CORRUPTION.

PRESS OPINIONS.

OF A DISTRACTED COUNTRY.—
RICAN NEWSPAPERS OF 1873.

Commercial of 1873.)

was sadly perturbed. He
grave apprehensions, and re-
ction of the righteous with such
k within him. He came near
After Ames had testified the
of Garfield, *fixing it upon him*
general at once notified them
them and refute the vile slanders
Massachusetts had poured out
the hour came, but simultane-
had heard that Ames (who
ing the receipts that Patterson
ession other such documents to
testimony in respect to others,
hose flashing blade was wont to
e gory days of that past decade,
was prudent, and he never ap-
committee forebore to question
's statement and his own, and the
never produced.

d Courant, Jan. 23, 1873.

Wilson, Bingham, J. F. Wilson,
afield are exonerated by Mr. Ames,
holding stock or giving an untrue
th Messrs. Garfield, Patterson, Col-
egree with Mr. Allison.

d Republican, March 28, 1873.)

Convention in General Garfield's
minent public servant to resign his
ker constituencies follow suit at the
asonen, if not before. When these
gain, they will begin to realize the
andicapped with a disgraceful record.

, N. H., Monitor, Feb. 20, 1873.)

s passed far beyond partisanship, or
uence of this upon other parties. It
picuous and burning shame. It will
g less than justice executed upon all
ity men. The Republican party can-
pon it the sins of Colfax or Patterson
Garfield. Rather it will be true to its
eal of its condemnation upon them
may do; less than this it cannot do

y Evening Journal, Feb. 20, 1873.)

es with a complete vindication. We
Garfield and some of the others do not
* * What is the nature of their
r was that they did not frankly and
that they concealed and prevaricated
This is the whole of it. We do not
them from the charge of deception.
d they must suffer the consequences."

port Journal, March 5, 1873.)

may have been the judgment of Con-
bilier offenders there is another earthly
h they must appear and stand trial, sel-
inicalties or by the pleadings and sub-
The calm judgment of the American
clouded by sophistries and evasions.
re sadly mistaken who suppose that these
hese exposures indicate the slightest de-
e in the Republican party. To put away
party will not harm it. Only the bad men
reck it.

hester Democrat, Feb. 28, 1873.)

e on the resolutions submitted by the
, for the expulsion of Oakes Ames and
m Congress, closed yesterday afternoon.
iven our opinion as to the improbability
or expulsion succeeding, and our disap-
ction of these two gentlemen, however
c, while the others (Garfield & Co.) who
scaped scot free. * * * On the whole
Committee and the action taken on it are a
It looks as if the only thing estab-
erfect impunity of rascality at the capital.
sty has won another great triumph instead
a disastrous defeat. The guilty are re-
ar of public opinion for sentence, and will
t condemnation.

uffalo Express, February 20th, 1873.)

nion, based on such hasty consideration as
able to give the facts, is that Dawes is inno-
and Bingham have been guilty of an impro-
ould subject them to censure; and that Kelley
have so misrepresented the facts, and endeav-
the transaction as a loan, that a more severe
ld not be out of place.

the Portland Advertiser, Feb. 22, 1873.)

shown that the profits of the Credit Mobilier
the Pacific Railroad were nearly one-half, and
government was indirectly swindled out of
millions of dollars. (The testimony subse-
ted show that the profits of the swindle were
.) And this is the business that certain Con-
w claim that they had a perfect right to enter into.
lle as too ridiculous the idea of their innocence
owledge of the character of the transaction at
es put the stock "Where it would do the most
can be said, not severe of men who, under the
or virtue and piety, entered into such a swin-
and only withdrew after threatened exposure,
e same time all connection with the fraud? It
rsonally urged upon us that it is unjust to
he course of men who have stood so high
s circles; that their position entitles
e respect; and that it injures the cause of re-
orality to hold their cases up so prominently.
y fail to see the justice of following such advice.
n have sustained the role of patterns of morality,
een at the same time aiding in a fraud upon the
d uttering false statements in regard thereto, SO
THAT HYPOCRISY BE
AND THEIR CONDUCT DENOUNCED.
ill not suffer half so much by the exposure of
as it would to smooth over and excuse their of-
t is no discredit to religious bodies that SCAMPS
imes found within their churches. The discredit
en by reason of their connection with the church
s are ignored and they are allowed to escape pun-

From the Cincinnati Commercial, Feb. 3, 1873.)

member (of Congress) who had ten or twenty shares
dit, was not called upon to invest his own money,
ock more than paid for itself. In plain words, and
aside the flimsy pretense of a business transaction, it
vision of spoils taken from the munificence of the
No member of Congress could have been so abso-
norant as not to know that such enormous profits
t legitimate earnings."

*the New York Independent (Republican), the leading re-
ligious paper in the country.)*

cannot forget that he (Gen. Garfield) was more
volved in the Credit Mobilier difficulty than any
mber of the House of Representatives excepting, of
mes and Brooks."

the Utica Herald, February 12, 1873, *edited by Hon.
H. Roberts, who was at the time a Republican colleague
Garfield in the Forty-second Congress.)*

ll, weak men, wicked men and the sharpest of ras-
come to judgment. Even the suspected pass under
d and cease to be trusted. Men, to enjoy the public
dence, must not only be pure, but above suspicion. All
y way identified with Credit Mobilier stocks and opera-
have had their day and must sink out of sight. The
will no longer put confidence in them. It may sym-
e with them and have charity for them, but it will
trust them again. The breath of suspicion having
passed over them, their robes become tainted and
ned. Others will be put in their places. Warned by
fate of their predecessors, they will, doubtless, keep out
tionable operations."

*en the Philadelphia Public Ledger, owned and edited by G.
W. Childs, February* 28, 1873.)

* * "Then came their mean, tricky, false denials,
ifts, evasions and fast following explanations of their ex-
nations, every change in which showed more and more
eir own sense of their own culpability. There never was
instance in which men holding a public trust were more
oroughly covered with proof of malfeasance in office.
e guilty knowledge of all these men was as visible as the
nder of the government moneys was stupendous. And
ongress punishes all this by passing its partial resolutions
censure, letting the guilty go free upon the false pretense
having no jurisdiction. This is so transparent a sham
at it will command the belief of no one possessing the
ommonest intelligence.

(From the Indianapolis Journal, February 26, 1873.)

"All the signs of the times indicate that the people are
thoroughly aroused about the prevalent corruption of the
day. The party must purge itself of these men. Our insti-
tutions and our liberties are in danger. * * * Every
member of Congress who deliberately handled Credit Mo-
bilier stock is unworthy of future confidence."

The New York *Independent*, the leading religious paper of the United States said, in 1874, of General Garfield's connection with the District of Columbia frauds:

"The testimony taken in the investigation of the District of Columbia frauds, shows that Mr. Garfield received $5,000 for his aid in getting through a paving contract accepted by the District government. A Mr. Parsons, a notorious jobber, made an argument for the paving company and then got Mr. Garfield to make a further argument, and to use his personal influence in its favor.

Of course Mr. Garfield's argument was successful. How could it be otherwise? He was Chairman of the Committee on Appropriations. Every cent of money voted to the District had to come through him. Shepherd could not afford to refuse him anything he asked. Mr. Garfield knew it when he asked and received for his services a fee which would have been grossly extravagant but for his official position."

(From the Philadelphia North American (Republican), February 28, 1873.)

* * * "And it may be properly added in the same lines that much dissatisfaction exists in the community that all of the arguments and debates in the case have overlooked a point more universally condemned than the crimes alleged and more susceptible of proof—the notorious downright lying of some of the individuals inculpated."

NOT ONE FIT TO SIT AS A LAW-MAKER.

(From the Philadelphia Evening Telegraph (Rep.), February 18, 1873.)

* * * * There is not one man whom the testimony of Oakes Ames has connected with the Credit Mobilier who is fit to sit in the seat of the law-maker. If Oakes Ames was the bribe-giver, they must have been bribe-takers.

IDLE TO ATTEMPT AN IMPOSSIBLE VINDICATION.

(Editorial letter in Philadelphia Press (Rep.), February 19th, 1873.)

* * * Their denial at the beginning has placed them and all those who desired to rescue them in the most embarrassing position, for that proved that they were ashamed of the transaction. And when the fact appeared that the accused had taken the stocks with a full knowledge of the exaggerated dividends, and when this fact was clinched and rivoted by unfortunate contradictions before the committee, it was idle to attempt an impossible vindication. * * *

(From the Buffalo Commercial, Feb. 27, 1873.)

Should Congress decide to let the culprits escape they must all know by this time that THEY HAVE BEEN CONDEMNED AT THE BAR OF PUBLIC OPINION.

(From the Buffalo Commercial, March 1, 1873.)

Now the case has gone to the people. They will not split hairs in finding out whether they can open the public record of a man who has certain pages that he would like to conceal from examination. The people will preside at the ballot-box as their tribunal. When those who have betrayed the confidence reposed in them come up for trial—*if they ever dare to do it*—THEY WILL BE REJECTED AS WICKED AND UNPROFITABLE PUBLIC SERVANTS. This is the decree uttered by the voice of the press to-day. It says to each one of those who are afraid to punish corruption, "Thou art weighed in the balance and found wanting."

(From the Buffalo Express, Feb. 20, 1873.)

It is wrong to raise an indiscriminate howl against every one who ever looked at Credit Mobilier stock, or to make every man responsible for the guilt of others. Our own opinion, based on such hasty consideration as we have been able to give the facts, is that Dawes is innocent; that Scofield and Bingham have been guilty of an impropriety which should subject them to censure; and that Kelley and GARFIELD HAVE SO MISREPRESENTED THE FACTS, AND ENDEAVORED TO DISGUISE THE TRANSACTION AS A LOAN, THAT A MORE SEVERE PUNISHMENT WOULD NOT BE OUT OF PLACE.

(From The Indianapolis Journal [Republican Organ], Feb. 26, 1873.)

EVERY MEMBER OF CONGRESS WHO DELIBERATELY HANDLED CREDIT MOBILIER STOCK IS UNWORTHY OF FUTURE CONFIDENCE.

(From the New York Times, Feb. 20, 1873.)

The character of the Credit Mobilier was no secret. The source of its profits was very well known at the time Congressman bought it. Though Oakes Ames may have succeeded in concealing his own motive, which was to bribe Congressmen, their acceptance of the stock was not on that account innocent. The dishonor of the act, as a participation in an obvious fraud, still remains.

Some of them have indulged in testimony with reference to the matter which has been contradicted. The committee *distinctly rejects the testimony of several of the members. This can only be done on the ground that it is untrue. But untrue testimony given under oath is morality, if not legally, perjury.*

It is the clear duty of Congress to visit with punishment all who took Credit Mobilier stock from Oakes Ames.

(From the New York Tribune, Feb. 19, 1873.)

James A. Garfield, of Ohio, had ten shares; never paid a dollar; received $329, which, after the investigation began, he was anxious to have considered as a loan from Mr. Oakes Ames to himself.

Well, the wickedness of all of it is that these men betrayed the trust of the people, deceived their constituents, and by evasions and falsehoods confessed the transaction to be disgraceful.

(From Harpers Weekly, March 15, 1873.)

The action of the House of Representatives on Poland's report, in substituting a vote of censure and condemnation for the resolution expelling Ames and Brooks, and passing over the other inculpated members without notice, fell far short of the just expectations of the country. It was a clear case of moral cowardice, an unmanly shirking of responsibility. The House has virtually declared that a member may offer or accept a bribe and yet not be disqualified from retaining a seat in Congress. "Absolute condemnation" must be the verdict of the country on such a lamentable exhibition of moral pusillanimity.

(From the Buffalo Commercial, Feb. 21*st*, 1873.)

The prominent Congressmen whose names were first used in connection with the Credit Mobilier were Blaine, Dawes, Kelley, Bingham, Schofield and GARFIELD, and besides these, Vice-President Colfax. * * * Mr. Blain comes out of it without a stain upon his record. His colleagues certainly did hold the stock and lied about it.

(From the Cincinnati Commercial, during the session of the Chicago Convention, just previous to the nomination.)

The most contemptible thing thus far at Chicago is the chatter about Garfield. He has not a record to run on for President, and it is extreme foolishness to be wasting time on him.

(From the Utica Herald, Feb. 25, 1873.)

The suspected persons are already dead cocks in the pit, and need not hope to regain public confidence.

For Heaven's sake, let us bury our dead out of sight, that they may not offend the public nostrils!

(From his own sworn testimony before the POLAND Committee, Jan. 14, 1873.)

I never owned, received, or agreed to receive any stock of the Credit Mobilier or of the Union Pacific Railroad, nor any dividends or profits arising from either of them.

(From Judge Poland's report, Feb. 18, 1873—*GARFIELD'S Testimony Perjured.)*

The facts in regard to Mr. GARFIELD, as found by the committee, are that he agreed with Mr. Ames to take ten shares of Credit Mobilier stock, but did not pay for the same. Mr. Ames received the eighty per cent. dividend in bonds and sold them for ninety-seven per cent., and also received the sixty per cent. cash dividend, which, together with the price of the stock and interest, left a balance of $329. This sum was paid over to Mr. GARFIELD by a check on the Sergeant-at-Arms, and Mr. GARFIELD then understood this sum was the balance of dividends after paying for the stock.

WHY THE NEGROES VOTE THE DEMOCRATIC TICKET.

HIS EDUCATIONAL ADVANTAGES, THOUGH REPUBLICANS STOLE THE SCHOOL MONEYS—88,523 COLORED VOTERS WHO OWN REAL ESTATE.

To the Editor of the N. Y. *World:*

Sir: I take pleasure in complying with your request to furnish for publication certain facts which I referred to in an interview with your reporter relative to the present condition of the colored man in Georgia under Domocratic rule. As long as the institution of African slavery existed in the South public policy dictated that the slave should not become the owner of property and that he should not enjoy the full advantages of education. This policy grew out of the necessity of our situation, not out of any hostility to the colored people as a race. I find many intelligent people at the North who believe that this policy still continues. But there never was a greater mistake. With the abolition of slavery the reasons for the policy ceased, and the reason ceasing, the policy ceased with it. When the negro became a voter it at once became our interest that he should become an intelligent voter, and in devising a system of public education equal facilities were offered to both races. (See act of the legislature of Georgia, approved August 23, 1872). Our people were in an impoverished condition. According to the estimate of the School Commissioner of Georgia the wealth of the South in 1870 was only three-fifths of what it was in 1860, and nearly one-third of our population consisted of recently manumitted slaves, owning no taxable property. In Georgia the proportion was greater. Yet in the face of these obstacles we have accomplished great results in the education of the colored people. In 1875 there were enrolled in our public schools, colored scholars, 19,755; in 1874, 42,374; in 1875, 50,358; in 1876, 57,497, and in 1877, 62,330. I take these figures from the School Commissioner's report of 1878. I think this is the last report published. The next report will appear in the Fall of this year. But no intelligent reader can fail to notice the rapid and steady increase in the number of colored pupils. With our limited resources it must be admitted that the results are surprising, and could only be accomplished by a people willing and anxious that the colored race among them should receive all the advantages and improvements which can be derived from education. Since the Democrats have been in power the funds appropriated to school purposes have been sacredly applied to these objects. But such was not the history of the Republican legislature elected under the Reconstruction acts. In 1870 they took from the treasury and applied to general purposes $242,027.62 which belonged to the school fund. (See Governor Smith's Message, 1872.) In Georgia we have a colored university, located at Atlanta, which receives from the state the same amount annually which is appropriated to the white university. I leave this part of the subject without further comment, and now invite your attention to the question of property.

No one is allowed to vote in Georgia who has not reached the prescribed age and paid his taxes. By the Comptroller-General's report of 1879 we had 88,523 colored polls, and according to returns made by themselves under oath to the tax receivers of their respective counties they owned 541,199 acres of land. This is an average of more than 6 1-10 acres to each colored poll in the state. When you examine the Comptroller's report for a series of years you again discover a steady and rapid increase in the acquisition of land. In 1874 the colored population in Georgia returned to taxation 338,769 acres; in 1875, 396,658; in 1876, 457,635; in 1877, 458,999; in 1878, 501,890, and in 1879, 541,199. These figures abundantly prove that under Democratic rule in Georgia—the Southern state giving the largest Democratic majorities—the colored race is rapidly advancing both in the acquisition of knowledge and wealth. It has been the policy of our people to foster the spirit of industry of which this increase in the acquisition of land is so striking a manifestation. In ante-bellum days the large planter usually carried his cotton for sale to the larger cities. But at the close of the war the large plantations were greatly reduced in value and the number of small farmers increased. Their produce was usually disposed of in the country towns, which now began to grow in wealth and importance. The village merchant soon began to purchase for the more industrious negroes small tracts of land and then to stock them. The merchant retained the title in himself as security until the negro had paid the debt, when the merchant transferred the title to him. The negro thus became the owner of a small farm, and the merchant acquired, in addition to the interest on his advance, a good and reliable customer for the future. Examples of this kind can be found all over Georgia. I know of one village merchant in a single county who has in this way enabled negroes to purchase in that county nearly if not quite 10,000 acres of land. The causes which have brought about these results in Georgia have operated elsewhere throughout the South, and doubtless with the same consequences.

Of course there were disorders attendant upon so radical a revolution as the transformation of our former slaves into important and powerful elements in our political system—such a transformation as the world had never witnessed in any period of its history; but these disorders have passed away. The former slave and the former owner are living peaceably side by side, and feeling more and more every day that the political policy which retards or advances the prosperity of the one equally retards or advances the prosperity of the other. The white man believes that upon no one thing is his prosperity in the future more dependent than upon the restoration of fraternal relations between the North and the South, and the most powerful agent he conceives at present in bringing about this result is the election of Hancock and English. Is it a matter of wonder to your people, in the light of the facts here presented, that his negro neighbors, ever accustomed to respect his intelligence, will be found side by side with him at the ballot-box, giving expression to the same sentiment? Yours very truly,

GEO. T. BARNES,
Member National Democratic Committee from Georgia.

AUGUSTA, Ga., September 8, 1880.

GARFIELD DEMOUNCED BY THE REPUBLICANS OF HIS OWN DISTRICT.

GENERAL GARFIELD'S REPUBLICAN CONSTITUENTS PASS JUDGMENT.

On the 7th of September, 1876, the Republicans of the Nineteenth Congressional District of Ohio opposed to the return of James A. Garfield to Congress met in Convention at Warren, Ohio, and organized. A committee on resolutions was appointed, which, after mature consideration, submitted the following, which was adopted:

Be it by this independent convention of Republicans of the Nineteenth Congressional District of Ohio,

First. *Resolved*, That dishonesty, fraud and corruption have become so common, notorious and obvious in the administration of our national government, as to be not only humiliating and disgraceful in the estimation of every honest and intelligent citizen, but to imperil the prosperity of the people, if not the stability of the government itself.

Second. *Resolved*, That this deplorable condition of the administration of our national government is largely due to the election to office and continuance therein of corrupt, dishonest and venal men.

Third. *Resolved*, That it is useless and hypocritical for any political party to declare for reform in its platforms, papers and public addresses, while it insists on returning to high official place and power men who have been notoriously connected with the very schemes of fraud which render reform necessary and urgent; that to send those to enact reform who themselves need reform to make them honest, is worse than setting the blind to lead the blind.

Fourth. *Resolved*, That there is no man to-day officially connected with the administration of our national government against whom are justly preferred more or graver charges of corruption than are publicly made and abundantly sustained against James A. Garfield, the present representative of this Congressional District and the nominee of the Republican convention for re-election.

Fifth. *Resolved*, That since he first entered Congress to this day, there is scarcely an instance in which rings and monopolies have been arrayed against the interests of the people, that he has been found active in speech and vote upon the side of the latter, but in almost every case he has been the ready champion of rings and monopolies.

Sixth. *Resolved*, That we especially charge his venality and cowardice in permitting Benjamin F. Butler to attach to the Appropriation Bill of 1873 that ever-to-be-remembered infamy, the salary steal, and in speaking and voting for that measure upon its final passage; and charge him with contumacious disregard of the clearly expressed demand of its constituents that he should vote for its repeal, and with evading said demand by voting for the Hutchinson amendment.

Seventh. *Resolved*, That we further arraign and denounce him for his corrupt connection with the Credit Mobilier, for his false denials thereof before his constituents, for his perjured denial thereof before a committee of his peers in Congress, for fraud upon his constituents in circulating among them a pamphlet purporting to set forth the findings of said committee and the evidence against him, when, in fact, portions thereof were omitted and garbled.

Eighth. *Resolved*, That we further arraign and charge him with corrupt bribery in selling his official influence as Chairman of the Committee on Appropriations to the De Golyer Pavement Ring, to aid them in securing a contract from the Board of Public Works of the District of Columbia; selling his influence to aid said ring in imposing upon the people of said District a pavement which is almost worthless at a price three times its cost, as sworn to by one of the contractors; selling his influence to aid said ring in procuring a contract to procure which it corruptly paid $97,000 "for influence;" selling his influence in a matter that involved no question of law, upon a shallow pretext that he was acting as a lawyer; selling his influence in a manner so palpable and clear as to be so found and declared by an impartial and competent Court upon an issue solemnly tried.

Ninth. *Resolved*, That we arraign him for the fraudulent manner in which he attempted, in his speech delivered at Warren on the 19th day of September, 1874, to shield himself from just censure in receiving the before-named $5,000, by falsely representing in said speech that the Congress of the United States were not responsible for the acts of said board, nor the United States liable for the debts created thereby, when in truth and in fact, as he then well knew, the said Board of Public Works and the officers of said District were but the agents and instruments of Congress, and the United States was responsible for the indebtedness by them created.

Tenth. *Resolved*, That we arraign him for gross dereliction of duty as a member of Congress in failing to bring to light and expose the corruption and abuse in the sale of post-traderships, for which the late Secretary Belknap was impeached, when the same was brought to his knowledge by Gen. Hazen in 1872, and can only account for it upon the supposition that his manhood was debauched by the corruption funds then by him just received and in his own purse.

Eleventh. *Resolved*, That the law of 1873, known as the act demonetizing silver, was enacted in the interest of gold rings, bondholders and capitalists and against the interest of the taxpayers and without their advice or knowledge. That this act, by a single blow, has seriously crippled our power to resume specie payments or pay our national debt in coin. That no sufficient reason has been given for this legislation, so dishonest and palpable in its discrimination in favor of the small creditor class and capitalists and against the great debtor class and the industrial interests of the country. That James A. Garfield, during the last session of Congress, was the conspicuous defender of this crafty attempt to sacrifice the interests of the people to bondholders and foreign capitalists. That when it was proposed to restore the old silver dollar to the place it had held during our history as a nation as a legal tender for all debts, public and private, he denounced the attempt as "a swindle on so grand a scale as to make the achievement illustrious" and as a "scheme of vast rascality and colossal swindling."

Twelfth. *Resolved*, That neither great ability and experience or eloquent partisan discussion of the dead issues of the late war will excuse or justify past dishonesty and corruption or answer as a guaranty of integrity and purity for the future.

Thirteenth. *Resolved*, That believing the statements in the foregoing resolutions set forth, we cannot, without stultifying our manhood and debasing our self-respect, support at the polls the nominee of the Republican Convention of this District for re-election, nor can we, without surrendering our rights as electors and citizens, sit silently by and see a man so unworthy again sent to represent us in the national legislature. That, strong in the conviction of right, we call upon the electors of the District, irrespective of former or present party attachment, who desire honest government, to unite with us in an earnest, faithful effort to defeat the re-election of Gen. Garfield, and elect in his stead an honest and reliable man.

The result of this expose was a majority for Mr. Garfield of twenty-nine hundred and ninety-one votes less than the head of the Republican state ticket received in the Nineteenth District. Garfield's majority was 3,869 less in for Congressional District in 1876 than Hayes received in it his President.

AN ADDRESS TO THE REPUBLICAN VOTERS OF THE NINETEENTH (OHIO) CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT.

SEPTEMBER 10, 1876.

Fellow Citizens: We who address you were appointed a committee for this purpose by an independent convention of Republicans assembled for the purpose of putting in nomination a suitable person as candidate for Congress in opposition to James A. Garfield.

The cause which impelled the calling of that convention and inspired its action are set forth in the resolutions by it adopted and printed herewith. To the indictment contained in those resolutions and the evidence submitted in support thereof, we respectfully call your attention and ask your candid consideration.

We have no grievances. We never sought favors at Mr. Garfield's hands, and have no personal quarrel with him. On the contrary we have been among his warmest political friends and supporters and now only attack his acts and conduct in public life and the character he has thereby attained.

It is easier to float with the tide than to row against it and we regret the necessity that compels us to denounce him.

It is fitting that as true men we should seek the cause and remedy for this state of ruin, and we look not far nor long. Corruption in office and want of wisdom in legislation loom up before us. We review with pride our party history and achievements, but we now see fraud in high places eating at its vitals. Its revenue officers are found stealing and dividing with whisky rings. Its secretaries sell post traderships. Its Congressmen raise their own salaries and make them retroactive; take great fees for argument on pavement jobs before boards of their own creation and pocket the dividends; engage in great frauds like the Credit Mobilier. Corruption rides in $1,500 landaulets, purchased at government expense, and Congressmen build palaces at the Capital while the people toil and sweat under their burdens—they forget that they but the servants of the nation and act as if they were its owners seeking to wring from it the greatest possible number of dollars for their own purposes.

The Republican party has done much to purify itself within itself. Its Whisky Ring revenue officers are convicted and imprisoned, Belknap is deposed and impeached, and only escapes conviction by a technicality. Its Salary Stealing, Credit Mobilier, Pavement Jobbing Congressmen are mostly retired. James A. Garfield remains. Richard C. Parsons, his compeer as a great patent pavement lawyer, nominated without opposition in a district Republican last year by 6,500 majority, was buried at the polls by Henry B. Payne, a Democrat, by 2,500 majority. The office-holders nominated him, but the brave, honest people rebuked them.

James A. Garfield fell from 10,933 majority in 1872 to 2,526 majority in 1874. "Oh, what a fall was there, my countrymen!" Rebuked, shorn of character for truth and integrity, all that is noble in manhood almost defeated, he stands a sad and blackened monument of avarice and greed.

By the arts of the orator and demagogue, of which he is a consummate master, he is striving and struggling and may postpone the day of his final doom; but he bears upon his front the writing on the wall, "mene, mene, tekel upharsin."

"Whom the gods would destroy they first make mad."

Forgetting his duty to his country and his constituents, in his haste to serve his bond-holding masters, on the 13th of July, 1876, he committed himself to the defence of that great fraud upon the people, the demonetization of the silver dollar, and denounced its restoration as a "swindle on so vast a scale as to make the achievement illustrious."

That speech, so weak in its logic and so damning in its political heresies, and so ruinous to the high pretensions of statesmanship of its author, is suppressed by the Republican editors of his district and is only to be found in the Congressional Record. Holding post-offices and places of emolument at his will, they dare to raise their voices only in his praise.

If the Republican party would survive, it must strike from its rolls the last dishonored name and select only honest, true and brave men to fill its high places.

Flaming oratory upon the horrors of Andersonville and Libby, and the disordered condition of the South, are a poor compensation for want of integrity. The fools who believe that another great rebellion or payment of the rebel debt are imminent, are only found in the post-offices and lunatic asylums. The people know better, and that cry of the demagogue to arouse their fears, that he may get their votes, ought to be of no avail.

G. N. TUTTLE,
P. BOSWORTH,
H. H. HINE, of Lake county.
J. A. GIDDINGS, of Ashtabula.
[Son of Joshua R. Giddings.]
D. E. DUFFEE, of Geauga.
L. D. BROWN, of Portage.
A. YOUMANS, of Trumbull.

CHESTER A. ARTHUR,

CANDIDATE FOR VICE-PRESIDENT.

Corruption in the New York Custom-house—Suspension of Arthur for Dishonesty and Inefficiency in his Office by R. B. Hayes—Extracts from John Sherman's Letter Transmitting Reports upon Arthur's Maladministration.

TREASURY DEPARTMENT, January 15, 1879.

"The Hon. WILLIAM A. WHEELER, President of the United States Senate:

"*Sir:* I have the honor, by direction of the President, to transmit to the Senate inclosed official reports to this Department relating to the abuses and irregularities in the New York Custom-house, and bearing upon the nominations pending in the Senate of Edwin A. Merritt, for collector of customs at the Port of New York, in place of Chester A. Arthur, suspended: and of Silas W. Burt as naval officer at that port in place of Alonzo B. Cornell suspended. I beg to add a fuller statement of the causes that led to these nominations and suspensions than appears upon a public record.

"The management of the Custom's Service has for several years been open to much criticism in Congress, in the press, and in popular and business circles, founded upon alleged arbitrary abuses by the officers, and upon undervaluation and frauds. When I entered this office, I determined to make a full examination into these allegations, and into the existing methods of conducting the customs business, with a view to economy and reform, not only at New York, but at every other port of the United States.

"The President took great interest in the matter, and heartily supported the measure proposed. The examinations were made mostly by committees of private citizens, and resulted in a large saving and many reforms."

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"The Jay Commission, consisting of two eminent citizens of New York and one officer of the Department of Justice, made a very full and elaborate examination of the methods of business in the Custom-House at that port, and their reports, copies of which I have the honor to send you, show great abuses.

"It appears from their first report, that in May, 1877, there were in the collector's office 923 persons, in the naval office 81, and in the surveyor's office 32, making in all 1,036 permanent employees in the Custom-house, exclusive of the appraiser's department, consisting of deputies, clerks, inspectors, weighers and gaugers, and that this number could be safely reduced 20 per cent. This reduction of 20 per cent. was opposed by Collector Arthur.

"The second report shows that it was a common practice among entry clerks, withdrawal clerks, liquidating clerks, weighers, gaugers, inspectors and storekeepers to receive from importers and brokers irregular fees, emoluments, gratuities and perquisites in the nature of bribes.

This practice was a matter of general notoriety in the Custom-house, and it does not appear that any effort was made by the collector, naval officer or surveyor to suppress it."

"The third report shows that the gravest irregularities existed in the department of weighers and gaugers; that the larger number of the thirteen weighers and eight gaugers rendered but little, if any, personal service to the government; that the weighers' fireman performed but little service; that the weighers' clerks, in some instances, performed no duty; that in most, if not all, the weighers' offices men were hired as employees, and assigned to do the work of the regular clerks; that the number of laborers thus assigned varied from four to eight persons in each weigher's office; that they were so assigned had but little duty to perform; that persons were borne on the pay-rolls as laborers as a reward for political services, who performed no service except to sign their names to the rolls and receive their pay; that a part of the weighable merchandise was not weighed by the government officers, but by city weighers, who furnished memoranda upon which the United States' weighers rendered their returns; that a part of the weighable goods were not weighed at all, but the marked weight on the packages were copied off and returned by the weighers as if weighed; that the weighers had adopted the schedule of irregular fees, which they illegally collected from merchants for special returns and copies of weights, delaying to make returns to the Custom-house until the importers paid these irregular fees; that by reason of these irregularities the cost of weighing and gauging imported goods at the port of New York had increased to the enormous sum of $346,524.80 per annum.

"These evils were known to Collector Arthur, yet he made no attempt during his term of office to remedy them."

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"During the period of his (Arthur's) service, his compensation amounted to $155,860.36, a detailed statement of which is herewith transmitted. An officer, charged with the high duties of the collector of the port of New York, and receiving such compensation, ought properly to be held responsible for all abuses that grew up or continued during his term of office; and the existence of such abuses is sufficient, if within his power to correct them, to justify his removal.

"The President was strongly of the opinion, upon the reports of the Jay Commission, that the public interest demanded a change in the leading offices of the New York Custom-house. I preferred to try to execute the reforms proposed with Mr. Arthur in office, rather than a stranger. The President acquiesced in this view, but gradually it became evident that neither Mr. Arthur nor Mr. Cornell was in sympathy with the recommendations of the Commission, and could and did obstruct their fair execution."

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"I have the honor to be, very respectfully,

"JOHN SHERMAN, Secretary."

"*To the Senate of the United States:* I transmit herewith a letter of the Secretary of the Treasury, in relation to the suspension of the late collector and naval officer of the port of New York with accompanying documents. In addition thereto I respectfully submit the following observations:

"The Custom-house in New York collects more than two-thirds of all the customs revenues of the government. Its administration is a matter not only of local interest merely, but is of great importance to the people of the whole country. For a long period of time it has been used to manage and control political affairs.

"The officers suspended by me are, and for several years have been, engaged in the active personal management of the party politics of the city and state of New York. The duties of the offices held by them have been regarded as of subordinate importance to their partisan work. Their offices have been conducted as a part of the political machinery under their control. They have made the Custom-house a center of partisan political management.

"The Custom-house is a business office. It should be conducted on business principles. General James, the postmaster of New York City, writing on this subject, says: 'The Post-office is a business institution and should be run as such. It is my deliberate judgment that I and my subordinates can do more for the party of our choice by giving the people of this city a good and efficient postal service, than by controlling primaries or dictating nominations.' The New York Custom-house should be placed on the same footing with the New York Post-office. But under the suspended officers the Custom-house would be one of the principal political agencies in the state of New York. To change this, they profess to believe, would be, in the language of Mr. Cornell, in his response, 'to surrender their personal and political rights.' Convinced that the people of New York and the country generally wish the New York Custom-house to be administered solely with a view to the public interest, it is my purpose to do all in my power to introduce into this great office the reforms which the country desires."

"With my information of the facts of the case, and with a deep sense of the responsible obligation imposed upon me by the constitution, to take care that the laws be faithfully executed, I regard it as my plain duty to suspend the officers in question, and to make the nominations now before the Senate, in order that this important office may be honestly and efficiently administered."

"R. B. HAYES.

"Executive Mansion, Jan. 31st, 1879."

STATEMENT BY JOHN SHERMAN OF REASONS FOR ARTHUR'S SUSPENSION.

TREASURY DEPARTMENT, OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY,
Washington, D. C., January 31st, 1879.

TO THE PRESIDENT:

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"If it be held that, to procure the removal of Mr. Arthur, it is sufficient to reasonably establish that gross abuses of administration have continued and increased during his incumbency; that many persons have been regularly paid on his rolls who rendered little or no service; that the expenses of his office have increased, while collections have been diminishing; that bribes, or gratuities in the nature of bribes, have been received by his subordinates in several branches of the Custom-house; that efforts to correct these abuses have not met his support, and that he has not given to the duties of his office the requisite diligence and attention, then it is submitted that the case is made out. This form of proof the department is prepared to submit."

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"That the mode of conducting public business in the Custom-house in New York during the entire administration of Mr. Arthur as collector, was subject to grave criticism is hardly a matter of dispute. The development made by the Committee of the Senate of 1872, of which Mr. Buckingham was chairman, excited the attention of the country. The abuses which sprang out of the moiety system were fully disclosed by the examination and discussion that preceded the passage of the Anti-moiety Act of 1874. Numerous reports of special agents called the attention of the department to existing irregularities."

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"I come now to the specific charges to which he replies; and first, as to the gratuities in the nature of bribes given to clerks and employees. * * * The evidence taken shows that most of the witnesses who were interrogated on this point, testified that gratuities were constantly received. It was in testimony with regard to inspectors that they were anxious to be sent to discharge steamers rather than sailing vessels, because they were paid by the owners of the steamships a gratuity of from ten to fifty dollars, technically called 'house money.' The agent of another testified that perquisites were constantly paid to inspectors for discharging vessels; that the shorter the time the vessel was to be in port the larger the amount paid; that the inspectors received a gratuity for permitting the vessels to discharge before the Custom-house permit reaches the ship; that, if these fees were not paid, the inspector had it in his power to delay the vessel in many ways, and that it was merely a question between the owner and the inspector as to how much it was worth to the former to obtain these facilities; that is, whether it was cheaper to pay the inspector a gratuity for obtaining these facilities than to have the inspector stand upon the strict letter of the law, and throw obstructions in his way. It was also in testimony that other irregular fees were constantly received by inspectors customarily called "hatchets" and "bones," "hatchets" being fees received from merchants for the privilege of holding their goods on the dock, instead of going into the general-order store at once, and "bones" being paid by passengers for favors extended to them "in the examination of their baggage." With regard to weighers it was testified that there was a complete list of irregular fees adopted by all of them, to be exacted of merchants for supplying copies of weights.

"These fees ranged from two cents to thirty cents a ton for iron and other metals, and a schedule upon which the foreman of the weighers was accustomed to make the demands, showing in detail the amount to be collected upon each barrel, package and bag, upon rice, sugar and many other articles. It was also distinctly testified that the collector's entry clerk received fifteen cents for each entry from brokers and merchants for facilities in passing the entries. The receipt of these irregular fees for entry, withdrawal, export entry and refund clerk was afterward fully shown from the books of the Custom-house. In addition to all this, it is clear, from letters addressed to the Jay Commission by the collector, naval officer and surveyor, in regard to this very question, that the practice of taking illegal fees was well known."

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"It appears from documents submitted to the House of Representatives and oral statements made to the Committee on Appropriations in the presence of the attorneys for these claims [for refund], that forged protests were introduced in many cases to give jurisdiction in such cases; that there was a failure to plead the statute of limitations; that the amount already paid on these adtiquated claims is $1,980,000, and that there are still claims pending, all of which are over fourteen years old, which, if allowed, would require the further sum of at least $750,000. It is now contended by the Department of Justice before the Courts of New York that the great body of these claims are fraudulent.

"While Mr. Arthur admits that expenses increased and receipts from the revenue steadily diminished during his administration, he claims that there were improperly, if not illegally, charged to the expenses of collection large amounts over which he had no control, and which, in strictness, had nothing to do with current expenses.

"But leaving out of consideration the extraordinary expense to which he refers, as well as those incurred by the naval officer and Surveyors and Appraisers' Department, it is shown by the accompanying tabular statement, made up by the Treasury registers, giving the number and compensation of employees in the several divisions of the collector's office and of the weighers, gaugers and inspectors, all appointed upon the nomination of the collector, that the force and expenses of his own department increased steadily from the date of assuming his duties as collector to the 30th of June, 1874, in number 351 persons, and in amount $364,574 more than in 1871, and this in