

### GRAFT IN THE P. O. DEPARTMENT

(Continued from Page 15.)

right to do it. You are in the majority and you have the right to manage and direct the affairs of the government, but even a minority of the people, speaking through their representatives, has a right at all times to call upon the majority for a full and complete disclosure as to how they have managed their affairs and expended their money. The majority have rights, but the minority also have rights. One can not be denied or refused any more than the other.

Mr. President, I have assigned to myself a labor which will require some time, and will be to me, I fear, and to the Senate, somewhat tedious. In the speech delivered by the senator from Indiana [Mr. Beveridge], in reply to the speech delivered by myself a few days ago, he charged, inferentially at least, that all the frauds which had been uncovered in the post office department had their root in the Cleveland administration and that Mr. Machen was the fountain head of those frauds.

In view of the fact that the Republican party from the very beginning of these discussions has been trying in one way and another to muddy the waters and divert attention from these frauds by connecting the Democratic party with them, it has occurred to me to make a close investigation of the Bristol report in order that I might ascertain and present to the Senate exactly when each of the employees of the post office department who has been investigated for connection with the scandals was appointed, when the crime was committed, and what, if any, connection, official or otherwise, Mr. Machen had with those crimes.

Mr. Machen began with Mr. Machen. Mr. Machen was appointed General Superintendent of the Free-Delivery System May 6, 1893, during Mr. Cleveland's administration, and was removed on the 22nd of April, 1903. In 1896 Mr. Machen bolted the Democratic ticket of that year and voted in that year, as he did in 1900, for Mr. McKinley. During all the years between 1893 and 1903, after McKinley came in to office, during Mr. Roosevelt's administration, he retained his position in the government, while the real Democrats occupying positions of the grade he held went out on account of their politics.

Now, I wish to read what Mr. Bristol says about Machen's politics. It is important in view of the disposition of the Republican party to charge Machen to the Democratic party. Mr. Bristol says in his report, page 81:

"An examination of his correspondence during the Cleveland administration shows that he—meaning Machen—'posed at that time as a strong and aggressive Democrat, frequently injecting political remarks into letters of an official character. But during the closing days of that administration he very skillfully shifted, and after the 4th of March, 1897, became greatly interested in the welfare of the McKinley administration. He acquired new associates, and was quite successful in establishing intimate relations with men who were influential at the White House."

Machen's crime Mr. President, consists of receiving illegal and fraudulent commissions on the purchase of the supplies for his division. On one contract, that of the carriers' satchel and shoulder straps, he received double commissions. A contract was made under his direction for furnishing these satchels and shoulder straps to the government at a specific price. That contract was made in accordance with the law. Machen then made a private contract with a private individual, Lamb, I believe, was his name, to furnish the straps for these satchels, and when pay day came the contractor was paid the full contract price, notwithstanding he had not supplied the straps, and Machen got a commission from him on the full amount. Lamb was paid for the same straps and Machen got a commission from him also. In another case, the case of the letter boxes, Machen got three commissions.

Mr. Lodge. Mr. President, will the senator allow me a moment to ask him a question?

Mr. Simmons. Certainly.

Mr. Lodge. He is reading this account of Machen. I think he omitted the statement Mr. Bristol makes about him at the time of his appointment.

Mr. Simmons. No; I did not. I said Mr. Bristol states that at the time of his appointment he posed as a strong Democrat.

Mr. Lodge. I refer to the following: "At that time—that is, the time of his appointment—"At that time he was a bankrupt financially, with numerous judgments recorded against him. He was not only a bankrupt, but his reputation for business integrity was bad."

That is the time he was appointed. I thought it better to have it all in the Record.

Mr. Simmons. Those facts are disclosed in this report, but there is nothing to show that anybody at Washington had any knowledge of the existence of Mr. Machen's bankrupt condition at the time of his appointment.

I furthermore call the attention of the senator, at the suggestion to me of the senator from Maryland to my left [Mr. Gorman], to the part of Bristol's report which I did read, which he says that after the 4th of March he became greatly interested in the welfare of the McKinley administration, acquired new associates, and became quite successful in establishing intimate relations with men who were influential at the White House.

Mr. Lodge. I heard that papa-graft, but I thought the senator had overthrown Mr. Bristol's remark as to the Cleveland office.

Mr. Simmons. I had not, and I do not think anybody can charge that I

have been trying in the least to suppress or to minimize the offense of Machen. His character was just as well known after 1897, when he was continued in office by Mr. McKinley and Mr. Roosevelt and succeeded in establishing intimate relations with men influential at the White House, as it was in 1893, when he was appointed, so far as the record discloses and so far as I know.

Now, Mr. President, as I started to say when interrupted by the senator from Massachusetts, Machen received these contracts, that on letter boxes. A contract as required by law was entered into for supplying the postoffice department with letter boxes with fasteners attached, the whole to be painted by the contractor, for a specific sum. Subsequently Machen entered into a private contract by which he purchased these fasteners from a private individual, one Groff, and he employed another individual or individuals who painted the boxes and fasteners. When pay day came the auditor of the office audited the contractor's voucher and paid him the full price, although he had neither furnished the fasteners nor painted the boxes. Machen received a commission from the contractor on full amount, and also a commission from the individuals who furnished the fasteners and did the painting.

There is scarcely anything, Mr. President, purchased for the free delivery service of the postoffice department in Washington during the latter part of his incumbency upon which Machen did not receive a commission.

These speculations began, as I said, shortly after he was appointed, in 1893, and they were carried on during the balance of Cleveland's Administration and up to the time of his removal, both under Mr. McKinley and under Mr. Roosevelt.

Mr. Simmons then proceeded to describe in detail Machen's crime. He then took up the attorney general's report, and the attorney general, Barrett and Miller, and showed that each of these were appointed by the Republican administration, and that the offenses they were indicted for committing were committed under McKinley and Roosevelt; that they constituted the law division of the post office department and that their crimes consisted of bribery and in conspiracy with certain lotteries, turf investments and get-rich-quick concerns, selling the justice of the country and rendering corrupt decisions in favor of these concerns for pecuniary considerations. He then passed to George Beavers, head of the division of salaries and allowances. He showed a conspiracy against the government between Beavers and the Assistant Postmaster General Heath and the Brandt Automatic Company by which five hundred and seventy of Brandt's automatic cash counting machines, worth about \$56 each, had been purchased for the government for \$150 apiece; one hundred and seventy-three of which machines have never yet been used and are now stored away in old cellars. He showed that according to Bristol's report, the motive for these unnecessary purchases at these extravagant prices was a donation of stock to Beavers and Heath by this company. He then took up the cancelling machines purchased or rented for the government by Beavers and Heath. He showed that one of these machines was offered to the government for \$400 per annum rental, that Heath declined that offer, but offered to rent it for \$600-\$200 more than was asked. He showed that another one of these cancelling machine companies, according to Bristol's report, distributed stock between Heath and Beavers in consideration of the purchase by them for the government of a large number of its machines at the price of \$225 each—several times their actual value. He then took up the case of each one of the government officials who have been removed or indicted as a result of the Bristol investigation, showed the date of their appointment, the crime committed by each, and the time of the commission of their several crimes. As a result of this detailed discussion, Mr. Simmons demonstrated, from the Bristol report, that all of the employees in the post office department at the time of the commencement of the Bristol investigation who have been indicted or removed from office as a result of that investigation, only two of them besides Machen were appointed under Democratic administration, and that those two had no connection with the post office department at Washington until after the beginning of the McKinley administration, one of them having been transferred from the New York post office at Washington in 1900 and the other in 1899. He further showed that only four of these indicted or removed officials had any connection whatever with Machen, and that practically all the wrong-doing disclosed in the Bristol report, except that charged against Machen, had occurred since March, 1897, the beginning of the McKinley administration.

vessels? Either sold for a sum far less than they cost or suffered to rot in your harbors. It is conspicuously believed at this day, that few men can be found, possessing the smallest share of political information and not blinded by party spirit, who do not see the necessity of keeping up a navy, sufficient at least to protect our coast."

Mr. Speaker, I have other objections to Mr. Jefferson's administration which it is difficult to delineate, because they do not arise from any particular act of his, but from the general cast and complexion of his whole conduct. I have ever held it to be the first duty of a great magistrate to instill into the people a pride of character, a dignity of sentiment, an inviolable attachment to honor as well as the interest of the nation. It ought to be impressed on them that a wholesome, energetic government is the greatest blessing which Providence in its mercy has given to man; and that it ought to command their reverence and excite their attachment. They ought to be told in a bold, manly and open language, that taxes are indispensably necessary to support their government and secure to them the inestimable blessings flowing from order and legitimate power. I appeal to the wise and dispassionate of this House and ask them if the general character of the President's administration has not been to corrupt and demoralize the public mind? \* \* \*

The people have become impatient of governmental restraint and have lost all reverence for established usages and the settled order of things. Honor, virtue and talents give no claim to public confidence. Few men can get into power who do not devote themselves to the caprice of the people; and, Mr. Speaker, there is a laxity in government which is truly alarming and threatens, if not corrected, to destroy the political fabric. There is also a wretched thirst for gain, which has absorbed every other passion, and bids fair to make us what foreigners say we are, a nation of shopkeepers. Go into any company, the inquiry is not—Has our honor and character been protected? Has reparation been made for injury? Are our ports and harbors protected? But the question is—Has our national debt been diminished? These symptoms, sir, are the sure presage of impending ruin; they evidence general debility, which if not corrected must end in a premature death. I am not disposed to assert that all these evils have been produced by Mr. Jefferson but to say his general conduct has a tendency to produce them.

We know he has almost invariably waited to discover the temper and disposition of the people and then shape his measures according to their wishes. So that instead of being guided by wisdom and enlightened policy he has been governed by town meetings and popular assemblies."

#### This Policy Means Disunion

Discussing the purchase of the great Louisiana tract Henderson said: "I have ever viewed the purchase of that immense territory as highly pernicious to this country and a damning evidence of the disposition of Mr. Jefferson to please the multitude, though he should sacrifice the permanent interest of the nation. Our country was sufficiently extensive before the acquisition of that boundless wilderness. The best informed statesmen were fearful that our empire would ere long be dismembered; that when this world is added, that which we supposed doubtful before is reduced almost to a certainty. When this territory shall be settled, disunion must be the consequence. It is fanciful and against experience to suppose that people residing beyond the Mississippi will send their representatives to Washington to make laws for them; they will establish a government for themselves; and two great republics in the neighborhood of each other, living in peace, is what no age or nation ever witnessed."

Henderson then proceeded to criticize Jefferson for wanting Congress to review the actions of the federal court which tried Aaron Burr. "If every judicial opinion which is not pleasing to the President, is to be brought under the revision of Congress, and the judge in effect denounced who gives this opinion, we may bid farewell to an independent judiciary."

The advocates of the resolution have bestowed the most unbounded encomiums on Mr. Jefferson—I have pointed out what I believe to be his defects. The spirit of this day's public opinion too much at this day to expect a correct decision on his conduct; but posterity will sit in awful judgment on his character; the fulsome adulation of his friends will not rescue his name one moment from that just sentence which awaits him. If he has really been the benefactor of man, this impartial tribunal will do him justice."

The address passed the House by the following vote:

#### How the Members Voted

Year—Whitlock Arnold of Randolph; Richard Atkinson of Person; Jos. H. Bryan of Bertie; Thos. Bell of Camden; James Burton of Caswell; Redmon Bunn of Nash; Jas. C. Bryan of Jones; Jno. Bryan of Sampson; Levin Boazman of Washington; Blake Baker of Warren; K. Ballard of Gates; Brice Collins of Burke; David Carter of Hyde; John Cotten of Edgecombe; James Credle of Hyde; David Cochran of Montgomery; Moses Cator of Hyde; Joel Cherry of Martin; G. L. Davidson of Iredell; Jos. J. Daniel of town of Halifax; Jos. Eaten of Bertie; Benj. Forsyth of Stokes; John Frazer of Washington; David Gilaspie of Sladen; Daniel Gilson of Duplin; Arch. Griffin of Nash; Andrew Headen of Chatham; Baker Hoskins of Chowan; Humphrey Huggins of Gates; Robt. Hanna of Guilford; Charles Harrison of Northampton; Peter Hoyle of Lincoln; John Hamilton of Pasquotank; Nicholas Horn of Surry; Mark Harden of Rockingham; Wm. Hulme of Wilkes; John Howell of Guilford; Edmund Jones of Wilkes;

Wm. R. Johnson of Warren; Hinton James of New Hanover; Jonathan Lindsey of Currituck; Thos. Love of Buncombe; Thos. Lanier of Franklin; Sampson Lanier of Rockingham; Daniel Leatherman of Rowan; Clement Lanier of Montross; John Methane of Chatham; Thos. McImpsey of Ashe; Andrew McIntyre of Duplin; Epes Moody of Franklin; Daniel Mason of Halifax; Frederick Norcum of Chowan; Caleb Perkins of Camden; Jos. Pickens of Buncombe; Wm. Porter of Rutherford; Abner Perry of Hertford; John Robards of Carter; Henry J. G. Ruffin of Greene; Joseph Richardson of Johnston; Thos. Russell of Carter; Willis Riddick of Perquimans; A. Rowland of Robeson; James Shepard of Martin; Daniel Scott of Surry; Jacob Salmons of Stokes; John Smith of Richmond; Duke Scott of Pasquotank; David Tate of Burke; John Kearnes of Cumberland; H. I. Toole of Edgecombe; Josiah Townsend of Person; J. L. Terrell of Rutherford; Wm. Vanhook of Person; Richard Williams of Person; Richard Wooten of Person; Lewis Walters of Hertford; Wm. Williams of Halifax; John Wooten of Lenoir; Seth Wade of Randolph; Jeremiah Wynne of Tyrrell; Henry Yancey of Granville; Jas. Yancey of Caswell—82.

Nays—James Abernathy of Lincoln; Wm. Blackman of Sampson; Hugh Brown of Robeson; Paul Barringer of Cabarrus; Duncan Cameron of Orange; Henry M. Cooke of Wake; Andrew Caldwell of Iredell; Cornelius Dowd of Moore; James Deans of Wayne; Benj. Farnell of Onslow; Frederick Grist of Beaufort; William Gaston, town of New Bern; Jo. n. Harris of Mecklenburg; Edmund Hatch of Jones; Archibald Henderson of town of Salisbury; Edmond of Cabarrus; Wm. W. Jones of New Hanover; Calvin Jones of Wake; Wm. Johnson of Anson; Thos. Leonard of Brunswick; John Moring of Pitt; L. Moore of Anson; Benj. May of Jones; Allen McLellan of Moore; William Norwood of town of Hillsboro; Jesse Pearson of Rowan; Colin Shaw of Cumberland; John Speed of Richmond; J. B. Skinner of town of Edenton; Wm. Smith of Wayne; Jas. Williams of Beaufort; Jonas Williams of Greene; Rigdon White of Lenoir; Edward Williams of Onslow; J. B. White of Bladen—36.

Each county had two members of the House in 1807, and besides such towns as Wilmington, New Bern, Fayetteville, Edenton, Hillsboro, Salisbury and Halifax had a representative, so it did not vote on the address.

President Jefferson's Reply  
Washington, Jan. 10, 1808.

Sir:—I received a few days ago your favor of Dec. 20 covering an address from the General Assembly of North Carolina, and I now take the liberty of returning an answer through the same channel. Not knowing whether the Legislature may still be in session when this gets to hand, I must ask the favor of you, should they be separated, of communicating it to them in such way as you shall think will be most acceptable to them. I pray you to accept the assurances of my high consideration and respect.

TH. JEFFERSON.

His Exy, Gover. J. B. Williams.

To the General Assembly of North Carolina.

The wrongs our country has suffered, fellow-citizens, by violations of those moral rules which the Creator of our being has implanted in man as the law of his nature, to govern him in his associations, as well as individual character, have been such as justly to excite the sensibilities you express, and a deep abhorrence at indications threatening a substitution of power for right in the intercourse between nations. Not less worthy of your indignation have been the machinations of parricides, who have endeavored to bring into danger the union of the states, and to subvert, for the purposes of inordinate ambition, a government founded in the will of its citizens, and directed to no object but their happiness.

I learn with liveliest sentiments of gratitude and respect, your approbation of my conduct in the various charges which my country has been pleased to confide to me at different times; and especially that the administration of our public affairs, since my accession to the chief magistracy, has been so far satisfactory, that my continuance in that office after this present term, would be acceptable to you. But, that I should lay down my charge at a proper period, is as much a duty as to have borne it faithfully. If some termination to the services of the chief magistrate be not fixed by the constitution or supplied by practice, his office, nominally for years, will in fact become for life, and history shows how easily that degenerates into an inheritance. Believing that a representative government, responsible at short periods of election, is that which produces the greatest sum of happiness to mankind I feel it a duty to do no act which shall essentially impair that principle; and I should unwillingly be the person who, disregarding the sound precedent set by an illustrious predecessor, should furnish the first example of prolongation beyond the second term of office.

Truth also obliges me to add, that I am sensible of that decline which advancing years bring on;—and feeling their physical, I ought not to doubt their mental effect,—happy if I am the first to perceive and to obey this admonition of nature, and to solicit a retreat from cares too great for the wearied faculties of age.

Declining a reelection on grounds which can not but be approved, it will be the great comfort of my future days, and the satisfactory reward of a service of forty years, to carry into retirement such testimonies as you have been pleased to give, of the approbation and good will of my fellow citizens generally; and I supplicate the Being in whose hands we are, to preserve our country in freedom and independence, and to bestow on yourselves the blessings of his favor.

TH. JEFFERSON.

### SOME STRANGE THINGS THAT PASS FOR HISTORY

tatoes with which he dined the British officer! Calling for my horse, I said, "General, I think I can find relief in town among my friends; wait until I return. I rode over to Col. Cadwallader Jones". This old beautiful home of a hospitable race—noted for a century for all that was grand and good in human nature—and I laid the situation in the strongest language I could command before the venerable lady, who bowed down in grief at the loss of a son. Robin Jones, killed at the head of his men under the command of the noble soldier who was now begging through me bread of his broken hearted mother with which to feed the chiefs of the cause for which he had so nobly given his life. She instantly arose to the occasion and said, "William, go back and tell General Hampton not to be troubled, I will have everything prepared in time and sent over. The hour named at a plantation wagon was driven up to General Hampton's headquarters loaded with servants, glass, china, and such a dinner as only a southern matron could provide. We never see them now, they live only in tradition, but the 25-pound turkey that graced that dinner I'll never forget this side of the grave."

Raleigh, N. C., April 23, 1904.

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  - \$ 3.50 Raleigh to Greensboro, N. C., and return, account Commencement Exercises A. and M. College, Greensboro, N. C. Tickets on sale April 23, 24 and 25; final limit April 30.
  - \$18.10 Raleigh to Birmingham, Ala., and return, account Conference for Education in the South. Tickets on sale April 23, 24 and 25; final limit May 5.
  - \$22.00 Raleigh to Chicago, Ill., and return, account General Conference A. M. E. Church. Tickets on sale April 29 and 30, May 1 and 2; final limit May 10, an extension of final limit can be obtained on payment of a fee of 50 cents good returning until June 10.
  - \$30.20 Raleigh to Joplin, Mo., and return, account Annual Meeting German Baptist Brethren. Tickets on sale May 18-24, inclusive; final limit leaving Joplin May 20; an extension of final limit can be obtained until June 30 by depositing ticket with Joint Agent.
  - \$18.20 Raleigh to Montague, Tenn., and return, account Montague Bible School. Tickets on sale June 30, to July 2, inclusive; also July 19-22, inclusive; final return limit August 31.
  - \$17.70 Raleigh to Cincinnati, Ohio, and return, account meeting Grand Lodge B. & P. O. Elks. Tickets on sale July 16 and 17; final limit July 25; an extension of final limit can be obtained good returning until August 25 on payment of a fee of 50 cents.
  - \$19.75 Raleigh to Tuscaloosa, Ala., and return, account Summer School. Tickets on sale June 18, 14, 15, 16, 17, 20, 21, 27 and July 4; final limit fifteen days from date of sale.
  - \$12.00 Raleigh to Knoxville, Tenn., and return, account Summer School. Tickets on sale June 26, 27, 28, July 5, 6, 11, 12, 18 and 25; final return limit fifteen days in addition to date of sale. An extension of final limit can be obtained on payment of fee of 50 cents good until September 30, 1904.
  - \$17.75 Raleigh to Nashville, Tenn., and return, account Annual Meeting Southern Baptist Convention and Auxiliary Societies. Tickets on sale May 10, 11, 12, 1904. Final return limit ten days from date of sale. By depositing ticket with Mr. Jos. Richardson, Special Agent, and paying fee of fifty cents, final limit may be extended, but in no case to reach original starting point later than July 6th, 1904.
- For further detailed information apply to nearest Southern Railway Agent, or call on or address:
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