ments of the funds of the nation. It is an effectual, everlasting refutation of the charge that the Government under Republican administration has been, or is, honeycombed with corruption. But look back at the last Democratic Administration in 1861, and pray tell us with what was that Administration honeycombed, if not with treason and corruption? It is probable that the present administration of our Government has reduced the losses, the defalcations, and the stealings to their lowest terms; that the method of doing business, and of recording transactions in books, has been perfected to such a degree that it is hardly to be expected that greater perfection will hereafter be attained—twenty-six cents on a thousand dollars in all the transactions of the Government is so small a loss that the best governments in Europe have failed to attain to it. Let not the Democrats any more boast of their superior honesty in the management of the Government of the United States; and when they profess reform in future—reform upon the Republican Government—let them not presume to keep from the public eye their own frequent failures in past time. * * * *

DEMOCRACY AND THE SOLID SOUTH.

The Democratic party, in their platform at St. Louis, resolved that reform can never be effected but by making it the controlling question at the election, and lifting it above the two false issues with which the Republicans have sought to smother it—first, the false issue of the school question; second, the false issue of a solid South. Upon these two issues, which they call "false"—the common schools and the solid South—they expect to obtain more electoral votes than upon all other issues. By the understood relation between the Democratic party and the Catholic Church they expect to receive the solid Catholic vote. By the well-understood sympathy between the Democratic party and the Confederate South they expect to receive the solid vote of the South, made solid by fraud and intimidation of Republican voters, irrespective of any political principle whatever. Their alliance with the South is essentially corrupt. It has no regard to any political principle, but divides parties. It is founded upon understood mutual good offices—that the Democratic party shall promote the interests of the Confederate South, and the Confederate South shall contribute to the power of the Democratic party. The relation between the Democratic party and the Catholic Church is likewise founded upon understood good offices to be done between the two. The destiny of the Republic is too much involved in the common school system to permit its being put in hazard. * * * *

It is the policy of the Democratic party (who are determined by all the means within their reach, right or wrong, to get into power) to deny the means which are used by their Southern allies to make the vote of the South solid. They deny intimidation and violence and fraud; and however much, and however clearly, it is proved, it is stoutly denied and discredited. But, nevertheless, it is true. Nothing in history was ever better proved. Nothing is more unquestionable than that the white leaders of the South are intimidating the colored voters, and the Republican voters, whether white or colored, threatening them, murdering them, driving them away from the country, or compelling them to vote the Democratic ticket, and, in truth, making it unsafe for either white or colored people to live in the South unless they shall consent to vote the Democratic ticket. Information comes daily to the Department of Justice of the wrongs and outrages committed against the Republicans by the Democratic party of the South. Yet this is denied on the part of the Democrats of the North. They believe nothing. As we go into the estimating of the evidence of the facts, we should consider the purpose of the South as evidenced by her representatives and by her press; and in order to show what we ought to expect, I must read a few paragraphs showing what was in the minds of the ruling people of that part of the country before the canvass began, or in the early stages of it.

[Attorney-General Taft then read extracts from a speech by Robert Toombs, from *The Meridian Mercury*, *The States* of Okolona, Miss., and from *The Mobile Register* in support of his statements. He referred to numerous cases of murder and intimidation in Mississippi, South Carolina, Florida, Texas, and Alabama, and reviewed the outrages of the Ku-Klux Kan.]

THE CONDITION OF SOUTH CAROLINA.

The consciences of these men seemed to be seared, so far as wrongs heaped upon the colored race were concerned, and the same seems to be the case at the present time. The murder of a half-dozen negroes makes no impression—in many cases is not noticed in the newspapers; while the killing of a white man creates as great sensation in that country as in other countries. Probably there is no more authentic account of the condition of that part of the country at the present time in relation to these violent outrages than that given by Gov. Chamberlain. Gov. Chamberlain has had great experience in the South. He is a man of very great intelligence, of superior education and ability; a just man, who has sought by all means to conciliate the extremes of society in the State of South Carolina; has instituted important reforms in the government of that State; has been a good Governor, by the acknowledgment of the Democratic party; has not been an extreme party man, but a trustworthy man, and a man so just and discreet in his conduct of the affairs of that State, and in his treatment of the different political parties, that a considerable portion of the Democratic party had contemplated voting for him as Governor. He has been renominated for Governor by the Republicans, and is now their candidate. But the purposes of the Democratic party are not answered by having such a man for Governor. He forwards the evidence that outrages, such as that at Hamburg, while they are not approved by the better class of white men, are not so far disapproved as to be prevented, or as to secure any active measures toward the prevention of the recurrence of them, and that all such outrages in South Carolina encourage the Democratic party and depress the Republicans; that they create an elation on the part of the Democratic party, and that there are no measures taken to check or prevent a recurrence of such outrages. There is no sympathy expressed for the colored people who are slain or outraged. And now, as we draw nearer to the election, the plans of the dominating race become more manifest. They have formed "rifle clubs" in all the counties of the State, as we are advised by Gov. Chamberlain; and these "rifle clubs" are intended to awe and terrify the colored race to such an extent as to prevent them from voting any other than the Democratic ticket. These "rifle clubs" consist of great numbers of men armed and mounted, and they pass from town to town, or from precinct to precinct, and the purpose is to prevent any Republican meeting from being held, or to control it if held. They come mounted and armed to every Republican meeting that is appointed, demand half the time, surround the stand with these horsemen armed and in a threatening attitude, demand half the time at the point of the musket, and when they obtain it silencing the Democratic side, by harangue if the negroes who are there assembled, but forbidding and preventing any free speech on the part of the Republicans, the purpose being by every means to intimidate and prevent any free conference of the Republicans previous and preparatory to election. The State Government is wholly unable to restrain them. They are forbidden by the statute law. They have been forbidden by the Governor of the State. They defy all attempts to try them. The number of negroes that have been slain by these men is pretty large, but no one has ever been held to any accountability in any court.

They have mainly escaped responsibility, and it has never been known that any man in any of these States has been held responsible or convicted for killing a negro. The result is that the negroes are in a pitiable condition. They are like sheep exposed to the ravages of wolves. Unless they defend themselves, or have the United States Government to defend them, they have no chance of escape by any other means than agreeing to vote the Democratic ticket, for which the white man chooses to kill them is free from all responsibility. It is far worse now than in the time of slavery, because if these negroes were armed there would be a sort of protection to them, as property of their owners, against the violence and destruction of murderers. But, now, as they are owned by nobody, they are the property of nobody, and nobody is interested to protect them. But as they can vote, the members of the Democratic party, against which they would naturally vote, are interested to kill them, unless they can intimidate them and keep them from the polls. The denials that come from those who are encouraging these outrages in the South—the denial of the existence of any such condition of things—would be unsurpassed impudence, were it not that they are in pursuance of a plot by which to secure the solid South to the Democratic party. The terror inspired in the minds of the negroes by the consciousness of the truth of the statements is distressing, and kills in the case not only with the negroes but also with the white men who are disposed to do justice. Mississippi has been the theater of the most excessive cruelty in this direction. In the last election, when the Democrats drove the Republicans from the polls and carried the election by violence, breaking all the laws, rendering themselves liable to indictment for violation of the election law, the Grand Jury of the District Court of the United States was held, and before it was exhibited the evidence of a very large number of violations of the law, and a report was made showing the violations of law in the most atrocious forms, and yet, such was the terror prevailing in the community that they dared not to find a bill—not one bill of indictment—against any one man. If the Democratic party can organize by force the political power in South Carolina as it has already done in Mississippi, and possess all the machinery of the State Government, with the purposes which that party has, it is clear that the right of the negro to suffrage is gone. And it comes to be a great question, both what the effect of such a consummation of villainy will be upon the destiny of this nation in the future, and what steps the present Government ought to take to prevent it. If this grand conspiracy against the right of suffrage of the colored man ought not to prevail, but ought to be resisted, then the instructions to the marshals issued by the Department of Justice were right and not untimely.

THE ORDER TO MARSHALS.

Some complaints have been made of the order to the United States marshals. I have not thought it necessary to respond to these patriotic criticisms. Perhaps I have been under a hallucination in supposing it to be a very good order, and that it carried its justification on its face. It is clear that the order does not authorize or encourage the marshal to interfere with any honest citizen while voting or performing any other duty. They are only to prevent unlawful breaches of the peace of the United States. They are not to intimidate any voter. They are to prevent intimidation. How comes it, then, that our Democratic friends are so nervous and anxious about it, unless the prevention of intimidation and fraud is what they fear? If the United States marshals shall do any wrong to the Democrats, they will have to get their ideas from some other source than this order.

But the political critics claim that the order conflicts with a recent decision of the Supreme Court, and are concerned for the credit of the bar. If they had read the order and the decision, they would have seen that there was no conflict. The case decided by the Supreme Court arose upon an election of State officers only, and this order relates to the election of Federal officers only. Besides, the Supreme Court, in its opinion, lest some ignorant or perverse man should misinterpret the opinion, went out of its way to say expressly that the decision had no bearing upon the clause of the Constitution relating to the election of members of Congress. The Thirteenth Amendment made slaves freemen. The Fourteenth Amendment made them citizens, and gave them civil rights. The Fifteenth Amendment provided that no citizen should be denied the right to vote "on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude," and that "Congress should have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation." Congress passed an act which it was supposed would enforce this amendment. A case arose in Kentucky at an election of State officers only, for denying the right to vote to a negro. The court held that the act of Congress as passed was not "appropriate legislation" for the premises of that suit. The reason can be concisely stated thus: Independent of the Fifteenth Amendment, Congress has nothing whatever to do with the election of State officers. By that amendment, its only power is to prevent the denial to citizens of the right to vote "on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude;" but this act provides a punishment for the denial of the right of voting to any citizen, white or black. This transcended the right of Congress as to State elections, and was not therefore appropriate legislation. The act should have been confined to the denial of the right of voting on account of race, &c. But the court said that they were not considering the effect of the fourth section of the first article of the Constitution as to the election of Senators and Representatives. The effect of that section is to enable Congress to make or alter any and all "regulations" as "to the times, places, and manner of holding elections for Senators and Representatives in Congress." Those instructions relate to the election of Federal officers, the very thing which the Supreme Court say was not evoked in their decision of the Kentucky case. The order also says that "the judgments of the Supreme Court did not concern Federal elections." That looks reasonably plain. If any man fails to understand that, I commend him to the common school system for further instruction. I cannot afford to spend any more time with him on the subject. * * * * * * * * *

PRESIDENT GRANT'S PROCLAMATION JUSTIFIED.

But our Democratic critics are also excited over the President's recent proclamation. They deny the facts upon which the proclamation is founded, and appeal again to the Constitution. I will not stop to detail the cruel and wanton murders of colored citizens which have been committed almost daily in South Carolina, and the utter failure of the State Government to hold the perpetrators, who are in many respects well known, to any legal responsibility. Numerous cases are well authenticated, although it is a deplorable fact that those who, from a supposed political necessity, have either perpetrated or encouraged others to perpetrate such horrors, should have the meanness to deny it and lie about it. I have already referred sufficiently to the barbarities that have been witnessed daily in South Carolina and Mississippi. I now recur to the statement of Gov. Chamberlain in his petition to the President, including the proclamation which the Governor had himself issued in vain, to cause the violence to cease. His proclamation was dated Oct. 7, and its recitals read as follows:

Whereas, It has been made known to me by written and sworn evidence that there exist such unlawful organizations, combinations, and assemblages of persons in the Counties of Aiken and Barnwell that it has become impracticable, in my judgment as Governor of the State, to enforce by the ordinary course of judicial proceedings the laws of the State within said counties, by reason whereof it has become necessary, in my judgment as Governor, to call forth and employ the military force of the State to enforce the faithful execution of the laws; and

Whereas, It has been made known to me as Governor that certain organizations of men exist in all the counties of the State commonly known as "rifle clubs;" and

Whereas, Such organizations and combinations of men are illegal and strictly forbidden by the laws of the State; and

Whereas, Such organizations and combinations of men are engaged in promoting illegal objects and in committing open acts of lawlessness and violence:

Now, therefore, I, Daniel H. Chamberlain, Governor of said State, do issue this my proclamation, &c.

The petition of the Governor to the President of the United States informs him that "insurrection and domestic violence exist in various portions of the State, especially in the Counties of Aiken, Barnwell, and Edgefield, against the peace of government of this State to such an extent that I am unable to, with any means at my command to suppress the same; that the Legislature of the State is not now in session and cannot be convened; wherefore, by virtue of the power in me vested by the Constitution and laws of this State, and in accordance with the provisions of Article IV., Section 4, of the Constitution of the United States, and of Section 5,297 of the Revised Statutes of the United States, I do call upon you to aid me in suppressing said insurrection and domestic violence by the powers conferred upon you by the Constitution of the United States." * * * *

There can be no doubt of the sufficiency of the facts stated by the Governor to justify his demand. But there is not only no ground to question the truth of the Governor's statement, but the evidence of their truth is proven from other and independent sources, as has already been shown. If we had not the numerous murders occurring from day to day, and the frightful intimidation to the white as well as colored Republicans, and if we had not the evidence from the press and other sources, that the Democratic party in South Carolina had determined to adopt the shot-gun policy of Mississippi, we should, nevertheless, have abundant evidence, from the embodiment, mounting and arming of the rifle companies in all the counties of the State, which are and have formed in violation of the express laws of the State, and which ride up and down in the country attending all the meetings of the Republicans, and are at present a standing menace, and causing riot and disturbance at the meetings, wholly inconsistent with any free discussion of political subjects, and evidently intended to intimidate the Republicans, and having that effect. These lawless and threatening armed bodies of men are defiant of the authority of the Governor of the State and of all legal control. They override all law, and whom they will they abuse and insult, and whom they will they kill. Will upon this call from the Governor of South Carolina he also could the President act than as he did? If any man thinks that Gen. Grant will shrink from the performance of a high duty because it is difficult or perilous, such a man does not comprehend the character of the President. No man and no President ever had more respect to the just rights of the States, or was ever more reluctant to send military forces into their confines. But in the present case he had no choice. In case, proved to his entire satisfaction, required that he should use the power in his hands for the restoration and preservation of the public peace, and to protect the weak and peaceable citizens against the ruffians who were rising against the authority of the State. With this high, but plain duty before him, independent of and absolutely without regard to party politics, the President acted for the public good. The policy of the Democratic leaders to discredit all statements of facts showing violence and outrage and intimidation is not at all unlike that which was persistently adopted in the time of the Ku-Klux Klans, which committed untold horrors. The Democratic leaders, both North and South, denied the existence of such organizations, and derided the narratives, as they now deride the bloody shirt.

Nor was there moral force enough in any Southern State to detect and punish any of the guilty in any State court. It was reserved for the United States officers to detect and bring to justice the monsters of these manifestations of fiends. When these clans were arrested with all their guilt and cruelty, the community which had discredited their existence, and had failed to bring them to justice, had no longer the effrontery to defend them. So now the Democratic leaders discredit everything relating to the cruelties and intimidation of White-Liners and the "rifle clubs." They hold them to be the mildest-mannered and most innocent of men, who are only going about to preserve the peace, and taking their guns along to prevent the negroes from being rude. The facts are too plain to admit of doubt in the mind of any man who regards evidence.

ADDRESS OF MURAT HALSTEAD.

FELLOW-CITIZENS: The October elections this year have not decided the November election. That has been referred to New-York. I am here to speak of a matter of business connected with the election; and the letter from the Democratic candidate for the Presidency published this morning certifies the importance of that business. I propose to speak of the public peril, of the War Claims, of the "Solid South," of the new Southern Confederacy with the Democratic party as its clumsy agency demanding indemnity for conquest, and threatening a disputed Presidential election, which would reduce the American Republic to the grade of Mexico. I propose also to show that the southern claims are greater in proportion than the National debt, and that the idea at the root of the matter is the adoption of the Confederate system of finance—the issue of legal-tender paper to pay the claims—a policy that would reduce the finances, the credit, the bonds of the nation to a level with those of the Southern Confederacy—the level of hopeless bankruptcy. I propose to speak too of the reorganization of the Confederate army, equipped with pocket pistols and shot guns, to disregard the only condition imposed by the Nation when the Confederacy was crushed by military force—that of manhood suffrage—and by disfranchisement by the deadly derringer, to carry the Republican States of the South for the Democratic party.

Mr. Tilden, as any one can see by the last issue of *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper*, is a gentleman in the bloom of early manhood, standing in an attitude that recalls the first Napoleon, before the door of the Treasury. I am at a loss to know whether it is Mr. Tilden's apparent youth and innocence, or his probable excess of occupation preventing the study of the subject, that has caused his singularly complete misapprehension of the extent and character of the Confederate War Claims, and of his own relations to them. As for the restraints that he assumes to impose upon himself, in the letter which he testifies to the critical importance of the War Claims urged by the united South, the gentleman has forgotten that no longer ago than in the first week of August he reminded his countrymen, when accepting the nomination of the St. Louis Convention, that "experience had repeatedly exposed the futility of self-imposed restrictions by candidates." It must have been an imperative sense of the necessity of saying something, and that quickly, that overcame what we may assume was the natural reluctance of Gov. Tilden, after announcing the futility of self-imposed restraints in such cases, to make proclamation of the restraints that he presumes he imposes upon himself.

He tells us what he will do if he is elected President respecting the provisions of the Fourteenth Amendment, which do not apply to the Southern claims that we are talking about. We refer to claims for damages to Southern property—claims that property was taken for the use of the army. And the truth is, if we are living under a confederate form of government, if the National soldiers were trespassers upon the soil of Seceded States, the Confederate War Claims are just and ought to be paid. The sensibility of Gov. Tilden on this subject is worthy of all praise. But we must take his word for it that such a self-imposed restraint has been shown by experience to be futile. There is one restraint in which I have confidence, and only one, and that is to restrain the Governor of New-York from becoming President of the United States. The Governor of Ohio is the better man for the place. He was himself "a trespasser upon Southern soil" when it was made sacred by secession, and if he is elected President we shall not be troubled by Confederate War Claims.

Fellow-citizens, "we, the people of the United States," have accomplished the end of the Constitution, in forming "a more perfect union" than that Confederacy which was the weakness of our fathers in the Revolution. Through prosperous peace and triumphant war we have become a mighty nation. The nation is a republic, based upon manhood suffrage, and I propose to discuss the question whether we can afford to place the General Government in the hands of the Fifteenth Amendment, Congress has nothing whatever to do with the election of State officers. By that amendment, its only power is to prevent the denial to citizens of the right to vote "on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude." But