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THE REPUBLICAN.

CLEARFIELD, PA.

WEDNESDAY MORNING, OCT. 2, 1872.

ANDREW G. CURTIN.

"The War Governor" Speaks!

He Calls for Regeneration and Honest Government, and declares for Buckalew.

THE RING BROKEN!

SARATOGA, Sept. 21, 1872.

MY DEAR SIR: Your favor of the 11th instant, informing me of my nomination by the Liberal Republican State Committee as candidate for Delegate-at-large to the Constitutional Convention, and inclosing an address to the people of the State recommending my election, came duly to hand, but extreme illness prevented my reading the letter or considering the subject until now.

I am still quite feeble, and unable to write without the aid of an amanuensis, but the near approach of the election, and the gravity of the issues immediately affecting the honor and prosperity of Pennsylvania to be decided in October, compel me to answer when my rest should be unbroken.

A nomination, made by so many of the purest and best old representative Republicans in the State, and presented to the people upon grounds which stand out in brave contrast with the demoralized political management now so sadly prevalent, is an appeal I cannot refuse to respect. I therefore accept the nomination, and if it shall be ratified by the people, and my health permits, I will discharge its duties with fidelity.

I had confidently expected immediately upon my return home to familiarize myself fully with the details of what I well understood in all general aspects touching the misrule in our Commonwealth under its present political control, and to speak my convictions at the earliest possible moment. While I cannot ever be indifferent in a Presidential contest, I feel that the

REGENERATION OF MY NATIVE STATE

in the October election was of paramount interest to the people, in whose happiness and greatness I am enlisted by every consideration of gratitude and patriotism.

The bad rule that has wholly compassed the channels of political administrative authority in Pennsylvania is not of recent creation. It was the tireless, but impotent power that embarrassed the action of the Government, State and National, during the dark days of civil war, and steadily struggled to gather advancement and gain from

THE BITTER SORROWS OF THE PEOPLE.

Six years ago it attained control in our State. How it was achieved is remembered with humiliation by all. Why it was sought and won our subsequent history painfully demonstates.

The Republican organization has made its name illustrious in maintaining the unity of the States and redeeming a continent to freedom. It was seized in contempt of the will of the people and its victories perverted to

LICENSED WRONG.

I need not recite how, under an honored name and flag, it has created wide-spread, indeed, almost universal distrust of authority, and made honest men despair of integrity in legislation, in elections, in conferring legislative honors, and even in the administration of public justice.

These terrible and steadily growing evils in our political rule have made the people demand the right to resume their sovereignty, to make new safeguards for themselves; but if the proposed convention is to effect thorough reform it must be aided, not hindered, by the vast power of the Executive and other important State officials. If Mr. Buckalew shall be defeated, and a new lease of authority thus conferred upon

THE DESPOTIC CONTROL

that has long misruled the Commonwealth, it will be marvellous, indeed, if the convention, chosen in the partizan strife of a national contest, can afford any substantial relief or protection to the people. If Pennsylvania is to be restored to purity, the Government in all its departments, as well as the convention, must harmonize fully and earnestly in the

WORK OF REGENERATION.

Mr. Buckalew's confessed integrity and consistent devotion to reform during many years of official service give the best possible guarantees of honest administration and complete restraints upon corrupt or reckless authority, and his election seems to be demanded by every consideration of

INDIVIDUAL MANHOOD

and fidelity to the honor and advancement of the State. If, as is claimed by desperate leaders in Pennsylvania, to regenerate our State in October will affect the national contest, a cause thus to be endangered must be wanting in the most essential attributes of popular confidence. Actuated solely by a sense of duty to a people whose devotion in time past furnishes the most grateful memories of my life, I shall vote in October

FOR HONEST GOVERNMENT

in our Commonwealth, and meet the Presidential issue when it comes before the people in accordance with my long-settled convictions. I cannot afford to sacrifice a great contest for constitutional, legislative, and administrative reform because a Presidential election is pending. To yield the question would give

FRESH VICTORIES FOR MISRULE

and make the effort for just fundamental restraints either measurably or wholly abortive

Very respectfully, your obedient servant. A. G. CURTIN.

Hon. A. K. McCLURE, Chairman Liberal Republican State Committee of Pennsylvania.

(For the Republican.)

TAKE WARNING, MY COUNTRYMEN!

There are a few questions I would propose to the people of this country—especially to that portion of them claiming to be Liberal Republicans, for I believe them in the main to be honest in their political convictions—and not only to them, but to every voter and to every man living in this broad land that loves his country, loves its laws and loves the safeguards of his liberty, handed down to him from his forefathers, confided to his trust and guardianship, and to be handed down by him to his posterity in the same purity in which he received them.

Now, I would ask you, in a spirit of fairness and sincerity, making every allowance for honest and varied opinion, have you been true to the trust that was most sacredly reposed in you by your ancestors? or, to-day if you were called to account to those from whom you received this rich legacy, to be vigilantly watched and guarded by you, would the political actions of the last ten years of your life warrant you in answering in the affirmative? I think not.

Have you given the political situation of this great country of yours that careful and unbiased thought and reflection which it demands? Have you considered well the great political changes that have recently taken place? or have you investigated the cause or causes of these changes? If not, you have been recreant to your trust. Have you watched with care the political drift of political parties and the whole body politic? If you have, and if you are an honest, liberty-loving citizen, you cannot be satisfied with its course; you cannot fail to see very plainly that it is drifting toward centralization of power, and that your liberties are quietly passing away. These great wrongs are being done gradually—they are not usually done in a hurried manner—but stealthily they go on, It is true, you do not perceptibly feel their loss just at this time. You do not meet coercion; the times are not ripe for that yet. Those in power grasp and relax as they see approaching danger. The enemies of liberty are like other reptiles—slime their prey before they swallow it.

You, my fellow-citizens, are standing to-day on a bridge of sighs connecting the palace with the prison, carelessly watching with admiration the ingoings and outgoings of the guests of the royal abode. It has every sign of grandeur and wealth. It is beautiful to behold. You are almost enchanted with the scene before you. You look with blind admiration upon the beautiful grounds surrounding this royal place. You see costly equipages going in and out from this splendid abode; coaches highly adorned with golden monograms, all emblems of royalty, carrying your masters. You see scattered through the grounds men clothed in bright uniforms. A little further on you see the bright bayonets of the soldiery gleaming in the sunlight, ready at all times to do their master's bidding. Pay a little attention and you will see men in great numbers entering, loaded with wealth, and laying it down at the feet of their royal master. These are the tax-gatherers; this money belongs to you and your countrymen. Watch and you will see men of a different type coming out, also carrying large amounts of wealth. You will notice great respect is paid to these men. You see the liveried servants lay their hats to their sides and the soldiery present their arms as they are passed. Bear in mind these men stand very high in the royal household and close to their royal master; are intrusted with his secrets, and are going on errands of high trust: nothing more nor less than to buy and sell their countrymen. And you, my friends, are furnishing your share of the money. Errands of this kind were considered very dangerous in times gone by, but now have become absolutely necessary to perpetuate this royal establishment, and to hold you, my friends, and your children, in bondage. I would invite you to enter into this royal place had I the power myself to enter therein. But, alas! my card is of the wrong color; and should yours have the word liberty—a word once highly esteemed and held in great reverence in this very place—written upon it, we would both be turned away, if not punished for our impertinence. Men claiming to be wise meet in secret conclave within the walls of this royal house, and there lay deep, dark and dangerous plots against your liberties and property. It also has its Star Chamber, where, within the memory of the school boys of to-day, the ringing of a small bell caused many of your countrymen to be dragged from their beds, carried in shackles and incarcerated in military dungeons, without knowing of the accusations against them or meeting their accusers.

Turn with me to the other end of the bridge and behold what is there. There you see the sombre walls of that dark prison, hear the bitter wail of woe that comes up from its dark dungeons. There you will find millions of down-trodden but liberty-loving people, groaning in the political chains of their masters of the royal house.

My fellow-citizens, on your north side you have the palace, on your south side you have the prison, and Pennsylvania is the bridge. And who can stand upon this bridge without sighing for his country, when he thinks of what it once was—governed for the benefit of the whole people; now only for the few, namely, the bondholder and monopolist, together making and growing into an aristocracy that are fast sapping and undermining the foundations of your liberties. And if they progress at the same rate for the next ten years that they have for the last, you will have very little of your rights to contend for. If you have given any attention to the legislation of your country for the last ten years, you cannot but see very plainly that it has been entirely in the interest of the bond-holders and bankers, and rich corporations; and then come the rings, the greatest evil of all, where they do the direct stealing of your hard earnings.

If you will take notice you will see a great change in society between now and a few years ago. You will see men and families who, twenty years ago or even ten years ago, had then no pretentions to greatness. How do you find them to-day? Altogether different. They are holding their heads away above yours, teaching their families not to associate with yours, for the simple reason that you happen to be a farmer or mechanic, and earning an honest living instead of plundering it from the public, and wishing to hand down to your immediate descendants an honest name, and preferring not to have them told you were a thief. These men and their families are beneath you in everything save their stolen wealth. You send them to your high places and direct them to act in your interests, and they barter away your rights and your liberties for filthy gain, and come back to you and attempt to steal away your manhood, and to degrade you and your families. And in the face of all these deplorable facts what do you do? The larger part nothing, politically, except what these very men bid you.

The hard-working farmer, the mechanic, and all others that labor, have made this great country what it is, and it belongs to you. You maintain its honor and its credit, and you pay every dollar of its debts. Without you the Government bonds would not be worth the paper they are printed upon. In the hour of danger you fight its battles; you spill your blood and lay down your lives upon the altar of your country. Your daring deeds of bravery have caused the flag of your country to be respected throughout the civilized world. And in addition to all this, you feed and support in idleness and luxury a thieving lot of politicans and office-seekers, and you most disgracefully permit yourselves to be led by these worthless men in any direction they may see proper, and, should you happen to have courage enough to refuse, they threaten you with the party lash, and carry you with them against your own convictions.

Now, my friends, all these evils are fairly upon us, and the remedy is at hand. Do you propose to apply it? You see the approach of a dangerous aristocracy, and you watch the departure of your liberties, and apparently without concern. How is this? Has the Goddess of Liberty entirely forsaken you? I think not. She yet lingers in the distance, with saddened countenance, anxiously watching the return of your former manhood and conrage, for she only remains with the brave. She will only return with your courage, and that courage you have a fair chance of displaying in the elections that will soon take place in your country. If your highest object is to advance your party interests then there is little hope. But, on the other hand, if you have the courage to break the party chains that have held you slave-bound for the last ten years, all will be well with you and your country.

There are two political parties that are asking to-day your support. The one comes to you in a spirit of revenge, appealing to all the brutal passions of the human heart, stirring up a feeling of hatred and malice among their countrymen, constantly recurring to scenes of blood and murder, asking you to make broader and deeper the bloody chasm of war between you and your fellow-citizens. God knows it has been made broad enough, and deep enough, and red enough, with fraternal blood to satisfy the most depraved of human hearts. And through these base means they ask you to perpetuate their power.

The other party come to you in a quite different spirit. They come to you in a spirit of love and charity; in a spirit of peace and good-will toward fellow-citizens of every section of the country, and appealing, not to your brute passions, but to the higher and nobler feelings of the human heart, asking you to bury forever out of sight the bloody chasm that has been kept open too long.

Now, my fellow-citizens the day is almost at hand when you are to decide upon these great questions. The first contest will be in Pennsylvania, in which the political destiny of your State for the next three years is to be decided.

Hartranft represents and is the standard-bearer of the party advocating all the evils mentioned.

Charles R. Buckalew is the standard-bearer of the other party, who are advocating quite different things, and if you enter into this contest free from the trammels of party, justice will assert its rights.

AN AMERICAN.

"A RING BOOMERANG."

The Philadelphia *Press* of the 10th says: Yesterday Treasurer Mackey was permitted to be heard in defence of himself and the Camerons in the columns of the *Press*. To-day we make room for another document which has been put forth in behalf of the Harrisburg Ring. This is a communication signed by Messrs. Edwin M. Lewis and W. L. Schaffer of this city, and purporting to give the results of an examination of "the cash account of the Treasury Department," and certain specified bonds of the Sinking Fund Department. Such examination, it appears, was made in compliance with a letter addressed by R. W. Mackey to E. M. Lewis, Esq., under date of June 29, wherein he wrote: "On Monday last a long communication appeared in the *Press* of your city, making very serious charges against the management of the Treasury of the State, and alleging, among other things, that the securities belonging to the Sinking Fund of the State were being used for the benefit of individuals, and that an examination would prove that there was a large deficiency of the public funds."

Mr. Lewis was therefore asked, in connection with three other bankers, to meet Mackey in Harrisburg "to examine the affairs of the Treasury of the Sinking Fund." We propose now to show, *first*, that Mr. Mackey has not only evaded the main points at issue, but falsely stated the charges made by a correspondent of the *Press*, and, *second*, that the communication of Messrs. Lewis and Schaffer in nowise weakens the case against the Ring, but on the contrary sustains directly and by implication some of the principal charges against them.

Ordinary thieves will always lie to conceal their guilt. Extraordinary official rogues and swindlers are equally ready to deny their malversations. Indeed, we have never for one moment expected the leading members of the Harrisburg cabal to come forward and confess. But we did suppose they were too crafty to make so weak and clumsy a defence.

But to the work. The communication in the *Press* referred to by Mackey in the above note did not charge "that the securities belonging to the Sinking Fund of the State were being used for the benefit of individuals, and that an examination would prove that there was a large deficiency of the public funds." No such statement was made. It was charged, however, in that communication, that the public money for which the Treasurer is responsible is deposited in certain favorite banks, a large portion of it being left with certain banks at Harrisburg, Mifflinburg, Northumberland, Lewisburg, Lancaster, &c., which are either owned in whole or in part by some of the Camerons, or controlled by them; that these Cameron banks had at that time deposits of such money, aggregating half a million of dollars, which was used in note-shaving and other speculations; that the Camerons therefore reaped an immense profit from owning the State Treasurer, and that they desired to control the Auditor General, and, through the Governor, the Secretary of State, in order to have subservient to their corrupt purposes the entire board of the Sinking Fund Commissioners. Another specific charge in the same communication was that about one hundred thousand dollars of the State money was in the hands of the broker Yerkes when he defaulted, and that Treasurer Mackey, who was responsible for this loss, did not make it good, but deposited in the Treasury vaults a check for the amount on a Pittsburg bank with which he had no such credit, being a poor man, and that, therefore, such check, like numerous others in the vaults, was worthless paper. The Camerons, whether directly or indirectly, being Mackey's backers, would, of course, be called on to make up this cool hundred thousand, with how much more of similar losses the outside public did not know, unless they could maintain their grip upon the Treasury until through luckier speculation with the people's money they could recover the amount.

These were the charges made by our Harrisburg correspondent in that particular communication, and most of them are abundantly confirmed by Messrs. Lewis and Schaffer's report of their examination. They say that they found by the cash account that "Mackey was responsible July 9 for $2,129,118.66, and that **$2,063,159.74** *of this amount, or all but some sixty odd thousand, was in the possession of fifty-four banks and bankers in various sections of the State.*"

Does not this directly sustain the charge that the public moneys are parcelled out to favorite banks and shaving shops? The names of the banks and bankers, unfortunately, are not given, or it could be shown by the same excellent authority how large a part of this money is handled by the Cameron family in its various branches.

The annual interest on $2,000,000 at only six per cent. is $120,000, but in the hands of shrewd brokers that large sum can be made to yield a far greater dividend. Here, then, is one fruitful source of income to the Treasury ring, clearly revealed by the ring's own witnesses. No wonder Messrs. Mackey and Hartranft were so anxious to obtain $5,000,000 more by new loans! It must be remembered, too, that the law not only prohibits such speculation with State moneys, but requires that this unexpended balance shall be applied as fast as possible to the extinguishment of the over-due loans. Why is not this done, and the State thereby saved an annual outlay for interest of over $100,000? Instead, the Treasurer and Auditor General become silent partners with banks and with responsible note-shavers and stock-speculators like Yerkes, thus imperilling the people's money and doubly violating the law.

Of course there was ample time between June 4, the date of our first exposure, and July 10, when the examination was made, to fix up that check of Mackey for $100,000 and the other suppositious paper in the vaults. Any one of those favorite fifty-four banks would in common gratitude advance for a few days, or till all expected examinations were over, the amount required to balance the account, or, what would be still easier, accept for the time being those worthless checks and account for them as State money on deposit. So Messrs. Lewis and Schaffer naturally have nothing to say about these little matters. Doubtless they found the cash account apparently square. They could not question the bank reports.

They also certify to having examined certain specified bonds in the Sinking Fund Department, amounting in all to $9,400,000. These tally so far as they go, with the report of the Auditor General for 1871, but the latter contains in addition a statement of stocks held by the Commonwealth in various corporations, amounting in the aggregate to $1,754,321.62. The examiners appointed by Mackey do not mention these, nor include them in their aggregate of the securities belonging to the State. This is at least a singular omission.

Let it be understood, however, that we have not charged that these securities (stocks, bonds, etc.) have been converted to an improper use. There has been no such count in our indictment against the Ring, though the fear has been expressed that if that corrupt body obtained control of all the executive departments, with their well-known facility for buying up the Legislature, these securities would be in great danger. So far as this point is concerned, then, Mackey has been demolishing his own man of straw. And it is the only thing he has demolished. All the charges we have made remain thus far unrefuted.

There are two ways, right and wrong, of doing a thing. In census-taking we are wrong—because we allow the enumeration to extend over days and weeks, and John Bull is right, because he has the counting done all in one day. In consequence of our bad system, New York got credited with 150,000 people over her actual inhabitants in 1860, and with 200,000 more than her right in 1870, Philadelphia on each occasion being considerably undercounted. On Saturday the general census of the Brazilian Empire was taken, not on the American but on the English plan. The simultaneous returns on Sunday showed the actual number of persons in Brazil on the preceding night, and includes sex, age, color, State, birthplace, nationality, profession or occupation, religion, instruction (reading and writing), and attendance at school. It also specifies those who are deaf, dumb, blind, deformed, or mentally infirm. Thus taken, at one *coup* as it were, a census can scarcely fail to be correct.