

## A MASTERLY SPEECH.

United States Senator Voorhees' Opening Gun in the Indiana Campaign.

One of the Most Eloquent and forcible Addresses Ever Delivered in the West.

Terrible Arraignment of the Republican Party—Why the Government Should Remain Democratic.

(From the Indianapolis Sentinel.)

Senator D. W. Voorhees opened his campaign in Indiana at Tomlinson Hall on the night of Sept. 27. His speech was largely in the nature of a reply to the Republican "key-note" recently sounded by Senator Harrison. The hall was filled with no less than 4,500 people, despite the rain, and the reception which the "Tall Sycamore" received was a complete testimonial of his popularity with the masses of Hoosier Democracy. When he entered the hall the applause was deafening.

When he had seated himself as Chairman, stepped forward and called the meeting to order, he was given a grand ovation. He said: "We have assembled for the purpose of hearing our distinguished Senator and able Democratic advocate. When we come together to attend to one thing the best plan is to attend to it at once." He thereupon introduced Senator Voorhees, who spoke as follows:

MR. PRESIDENT AND FELLOW CITIZENS—Among the various manifestations of human depravity there are none, perhaps, more revolting to an upright mind than the practice of arraigning and condemning others for sins and crimes which the accuser himself notoriously and habitually commits. Nearly 190 years ago the Savior of mankind pointed out and rebuked this detestable vice when he exclaimed in tones which will never die away:

"And why beholdest thou the mote that is in thy brother's eye, but considerest not the beam that is in thine own eye?"

"Or how with thine eye say to thy brother, let me pull out the mote out of thine eye, and behold, a beam is in thine own eye?"

"Thou hypocrite, first cast out the beam out of thine own eye, and then shalt thou see clearly to cast out the mote out of thy brother's eye."

From the day of the delivery of the Sermon on the Mount to the present time, I doubt if there was ever a more forcible and appropriate illustration of the conduct for which the hypocrite was there denounced by the divine teacher than was presented by the leaders of the Republican party in Indiana at their recent State Convention. Loaded with the obloquy and shame of maladministration in every department of the Government, full of guilt in connection with every branch of the public service; tattooed all over with charges, specifications, and proofs of fraud and corruption made by the most honored men who ever belonged to that organization, the Republican party, with an effrontery and mendacity unequalled in the history of political literature, now comes forward, and in a railing accusation, full of the spirit of malice and revenge, seeks to fasten upon others the inefacable stigma of its own well-known and most enormous offenses.

In the Republican platform of September 2d it is charged that the Democratic party has "succeeded to power in the National Government by virtue of unpardonable crime against free suffrage," and it is then further declared that "the security of government rests upon an equal, intelligent and honest ballot, and we renew our declaration against crimes of fraud and violence, whereby practiced and under whatever form, whereby the right of every man to cast one vote, and have that vote counted and returned, is impeded or abridged." The assumption here that Cleveland and Hendricks were guilty by unpardonable crimes against free suffrage, and the desire in favor of an honest ballot and a fair count are typical of a party which only ten years ago disdained the States, set aside legal returns, organized fraudulent Returning Boards, defrauded the ballot-box, trampled upon constitutional majorities, and by open forgeries, and wholesale perjury and the subornation of perjury, stole the Presidency of the United States. Are we supposed to have forgotten the great fraud, the atrocious crime of 1876, whereby Louisiana and Florida were made to elect a President against whom they had given large, distinct, and legally ascertained majorities? The Republican candidate for Governor of Louisiana was beaten by the Democratic opponent nearly ten thousand, and did not succeed in clinching the office. Hayes was in a still smaller majority, and yet perjury and forgery gave him the electoral vote of the State. I do not believe there is now living a fair minded man, well-informed upon the subject, who will attempt to maintain that Hayes and Wheeler were elected. The majority against them on the popular vote was over a quarter of a million, and the lawful returns were beyond question before any unbiased tribunal. All the powerful machinery of the Republican party, however, then entrenched in all the high and low places of the government, with the purse and the sword at its command, was put in motion to subvert the well-known will of the people, to maximize the country, for the time being, by a fraudulent election. The leaders of the party here in Indiana, who now calumniate their neighbors, knew then, as they do now, that a gigantic fraud was consummated, but they eagerly urged it on, and without compunction grasped and enjoyed its fruits. Their allegation that the success of the Democratic party is due to crimes against free suffrage has not a vestige of proof, nor a single fact on which to rest, while the imperishable records of the country in its public archives establish all the details of the conspiracy which, beginning at the Fifth Avenue Hotel, New York, at midnight, November 6, 1876, in a conclave of well-known parties, culminated on the 4th of March, 1877, in the triumph of a dishonest ballot and a false count.

It is a well-known fact, too, and one which will pass into history, that a similar conspiracy against the right of the majority to govern was not only contemplated, but was organized in 1884, for the purpose of manufacturing false and forged returns in the State of New York, with which to defeat Cleveland and Hendricks. It was only when the plotters and fraudsters heard the rising wrath of the American people, like the angry roar of the ocean in a storm, that they quailed and trembled for their own safety, and realized that such a stupendous villainy as that of 1876 could only be perpetrated a second time on American soil.

Some of my hearers should suggest that these matters are past and not present issues, my answer is that if a man whom I knew to be a highwayman should insist on lecturing me upon the evils of stopping stage coaches and robbing travelers, I would feel impelled to remind him of his own infamous career upon the subject under discussion. And so now, when political Pharisees, with beams of fraud as large as ship-timbers in their own eyes, presume to sit in judgment and denounce imaginary vices in other people's eyes, I think it well to draw a scroll of their sins in their faces, and bring them into the derision and contempt they deserve.

In close connection, however, with its assertions in regard to free suffrage and an honest count, this extraordinary platform gives still further and very forcible illustration of the extent to which a combination of hypocrisy and audacity can go. In its colossal libel, its mountain of calumny on the Democratic party, we find the following:

"Under its control the civil service has been degraded by the appointment not only of unfit persons but of convicted criminals to posts of responsibility and honor. It has scandalized its members by the method it has adopted to distribute the offices to party workers, while it sought to placate the growing discontent against the spoils system by false pretenses. The Federal appointments in Indiana are a fair sample of what has brought the cause of civil-service reform into needless disfavor and made its success an impossibility under Democratic auspices."

And then further on in the body of the platform, where its authors gave themselves up without stint to self-righteous laudation, the following resolution is honest:

"We favor a thorough and honest enforcement of the civil-service law, and the extension of its principles to the State administration wherever it can be made practicable, to the end that the corruption and flagrant abuses that exist in the management of our public institutions may be

done away with, and they be liberated from partisan control."

Here, upon the one hand, is a bold and bitter arraignment of the Democratic party, and on the other a high profession of duty proclaimed on the part of the Republican party, on the subject of the civil-service of the country, its abuses, and its reformation. A strange history of the country, reading the extracts just submitted, would conclude without hesitation that the Republican party, during all its long lease of power, had never touched the civil service of the Government except to purify it from all corruption, and elevate it above all degrading influences. Looking at this platform, and conceding, for the sake of the case, that its framers are honest men, who would suppose that during twenty years of national administration, and at the close of that long and eventful period, the Republican party had inflicted upon this country a civil service so corrupt, administrative methods so unclean, and official conduct so foul with plunder, that not only its own best elements revolted from it but the entire nation, and the world, the earth took notice of our shame and scoffed at our political iniquities and official debaucheries. Ten years ago I witnessed the arraignment of a Republican Secretary of War under articles of impeachment for alleged corruption in office. A hurried resignation, hastily tendered and hastily accepted, protected the accused from a trial upon the merits of his case, nor have I any judgment to pass upon him now. In the prosecution of that case, however, at the bar of the Senate of the United States, I heard Mr. George F. Hoar, then a member of the House, and now a Senator from Massachusetts, make the following appalling comments on the civil service of the Government which had then been for fifteen years continually under the control of the Republican party:

"My own public life," said this Republican leader of New England, "has been a very brief and insignificant one, extending little beyond the duration of a single term of Senatorial office; but in that brief period I have seen five Judges of a high court of the United States driven from office by threats of impeachment for corrupt administration. I have heard the taunt, from friendliest lips, that when the United States presented herself in the East to take part with the civilized world in generous competition in the arts of life, the only product of her institutions in which she surpassed all others in question was her corruption."

Hoar's remarks, so far as this picture appears when you look it deliberately and squarely in the face! When the nation of the earth submitted the productions of their genius and labor at the world's expositions in Europe, and we joined them, the only superiority conceded to the American Republic was that her institutions, as administered by the Republican party in the height of its power, were more prolific of corruption than all others in the world besides. Mr. Hoar gave many details of fraud and maladministration in the domestic affairs of the Government as reasons for our bad eminence in evil fame abroad. That offspring of Republicanism painted on the canvas of history as follows:

"When the greatest railroad of the world, binding together the continent, uniting the two great seas which wash our shores, was finished, I have seen our national treasury's contribution turned to bitterness and shame by the sum of \$100,000, with which to control elections. The sum of \$3,000,000 of this money was wrung from those engaged in the civil service of the Government. He named twenty-three States where \$53,000 of this money was distributed in various Congressional districts. He says \$5,000 were sent to Indiana, to be used as follows:

\$2,000 in the First District,  
\$1,000 in the Fourth District,  
\$1,000 in the Sixth District,  
\$500 in the Eighth District,  
\$500 in the Tenth District.

Mr. Gorham accounted in his testimony for only one-half the fund. It may be safely assumed that the balance, together with other large sums from other sources, was applied in ways and places which did not admit of explanation to the public ear.

In the momentous year 1880, the most careful estimate put the sum collected from persons in official life, for the purpose of securing the success of the Republican party, at more than \$50,000.

In 1872 the same nefarious system of political corruption was pursued under the sanction of the strongest representative names in the Republican party. On the Congressional Committee having the subject of political assessments for the Republican party in charge for the year 1882 were Alidian B. Allison, Eugene Hale, and Nelson W. Aldrich on the part of Sen. F. P. H. Hockock, George M. Robeson, William McKinley, William H. Calkins and ten other prominent men. The Hon. George F. Hubbell was the famous Chairman and D. B. Henderson was Secretary. These gentlemen addressed a letter, asking for money for political purposes, to every officeholder in the United States, and no organized band of road-agents ever demanded a traveler's valuables with a more determined purpose than this committee evinced in its correspondence with its victims. If the first communication remained unanswered by the poor \$300 clerk or the still poorer \$300 Postmaster, the following threatening message was forwarded:

"WASHINGTON, D. C., August 15, 1872.

"Sir—You are to respond to the circular of May 15, 1872, sent to you by this committee, is noted with surprise. It is hoped that the only reason for such failure is that the matter escaped your attention owing to the pressure of other cases.

"Great political battles can not be won in this way. This committee can not hope to win in the pending struggle if those most directly benefited by success are unwilling or neglectful in a substantial manner.

"We are on the skirmish line of 1881, with a conflict before us this fall of great moment to the republic, and you must know that a r-pulse now is full of danger to the next Presidential campaign.

"Please let you think that our grand old party ought not to succeed, help it to its struggle to build up a new South, in which shall be, as in the North, a free ballot and a fair count, and to maintain such hold in the North as shall insure good government to the country.

"It is hoped that by return mail you will send a voluntary contribution equal to 2 per cent. of your annual compensation, as a substantial proof of your earnest desire for the success of the Republican party this fall, transmitting by draft or postal money order, payable to the order of Jay A. Hubbell, Acting Treasurer, postoffice box 589, Washington, D. C."

Any one who would regard money thus obtained as a "voluntary contribution" would think and speak of ransom money paid by a captive to save his throat from being cut by brigands as a free and cheerful donation for the public good.

It is only four short years since there was published in that great magazine, the *North American Review*, for September, 1872, an article from a Republican pen, which I now hold up as a mirror in which the leaders of the Republican party can see themselves as they appeared only a little while ago.

Says this writer:

"Could the curtain of secrecy be lifted we should see a vast drag-net of extortion thrown over the whole land from Washington over to the sea; from Hell Gate to California, with every humble official and laborer from those under the sea at Hell Gate to the wealthiest and most powerful men in the land, entangled in its meshes, and busy among them for their prey a series of tax extortions, ranging down from Hubbell, the great questor to little Hubbells by the hundred, each paid a commission on his collections in true Turkish fashion. These minions, book in hand, are haunting the official corridors and tracking the public laborers. They waylay the clerks going to their nests. They waylay the officials and laborers from the teachers of Indians and negroes at Hampton School and Carlisle Barracks. They dog navy-yard workmen to their narrow lodgings. The weary scrub women are persecuted in their grottos; the poor office boys are bullied at their evening schools; the money needed for rent is taken from the aged father and only son; men enfeebled on the battlefields are harried in the very shadow of the Capitol; life-boat crews, listening on the stormy shores for the cry of the shipwrecked, and even chaplains and nurses at the bedside of the dying are not exempted from this merciless and unmerciful insect, corruption, which reproduces the infamy of Oriental tax-farming. We know of the hand of a family who has taken between def. Ing. Hubbell and taking a meaner tenement; of a boy at evening school blackmailed of \$3 while wearing a suit given in charity, and of a son pillaged of \$17 when the furniture of the mother he supports was in pawn, and many have consulted us as to the safety of keeping their earnings which they need. In every case there is a fear of removal or other retaliation. Pages could be filled with such cases from the reports of citizens. A newspaper before us gives that of a laborer with a

family, earning \$750 a year, pursued by a harpy for \$15, and also that of a boy of thirteen, earning \$1 a day, with another harpy after him for \$3.60. To women and girls no mercy is shown."

Those who have heretofore doubted the doctrine of total depravity will doubt no more after looking upon this diabolical picture of Republican civil service; and those who have sometimes hesitated to believe that a certain class of hypocrites, after swallowing camels, strain adders, will hesitate no longer when, after looking upon this picture, they turn and look up to the Republican platform of the 2d of September.

But it may be said that Republicans in Congress supported the civil-service act of January 15, 1883, now in force, and for whose thorough and honest execution the leaders of that party so loudly clamor. They did so in bad faith. If they had succeeded in electing the President of the United States in 1884, only one year later, the new law just enacted would have been treated with the same contempt, abandonment and flagrant violation of its provisions and of its very existence as was visited on the act of March 3, 1871. It is on the other hand, the prophetic handwriting on the wall, announcing the overthrow of Babylon and the coming of purer ways, was to be fulfilled, they knew this law of 1883 would protect, more or less, their friends—thousands, tens of thousands and hundreds of thousands, with those depending on them—then in office, from proper and just removal. There is not now, and never has been, an honest, disinterested, non-partisan throng in the heart of the Republican party in favor of a competent, non-partisan system of appointments to positions in the civil service. Their outcry to-day in behalf of the present imperfect and untimely law comes simply from the fact that it is an obstacle and a hindrance to the control of the Government by the people who constitute the Democratic majority.

But I am reminded at this point that still another and angry complaint is made against the Democratic party in connection with civil service. It is charged in the Republican State platform, speaking of the Democratic party, that

"It has scandalized justice and decency by the methods inaugurated by the Postoffice and other departments to distribute the offices to party workers, while it sought to placate the growing sentiment against the spoils system by false pretenses."

Party workers ineligible to office! Party workers condemned to the rear! How destructive to the public morality, how disgraceful to the appointments of party workers must appear to the purified, unsealed vision of the Republican party! The sincerity and value, however, of this Republican horror can only be fairly estimated by looking at the records for the last quarter of a century, and more especially since the great fraud of 1876. The distribution of offices to party workers who were engaged in the grand larceny of the Presidency will forever remain one of the darkest, foulest blots on the pages of American history. Like the tell-tale blood stain of murder, no water nor lapse of time can ever efface it from the guilty record. The infamous schedule of offices, with their cash values, to which appointments were made by a Republican President for services rendered to the country, is a record which the nation will long be a part of public history; it has never been denied, nor even questioned, and it will forever provoke the scorn and condemnation of all self-respecting, fair-minded people. In the lawless conspiracy by which the vote of Louisiana was changed into a falsehood and counted for Hayes, there were thirty-two citizens of that State, headed by J. Madison Wells, of malolorous fame, who, as members, clerks and other functionaries of Returning Boards, together with State officers and electors, conducted the local details of the crime, and were after March 4, 1877, promptly appointed to various official positions with salaries amounting in the aggregate to \$113,385 per annum. Then came visiting electors to Hayes, styled who called upon Louisiana at that disgraceful period, headed by John Sherman, of Ohio, and who were immediately afterward rewarded for party work as follows:

John Sherman, Secretary of the Treasury; E. W. Stoughton, Minister to France;

John A. Kasson, Minister to Austria; J. R. Hawley, Commissioner to Paris; E. W. Stoughton, Commissioner to Hot Springs;

F. E. Noyes, Minister to France; Lew Wallace, Governor of New Mexico.

The annual reward of these so-called statesmen, in the form of salaries received, for political services as party workers, amounted to \$74,000. In Florida the same corrupt outfit of officeholders received \$10,000. In the list here from the Governor of the State of Ohio, which was then a part of the Federal government, the names of the Federal officials who swarmed down to the Everglade State, with worse purposes than the Indian Chief Billy Bowlegs ever had against her honor and safety. As I count them now, there were twenty-three of these political brigands most distinctly engaged in fabricating a false count of the soldier was broken, the pensioner for many years past, to suffer a discount of from 10 to 50 per cent on his pension certificate and at the same time invited the soldiers of the country to a speculation in which more than a thousand millions of dollars have been realized as clear, naked gain, is a subject for repentance and shame, rather than for laudation and self-praise. Nor will the impartial historian find either wisdom or honesty in a financial system responsible for the widespread and indescribable scenes of business ruin which blighted the homes and happiness of this country from 1873 to 1875. The framers of this platform now say, or rather seem to say in vaguer terms, that silver ought to be a part of our coin circulation. Thirteen years ago the leaders of the Republican party in a desperation and fraudulence, coined a monometallic dollar, and the law by which it now exists and circulates as money was passed in February, 1873, over a veto inspired, advised and written by John Sherman, a Republican Secretary of the Treasury, and signed by Rutherford B. Hayes, an acting Republican President. Nor has there been a Republican administration in power since the beginning of Grant's first term, March 4, 1869, that has been friendly to silver. The honor and the existence of the greenback has also encountered the same hostility, and the Greenbackers of Indiana have not forgotten the peculiar benevolence of Senator Harrison, who, while in the past ten years, proposed to erect an ideal city for their accommodation. The fact is that both silver and greenbacks exist as parts of our currency, and at the same time of the American people irrespective to a great extent of political affiliations, and directly in spite of the determined and persistent hostility of Republican leaders and Republican administrations.

On the subject of public lands we are also treated to another false and impudent claim to public confidence in the platform assertions of Sept. 2. Could anything be more audacious, in the face of well-known facts, than this resolution?

"We favor reservation of public lands for small holdings by actual settlers, and are opposed to the alienation of large tracts of the public domain by corporations and non-resident aliens. American lands should be reserved for American settlers."

In order properly to estimate the value of this bold profession in favor of "small holdings by actual settlers," it is only necessary to state the simple, well-ascertained and undisputed fact that "from July 1, 1862, to March 3, 1871, less than nine years, public lands were voted away to corporations to the amount of 144,538-134 acres" by Republican Congresses, and that every enactment was signed by a Republican President. These enormous grants are equal to two-thirds of the lands included within the boundaries of original thirteen States which formed the government. Nearly a billion dollars of these acres have been liable to forfeiture for years past because of non-compliance by the corporations with the conditions of the grants, but until the Forty-eighth Congress, within the last three years, nothing was done to reclaim for actual settlement any of this vast domain. The movement, however, being started in the Democratic House of that Congress, the public sentiment of the laboring, home-seeking masses became aroused, and laws have been enacted declaring forfeited to the Government, and to be thrown open for settlement, 50,182,241 acres. In addition to these enacted by the House, with its Democratic majority, have been bills of forfeiture, amounting to 38,430,911 acres, in which the Republican Senate has not yet concurred. The Public Lands Committee of the House, through its able and distinguished Chairman, Mr. Cobb, of this State, has still further reported bills, which are now on the calendar, declaring additional forfeitures to the amount of 13,067,214 acres. Thus it will be seen that in the short space of about two years and a half two Democratic Houses have, by direct votes and through their committee on that subject, declared that 101,980,355 acres of land, equal to five times the State of Indiana, claimed by railroad corporations, shall be thrown open for settlement, and that the public domain is to be sold at a low price.

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