics to fit them as nearly as possible to the favorite theory at hand.

Thus protectionist doctrines have habitually exaggerated the earnings of labor in this country, and depreciated them in free trade England, in order to make out a plausible case for tariff spoliation. In this economic work the protectionist manipulators have carefully refrained from producing the statistics of wages in the "protected" countries of continental Europe, since the results would have completely overturned their argument when contrasted with the results under the free policy of Great Britain.

But Mr. Carroll D. Wright, chief of the department of labor, has just transmitted to President Harrison a comprehensive and exhaustive statistical report upon the comparative condition of work and wages in the United States, Great Britain, Germany, Belgium and Switzerland. Mr. Wright's authority in this domain of investigation is of the highest character, and to the arsenal of facts which he has collected both parties in the tariff controversy will be obliged to go for ammunition. If the advocates of McKinleyism can find consolation in these industrial data, the friends of tariff reform will have no cause to grudge it to them.

Without further reviewing these statistics at present, let us take the comparative figures in the cotton industry, for an example. In the United States the average annual earnings of a family in the cotton factories are \$658; expenses, \$611; net income, \$47. In Great Britain the annual earnings of a family in the same industry are \$556; expenses, \$502; net income, \$54. In Germany the earnings are \$402; expenses, \$283; net income, \$119. In France, the earnings are \$366; expenses, \$334; net income, \$32. In Switzerland, the earnings are \$358; expenses, \$247; net income, \$111.

In the highly protected woolen industries of this country and in the same industries in England the wages are lower than in the cotton manufactures, while in the iron and glass industries they are higher. But the relations between earnings and expenses are much the same. In Germany the average earnings of a family in the woolen industries amount to \$245, and the expenses to \$283, leaving a deficit of \$37 at the end of the year.

American workmen, whose ears have been stunned with cries over the "blessings" of protection and the "curse" of free trade in generating pauperism of labor, can hardly fail to draw an instructive lesson from Mr. Wright's statistics. While the "protected" workman in a New England cotton factory has a surplus of \$47 at the end of the year, the victim of "pauper labor" in free trade England has a surplus of \$54.

Leaving out of question the miserable condition of labor under the protective systems of Germany and France, the advocates of tariff spoliation will find nothing to help their argument in this comparison of industrial conditions in the United States and Great Britain. While the American cotton spinner works more hours, and produces more, he is able to save less than his unprotected rival in free trade England.

Is this because he spends more for luxuries and superfluities? Not at all. The statistics of Mr. Wright show that while the workman and his family in the United States expend annually \$9.36 for pleasures and recreations, the English workman spends not less than \$36.20 on the same account.

The reason of these differences lies in a tariff system which, in the name of protection to American workmen, makes the cost of indispensable necessities of living greater in the United States than they are in free trade England. While nominally receiving more money for more extensive labor and a greater amount of production, American workmen's wages have less purchasing power than have wages in England because of the insidious taxes upon so many of the necessities and comforts of living.

Since figures honestly, patiently and intelligently collated will not lie, the advocates of tariff spoliation will find a perfidious mine of truth in the figures of Mr. Carroll D. Wright.

A Tariff Problem.

How will the high protection people have the face to ask a continuance of the McKinley wool tariff, in view of the fact that wool is the lowest ever known? The wool problem is not a very hard one to solve if one considers the whole history of the prices of that article. The highest prices ever paid for wool have been when it was on the free list. The lowest have been when attempts have been made to create an artificial and unnatural value by imposing a so-called protective tariff. These are the facts.—Bluffton Banner.

THE TAX LAW.

The present tax law is a just measure. Honestly administered its effect will be beneficial. As a political measure it is of doubtful efficiency. It was passed at the urgent request of a great many taxpayers, without regard to politics. It was voted for by Democrats and Republicans. It was recommended and signed by a Republican governor. It will in time vindicate itself.

The law is not responsible for individual instances of its working hardships. Where it is properly administered, where all the property is listed and a fair valuation put upon it and where the tax levy is no more than is necessary to raise the required amount of taxes, there can be no just complaint. And all property necessarily includes that of corporations and individuals.—New Albany Ledger.

Our people will readily remember the furious onslaught made by Republican partisans upon the new school book law. Do you hear anything about it now?

After the next election they will have nothing to say of the new tax law.

The Republican party is a party of make-shifts, shams and expedients.—Delphi Times.

The Indianapolis Journal says there is too much school money raised in this state. It is true that education is no advantage to the Republican leaders. Clarkson says the mass of newspaper readers belong to the Democracy.—Muncie Herald.

\$34,308.38 represents the amount of increased local taxes collected this year under a Republican administration to run affairs in Hendricks county.—Morgan county Gazette.

The corporations and the Republican party and press are opposed to the new tax law, and very good reasons why the working men should favor it.—Madison Democrat.

Exclusive Rights Are Dangerous.

No town or city, says the Marion Leader, should grant an exclusive or perpetual right of any kind to any syndicate, trust, combine, corporation, company or individual, no matter how tempting may be the offer made in return therefor. The world just now is moving too rapidly, its strides are too immense to permit such an act of lunacy to be considered, even for one moment. We have no right to perpetrate so great a sin against prosperity by thus tying their hands. A single day is liable to produce improvements and results absolutely dwarfing anything now in existence. No perpetual or exclusive rights should be granted under any circumstances.

It Has the People's Confidence.

The old cry that the Democratic party was incompetent to manage this government has been refuted by the honest, excellent and efficient administration of Grover Cleveland. The people know that the Democratic party has the ability, intelligence and integrity to handle the governmental affairs equal to any other party. The party is growing stronger each year and now it is ready for another victory. One of the best ways to succeed is through an honest, thorough organization, and we enjoin this fact upon the minds of every Democrat.—Bloomfield Democrat.

He Believed in McKinleyism.

B. F. White, a prominent Republican farmer near Thorntown, refused to sell his wool clip last spring at twenty-five cents, but thought to await the promised benefits vouchsafed wool-growers by the McKinley bill. Recently Mr. White took his wool to Thorntown, where he was offered for it twenty cents a pound, providing he would take half in trade. If he holds on to those fleeces for another twelve months McKinley's bill will have been fully tested, and he'll be compelled to let the sheep go with the wool to get rid of it at any price.—Lebanon Pioneer.

Who Increased the Tax?

"A Farmer" in The Times wants to surprise somebody with the statement that farmers pay the increase of taxes. There is no disputing that point. It is well taken. Why does he pay the increase of taxes? Because the Republican management of this county made a levy on his property that will bring \$30,000 more into the county treasury than the previous year. "A Farmer" undoubtedly understands the situation, but being a Republican his only purpose is to deceive his brother "farmers," (2) but he can't do it.—Warsaw National Union.

The People Not Fighting the Law.

The Monon railroad is the foremost in the fight against the new tax law. Why? Simply for the reason that under its provisions it is compelled to pay its just proportion of the taxes. The valuation of the property of that company, in Orange alone, was increased, for purposes of taxation, \$210,183. Republican newspapers, however, have the effrontery to say that the law is in the interest of the corporations and against those of the people.—Paoli News.

Trying Times for Benjamin.

Chairman Clarkson says it will require more than one ballot to nominate the Republican candidate for president at Minneapolis, and on the heels of this significant announcement appears another formidable movement to nominate Blaine. These are trying times for the tribe of Benjamin.—Fort Wayne Journal.

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