

Conwayboro, S. C.

JOS. T. WALSH,

Attorney at Law and SOLICITOR IN EQUITY, Will practice in the courts of Marion, Horry and Georgetown. Office At CONWAYBORD, S. C. Nov 13, 1870-tf. T. F. GILLESPIE,

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\$30,511,638.60. Liverpool & London & Globe Insurance Co. Total Assets \$30,511,638.60 J. M. JOHNSON,

GENTLEMEN: When I had the your letter on behalt of the Democratic | wheels of the government, National Convention, held on the 28th of June, at St. Louis, advising me of my nomination as the candidate of the consitituciey represented by that body for the office of President of the United States, I answered that, at my earliest convenience, and in contormity with

usage, I would prepare and transmit to you a formal acceptance. I now avail myself of the first interval in unavoidable occupations to fulfill that engagement. The Convention, before making its nominations, adopted a Declaration of

Principles, which, as a whole, seems to me a wise exposition of the necessities of our country, and of the reforms ncele to bring back the gouernment to its true functions, to restore purity of administration and to renew the prosperity of the people. But some of these reforms are so urgent that they claim more than a passing approval.

REFORM IN PUBLIC EXPENSE.

The necessity of a reform "in the Federal taxation," justifies all the tion of the St. Louis Conventior.

The present depression in all the eered civil war." business and industries of the people, which is depriving labor of its employ. homes, has its principal cause in excessive governmental consumption. Under the illusions of a specious prosperity, engendered by the false policies capital has been going on ever since the peace of 1865, which could only end in universal disaster.

millions. Local taxation has amountmillions.

This enormous taxation followed a civil conflict that had greatly impared | pensable.

It was aggravated by most unscientific and ill-adjusted methods of taxation that increased the sacrifices of the people far beyond the receipt of the treasury.

It was aggravated, moreover, by a financial policy which tended to diminish the energy, skill and economy of production, and (of private consumption, and induced miscalculation in business and an unremanerative use of capital and labor. Even in prosperous times the daily wants of industrious communities press closely upon their daily earnings. The margin of possibile national savings is | at best a small percentage of national earnings. Yet now for these eleven years governmental consumption has been a large proportion of the national carnings than the whole people can possibly save even in prosperous times for all new investments.

compels assent to objectionable ap- tion. honor to receive a personal delivery of propriations, rather than stop the It has also to provide for the pay-

THE SOUTH.

An accessory cause enhancing the distress in business is to be found in the systematic and insupportable misgovernment imposed on the States of the South. Besides the ordinary effeets of ignorant and dishonest administration, it has inflicted upon them enormous issues of fraudulent bonds, treasury available for the objects of this reserve, to gradually strengthen ed or stolen, and the existence of which and enlarge that reserve, and to prois a public discredit, tending to bang. vide for such other exceptional deruptey or repudiation. Taxes, gen- mands for coin as may arise, does not erally oppressive, in some instances seem to me a work of difficulty. It have confiscated the entire income of wisely planned and discreetly pursued, the prosperity of the whole country,

The nobler motives of humanity conplatform, of the "Constitution of the millions a year, was 832 millions in the average interest is 5.58 per cent. United States, with its amendments whole period, of which 617 millions prominence given to it in the Declara | universally accepted as a final settle- were the product of our own mines. ment of the controversies which engen-

But, in aid of a result so beneficent, the moral influence of every good ment, and carrying want into so many | citizen, as well as every governmental | authority, ought to be exerted, not alone to maintain their just equality before the law, but likewise to establish a cordial fraternity and good will of the federal government, a waste of among citizens, whatever their race or color, who are now united in the one | may fail to keep in use, and which, in destiny of a common self-government, order to save interest, will be returned If the duty shall be assigned to me, I for redemption, they can either be The federal taxes of the last eleven should not fail to exercise the powers paid or they can be funded. Whether years reach the gigantie sum of 4590 with which the laws and the costitue they continue as currency, or be tion of our country clothe its chief ed to two-thirds as much more. The magistrate, to protect all its citizens, curities held as investments, is merely vast aggregate is not less than 7500 | whatever their former condition, in every political and personal right.

CURRENCY REFORM.

our aggregate wealth, and had made St. Louis Convention, "to establish a "Reform is necessary," declares the sound currency, restore the public credit and maintain the national henor;" and it goes on to "demand a judicious | system of preparation by public economies, by official retrenchments, and by wise finances, which shall enable the nation soon to assure the whole world of its perfect ability and its perfect danger to be guarded against in the readiness to meet any of its promises adoption of general measures intended to over-changing conditions. They ing because they fear atloss in everypayment The object demanded by the Con. vention is a resumption of specie payments on the legal tender notes of the United States. "That would not only "restore the public credit" and "maintain the national honor," but it would "establish a sound currency" for the people. The methods by which this object is to be pursued, and the means by which it is to be attained, are disclosed by what the Convention demanded for the future, and by what it denoanced in the past.

ment in coin of such frictional cur- ness," revey as may be present. d for redemption, and such inconside able portions of the legal tenders as individuals may, from time, to time, desire to convert for special use, or in order to lay by incoin their little stores of money.

RESUMPTION NOT DEFICULT.

To make the coin now in the treasury on the 30th of June, includ-

knowledge and julgment.

absorbed into the vast mass of sea question of the rate of interest, they draw. Even if they were to remain in their present form, and the government were to agree to pay on them a rate of interest, making them desirable as investments, they would cease to circulate and take their place with government, state, municipal, and other corporate and private bands, of which thousands of millions exist among us. In the perfect case with whole large machinery of credit, and standards of its conduct. A debtor who

MEANS OF RESUMPTION.

"Public economies, official retrenchments and wise finance" are the means. which the St. Louis Convention indicates as provision for reserves and redemptions.

The best resource is a reduction of the expenses of the government below its income; for that imposes no new charge on the people.

It, hower the improvidence and waste which have conducted us to a notes. It deno mees the omissionity period of falling revenues oblige us to accumulate "any reserve for their resupplement the results of commina demption." It deacnees the conduct and retrenchments by some resort to which, during cleven years of peace, property, and totally destroyed its it ought not to cost any sacrifice to the loans, we should not hesitate. The has made no advances towards remarketable value. It is impossible business of the country. It should government ought not to speculate sumption, but instead has obstructed that these evils should not react upon tend, on the contrary, to a revival of on its own dishonor, in order to resumption, by wasting our resources hope and confidence. The coin in the save interest on its broken prove and exhausting all our surplus income ises, which it still compels private and while professing to intend a car with the material interest of all mg what is held against coin certifi- deabers to accept at a factitious par. speedy retath to specie payments, has in requiring that every obstacle he cates, amounted to nearly 74 millions. The highest national honor is not only removed, to a complete and darable The current of precious metals which right, but would prove profitable. Of thereto," And having first denounced reconciliation between kindred popula. has flowed out of our country for the the public debt, 985 millions bear in- the barrenness of the promise as a tions one unnaturally estranged, on eleven years from July 1, 1865, to terest at six per cent, in gold, and 7.12 scale of public expense-Federal, State the basis recognized by the St. Louis Jane 30, 1870, averaging nearly 76 millions at five per cent, in gold. The demands its repeal and also demands the

A financial policy which should secure the highest credit, wisely availed To amass the requisite quantity, by of cught gradually to obtain a redue- of a "system of preparation," without intercepting from the current flowing tion of one per cent, in the interest on the promise of a day, for the worthless out of the country, and by acquiring most of the loans. A saving of one promise of a day without "a system of from the stocks which exist abread per cent, on the average would be 17 without disturbing the equilibrium of millions a year in gold. That saving foreign money markets, is a result to regularly invested at four and a half for its shadow. be easily worked out by practical per cent, would, in less than thirtyeight years, extinguish the principal. With respect to whatever surplus of The whole 1,700 millions of tunded eleven years since the pease, has conlegal tenders the wants of business debt might be paid by this saving alone, without cost to the people.

PROPER TIME FOR RESUMPTION.

The proper time for resumption is he time when wise preparations shall have ripened into a perfect ability to omplish the object with a certainty and case that will inspire confidence, and encourage the reviving of basiness. The carliest time in which such a result can be brought about is the though it has its principal cause in the best. Even when the preparations enormous waste of capital occasioned shall have been matured, the exact by the false policies of our governdute would have to be chosen with ment, has been greatly aggravated by reference to the then existing state of the mismanagement of the currency. trade and credit operations in our own Uncertainty is the prolific parent of merce, and the condition of the ex- its cyils more felt than now. Men do changes with other nations. The nothing, because they are unable to specific measures and the actual date make any calculations on which they are matters of detail having reference can safely rely. They undertake noth-

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cal preparations towards resumptions have been made. There has been no There have been steps

There is no necromancy in the opedisturb the natural operations of busi- should promise to pay a loan out of surplus income, yet be seen every-day spending all he could lay his hands on in rioutous fiving, would lose all chavacter for honesty and veracity, Hist ffer of a new promise or his profession as to the value of the old promise, would alike provoke derision,

RESUMPTION PLAN OF THE ST. LOUIS

The St. Louis platform denounces the failure for eleven years to make good the promise of the legal tender establishment of "a judicious system of preparation" for resumption. It canpreparation" would be the gain of the substance of resumption in exchange

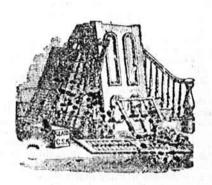
Nor is the denunciation unmerited of that improvidence which, in the sumed 4,500 millions of dollars, and yet could not afford to give the people a sound and stable currency. Two and a half per cent. on the expenditures of these eleven years, or even less, would have provided all the additional coin needful to resumption.

RELIEF TO HUSINESS DISTRESS.

The distress now felt by the people in all their business and industries, country, the course of foreign com- mischiefs in all business. Never were to the domain of practical ad- thing they would attempt. They stop New York to Liverpool, does not as customers. The manufacturer dares tion has fallen below the natural limits of a reasonable economy. Prices of many things are under their range ia frugal, specie-paying times before the civil war. Vast masses of currency a half ago the legal tenders were at their largest volume, and the twelve millions since retired have been replaced by fresh issues of fifteen millions a month, because they cannot find a profitable use for so many of The public mind will no longer accept shams. It has sufferred enough from illusions. An insincere pelicy increases distrust. An anstable policy increases uncertainty. The people need to know that the government is January, 1875, enacted that, on and moving in the direction of ultimate safety and prosperity, and that it is sure to inflict no new sacrifice on the spiration of new hope and well-founed confidence will hasten the restoring begin to return. The St. Louis Convention concludes his discretion, certain classes of its expression in regard to the currency by a declaration of its convictions More than one and a half of the it demands. It says: "We believe above all, intrusted to competent time an artificial scarcity of currency, and at no time alarming the public mind into a withdrawal of that vaster machinery of credit by which sinetylive per cent. of all business transaotions are performed-a system open, tion, bring healing on its wings to all our harassed industries, put in motion the wheels of commerce, manufactures

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MERCE will be printed—a daily, a semi-week-ly, and a weekly. The editions will be de-livered by carriers to city subscriters, or sent through the carls to non-city subscribers, post paid, at the illowing rates:

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The consequence of these errors are now a present public calamity. But they were never doubtful, never invisible. They were necessary and inevit-able, and were foreseen and depicted when the waves of that fictitious prosperity ran highest. In a speech made by me on the 24th of September, 1868, it was said of these taxes.

They bear heavily upon every man's income, upon every industry and every business in the country, and year by year they are des-tined to pass still more heavily unless we arrest the system that gives rise to them. It was comparatively easy when values were doubling under repeated issues of legal tender paper money, to pay out of the froth of our growing and apparent wealth these taxes, but when values recede and $\sin \kappa$ towards their natural scale, the tax gatherer takes from us not only our income, not only our profits, but also a portion of our capital. • • I do not wish to exaggerate or alarm; I simply say that we cannot afford the costly and ruin-ons policy of the Radical majority of Congress. We cannot afford that policy towards the South. We cannot afford the magnificent and oppressive centralism into which our government is being converted. We cannot afford the present magnificent scale of taxation. To the Secretary of the Treasury, I

said, early in 1865:

There is no royal road for a government more than for an individual or a corporation. What you want to do now is to cut down your expenses and live within your income. would give all the legerdemain of finance and financiering-I would give the whole of it for the old, homely maxim, "Live within your income"

This reform will be resisted at every step, but it must be pressed presistently. We see to day the immediate representatives of the people in one branch of Congress, while struggling to reduce expenditures, com. pelled to confront the menace of the Senate and the Executive that unless the objectionable appropriations be consented to, the operations of the government thereunder shall suffer detriment or cease. In my judgment, an amendment of the Constitution ought to be devised separating into government make these notes at all And in a similar discussion, in my bonds.

BANK NOTE RESUMPTION.

Resumption of specie payments by the Government of the United States ou its legal tender notes would establish specie payments by all the banks, on all their notes. The official statement, made on the 12th of May, shows that the amount of the bank notes was 300 millions, less 20 millions held by themselves. Against these 280 millions of notes, the banks held 141 millions of legal tender notes, or a little more than fifty per cent. of their amount. But they also held on deposit in the Federal Treasury, as security, for these notes, bonds of the United States, worth in gold about 360 millions, available and current in all the foreign money markets. In resuming, the banks, even if it were possible for all their notes to be presented for payment, would have 500 millions of specie fands to pay 280 millions of notes, without contracting their loans to their customers, or caliing on any private debtor for payment. Suspended banks, unndertaking to resume, have usually been obliged to collect from needy borrowers the means to redeem excessive issues and o provide reserves. A vague idea of distress is, therefore, often associated with the process of resumption. But the conditions which caused distress in those former instances do not now

The government has only to make good its own promises and the banks can take care of themselves without distressing anybody. The government is, therefore, the sole delinquent.

LEGAL-TENDER RESUMPTION.

The amount of the legal tender notes

remove a clearly ascertained surplas that is, the withdrawal of any which are not a permanent excess beyond the wants of business. Even more mischievous would be any measure which affects the public imagination with the fear of an apprehended searcity. In a community where credit is so much used, fluctuations of values and vicissitudes in business are largely caused by the temporary beliefs of men even before those beliefs can conform to ascertained realities.

which they can be changed from

AMOUNT OF NECESSARY CURRENCY, The amount of necessary currency, at a given time, cannot be determined

arbitrarity, and should not be assumed on conjecture. That amount is subject the beginning of the civil war by a substituted use of currency in place of individual credits. It varies with certain states of business. It fluctuates, with considerable regularity, at different seasons of the year. In the Autumn, for instance, when buyers of grain and other agricultural pro-

dects begin their operations, they usually need to borrow capital or circulating credits by which to make in currency capable of being distributrency at such times is five or more per stringency in the loan market.

It was in reference to such experiences that, in a discussion of this subject, in my annual message to the New York Legislature of January 5, 1875, the suggestion was made that: "The federal government is bound which the public do not wish to use. pose.

Having assumed to monopolize the upply of currency, and enacted ex-

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ministrative statesmanship. The cap- to wait. The merchant dares not buy tain of a steamer, about starting from for the future consumption of his semble a council over his ocean chart not make fabrics which may not reand fix an angle by which to lash the fund his outlay. He shuts his factory rudder for the voyage. A human in. and discharges his workmen. Capitelligence must be at the helm to dis talists capnot lend on scenity they cern the shifting forces of the waters consider safe, and their fuels die and the winds; A human hand must almost without interest. Men of enterhe on the helm to feel the elements prise who have credit, or securities to day by day, and guide to a mastery pledge, will not borrow. Cousumpover them.

PREPERATIONS FOR RESUMPTION.

Such preparations are everything. Without them, a legislative command fixing a day, an official promise fixing lie in the banks unused. A year and a day, are shams. They are woreseto both permanent and temporary they are a snare and a delusion to all changes. An enlargement of it, which who trust them. They destroy all seemed to be durable, happened at confidence among thoughtfal men whose judgment will at last sway publie opinion. An attempt to act on such a command or such a promise, their notes, without preparation, would end in a new suspension. It would be a tresh calamity, prolific of confusion, distrust and distress.

THE ACT OF JANUARY 14TH, 1875.

The Act of Congress of the 14 of their purchases, and want these funds after the 1st of January, 1879, the Secretary of the Treasury shall redeem in doing so through prudent, safe and ed in small sums among numerous coin the legal tender notes of the Uni. conscrvative methods, which will be sellers. The additional need of cur- ted States on presentation at the office of the assistant treasurer in the City of business of the country. Then the incent. of the whole volume, and if a New York. It authorized the secreta surplus beyond what is required for ry "to prepare and provide for" such ordinary use does not happen to have resumption of specie payments by the process of nature, and prosperity will been on hand at the money centers, a use of any surplus revenues not otherscarcity of currency ensues, and also a wise appropriated; and by issuing, in bonds.

four years have passed. Corgress such a system, well devised, and, and the President have continued ever since to unite in acts which hands for execution, creating at no legislated out of existence every posto redeem every portion of its issues sible surplus applicable to this pur-

The coin the treasury claimed to belong to the government, had, on the dusions against everybody else, it is 30 of June, fallen to less than 45 milbound to furnish all which the wants lions of dollars as against 59 millions public, and inspiring general confi-of business require." * * * * on the 1st of January, 1875, and the dence would, from the day of its adopon the 1st of Junuary, 1875, and the The system should passively allow availability of a part of that sum is the volume of circulating credits to said to be questionable. The revenues ebb and flow, according to the ever- are falling faster than appropriations of the United States now outstanding changing wants of business. It should and expenditures are reduced, leaving and the mechanic arts, restore employis less than 370 millions of dollars, imitate, as closely as possible, the besides 34 millions of dollars of natural laws of trade, which it has soraces. The secretary has done natural sources the prosperity of the reactional currency. How shall the superseded by artificial contrivances."

The government of the United