CLEARFIELD REPUBLICAN.

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GEO. B. GOODLANDER,
Editor and Proprietor.

The Fair.

SEVENTH ANNUAL EXHIBITION

OF THE

Clearfield Co. Agricultural Society.

Will be held on the Fair Grounds, in the Borough of Clearfield, on Tuesday, Wednesday, Thursday and Friday, the 13th, 14th, 15th and 16th days of October, A. D. 1868.

COMMITTEE AT LARGE.

Chairman—G. D. GOODFELLOW.

George Gulich, David Buck,
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Abraham G. Hoyt, Mrs. Jerome Robinson,
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Isaac Hoover, " Joseph Owens,
Robert Porter, Miss Jane Hoover,
J. E. Daniels, " M. Irwin,
Philip C. Heisey, " Maggie Read,
J. C. Shaffner, " Mary E. Flegal,
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J. I. Irwin, " Ada Robins.

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Joseph B. Brown, " S. J. Row,
J. Cardon, " G. R. Goodlander,
J. K. Shirey, " James Forrest,
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D. W. Jordan, " J. B. McNally,
Reuben McPherson, " J. P. Burchfield,
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Geo. Ale, " G. W. Snyder,
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J. L. Robins, " Matthew Read,
James A. Moore, " J. R. Shaw,
J. G. Irwin, Miss Mary A. Irwin,
J. L. Astin, " Fannie Jordan,
James Mitchell, " Eliza Mitchell,
James L. Leavy, " Eliza Read,
Joseph Larrimer, " Henrietta Peters,
Robert A. Mitchell, " Amelia Larrimer,
Wm. McCullough, sen.,

MARSHAL—Z. C. McCullough.
CHIEF OF POLICE—William L. Riebel.
GATE KEEPERS—George W. Carter, John C. Read, Theodore D. Peoples. sep19-tr

RULES AND REGULATIONS.

Family tickets...$1 00
Single tickets, during Fair... 50
Single admission tickets... 25
Children under ten years old, when accompanied by their parents or guardians, free.
Children under ten years of age not admitted unless accompanied by their parents.
Checks will be given at the door to persons desiring to pass out during the exhibition, but will not admit the holder to any other exhibition—each half day counting an exhibition.
Every person wishing to be enrolled as a member of this Society must apply on or before the first day of the Fair, and on the payment of one dollar to the Treasurer shall receive a certificate of membership, containing the name of the applicant and endorsed by the Secretary.
Every person becoming a member as above named shall, on the presentation of his certificate, receive a ticket which will admit him free during the Fair. Any person complying with the above regulations and paying $10, shall become a life member, and shall be exempt from all contributions, and shall annually receive from the Secretary a free family ticket.
All persons must be provided with tickets—which can be had from the Executive Committee, Treasurer or Secretary, or at the office on the ground. Persons acting as judges are expected to become members of the Society. Persons from other counties can become members by complying with the above rules. Ladies can become members by making application as above, and paying into the treasury fifty cents, when they will receive a ticket to admit them free.
Exhibitors must become members of the Society, and have their animals and articles entered at the Secretary's books on or before the first day of the Fair; and all animals and articles kept houses for pleasure and for the trotting course, must be brought within the enclosure as early as Wednesday, at three o'clock, P. M., and all persons entering animals and articles for exhibition must procure cards from the Secretary, with the class and number of entry of said article, previous to placing said article on the ground. Hay and straw will be furnished gratis for all animals entered for premiums, and grain will be furnished at cost for those that desire to purchase.
No horse shall be entered or allowed a premium unless he is free from disease. Horses will be received until Wednesday noon, but must be entered previously. All persons who intend to exhibit horses, cattle, sheep or swine, or who intend to offer stock or any other article for sale, should notify the Secretary of such intention, on or before the 1st of October, and have with him a list and full description of the same.
The number and class, and the number in the class, with the name of the article, will appear on the card attached; but the name of the exhibitor will not appear.
Premiums and diplomas will be paid on and after the first Monday after the Fair, and until the 1st day of December, 1868, after which all money premiums unclaimed will be considered as a donation to the Society. The officers of the Society and members of the Committee of Arrangements must wear a badge designating their office, and it will be their duty as well as pleasure to attend to the expressed wishes and wants of the exhibitors and others, if it is in their power so to do. A select police force will be in attendance for the preservation of order and protection of property.
The trotting course is level, well graded, and one-third of a mile in circuit. Ample arrangements will be made for the convenience of visitors.
Instructions to **Judges.**—No animal to receive an award in more than one class.
Judges are expressly required not to award premiums to over-fed animals. No premiums are to be awarded to bulls, cows or heifers which shall appear to have been fattened, ONLY in the class of fat cattle, the object of the Society being to have superior animals of this description for breeding.
Fat Cattle.—The judges on fat cattle will give particular attention to the animals submitted for examination. It is believed, all other things being equal, there are the best cattle that weigh the greatest weight over the smallest superficies. The judges will require all in this class to be weighed, and will take measures to give the properties of each, and publish the result with their reports. They will also, before awarding any premium, require of the competitors full statements as to the manner and cost of feeding required by the regulations of the premium.
Where is but one exhibitor, and he may show several animals in one class, premiums will be awarded in accordance with the merits of the stock.
The superintendent will take every proper precaution for the safety of stock and articles in his charge after their arrival, and arrange them on the grounds, but will not be responsible for any loss or damage that may occur. The Committee exhibitors to give personal attention to their animals and articles, and at the close of the fair to attend to their removal, as the Society will take further care of them.
Rules of Plowing.—The name of the plowman must be given, as well as the kind of plow used, at the time of entry. The quantity required to be plowed by each team to be one-half of an acre. The time allowed to do the work will be three hours. The furrow slice is to be uniform in size, and to be lapped. The teams to start at the same time, and each plowman to do his work without driver or other assistance. The premium offered by the Society will be awarded to the individuals who, in the judgment of the committee, shall do their work in the best manner, provided the work is done in the time allowed for its performance. Each plowman is to plow his own land, and plow entirely independent of the adjoining land. Within the one-half of an acre plowed each plowman will be required to strike two back furrowed lands and finish with the dead furrow in the middle.
Any information required in regard to matters of the Society can be gained by addressing the Committee or the Secretary, who will be pleased to give any information in their power at any time.
Any article not enumerated in the above classes may be placed upon exhibition, if worthy of notice, and suitably awarded.
The Executive Committee reserve a discretionary power to award Diplomas in any case of a meritorious article, or for articles not entitled to them by the rules.
Articles may be entered free of charge, horses for pleasure, and for the trotting course.

The Fair.

LIST OF PREMIUMS.

CLASS 1—*Sweepstakes, open to all breeds and competitors.*

Best bull.....$15; 2d best....$10; 3d best....$5
Best cow..... 12; 2d best.... 10; 3d best.... 5

All breeds come together in this class and compete with each other, to be judged by their good points, symmetry of frame, ability to fatten, and the stock they will produce.

CLASS 2—*Grade Cattle, owned in the county.*

Best cow for milk,$10; 2d best $5; 3d best, $3
Best heifer, 2 years old..... 6; 2d best... 5
Best heifer, 3 years old..... 8; 2d best... 5
Best calf, under 8 months old..... 8.

CLASS 3—*Oxen.*

Best yoke of oxen...$10; 2d best...$5; 3d best..$3

CLASS 4—*Fat Cattle.*

Best fat bullock, cow or heifer...$10; 2d best...$5

CLASS 5—*Thoroughbred Horses, open to all.*

Best stallion, any breed.....$15; 2d best...$10
Best mare and colt any breed. 10; 2d best... 8

CLASS 6—*Roiding, Draft and Farm Horses.*

Best saddle horse.....$3; 2d best.....$2
Best single family horse..... 5
Best matched carriage horses..... 5
Best gelding or mare for work..... 5
Best span of draught horses or mares..... 5
Second Best..... 2

The exhibitor is required to produce a statement of least three responsible neighbors as to working qualities of draught horses for premiums in this class.

Best colt under 2 years old....$4; 2d best....$2
Best 2-year-old colt..... 5; 2d best.... 3
Best 3-year-old colt..... 6; 2d best.... 4

The horse that moves the heaviest load on the stone boat, according to his weight, without a whip.....Youatt on the Horse and 7

CLASS 7—*Trotting Horses, open to all.*

Best time, 3 in 5, trotting in single harness...$100

No premium will be paid in this class unless there are ten entries of $5. each. Each horse to not against time.

CLASS 8—*Sweepstakes, open to all—Pacing in harness.*

Best 2 in three, mile heats, against time.....$50

No premium will be awarded in this class unless there are six entries. Entrance fee $15.

CLASS 9—*Trotting in single harness for horses owned in the county at least fifteen days before the Fair.*

Best 3 in 5, mile heats, against time.....$30

No premium awarded in this class unless there are eight entries. Entrance fee $5. The horse winning the premium in class 7, cannot compete or the premium in this class.

CLASS 10—*Trotting horses owned and raised in the county.*

Best 2 in 3, on time, in harness.....$30

No premium awarded in this class unless there are five horses entered to compete for the same. Entrance free.

Best trotting horse or mare under saddle....$3 00
Second best..... 2 00
Best trotting horse or mare in single harness 3 00
Second best..... 2 00
Best walking horse or mare...$5; 2d best... 2 50

CLASS 11—*Trotting colts raised in the county, not exceeding 3 years old, open to all.*

Best 2 in 3, against time.....$20

There must be at least three entries in order to compete for this premium. Entrance free.

CLASS 12—*Sheep and Wool.*

Best buck any breed.....$5; 2d best....$3 00
Best ewe, any breed..... 4 00
Best sheep, fattened for mutton..... 3 00
Best lamb..... 2 00
Best fleece of wool..... 50

CLASS 13—*Swine, open to all.*

Best boar, any breed. Young Farmers Manual & $5
Best breeding sow, any breed.....$5
Second best.....Agriculturist one year.
Best hog.....$3; 2d best.....$2
Best pig under 6 mo's. old...Agriculturist 1 year.

CLASS 14—*Poultry.*

Best coop spring chickens, not less than six, Bonnett's American Poultry Book and..... 50
Best two heaviest turkeys " " 50
Best display of chickens.....$1 00

CLASS 15—*Plowing.*

The man that plows green sward the best.....$20

CLASS 16—*Plows, Rollers, Drills, Harrows and Cultivators.*

Best plow for stubble or sward.....$4
Best subsoil plow.....Barry's Fruit Garden and 2
Best clod crusher and roller combined..... 4
Best grain drill.....Discretionary premium
Best threshing machine...Discretionary premium
Best corn planter.....Discretionary premium
Best Horse rake.....Discretionary premium
Best hay pitching machine.....Discretionary prem
Best stalk and straw cutter....Discretionary prem
Best horse-power, general purpose Discretionary premium.
Best original invention or agricultural implement.....$5
Best side-hill plow.....$1; best cultivator..... 3
Best harrow..... 2; best corn sheller.... 3
Best fanning mill..... 4; best ox yoke..... 1

All articles enumerated in this class, not made in the county, but produced upon exhibition, if worthy of it, will be awarded a discretionary premium by the Executive Committee.

CLASS 17—*Miscellaneous Farming Implements.*

Best Bee hive,...Grimley's Mystery of Bee Keeping
Best ½ dz. hand rakes..$1; best grain cradle..$1 00
Best stump machine.. 5; best potato digger 50
Best hot garden vinery..... 1 00
Best display farming utensils owned by farmer..... 5 00

All articles enumerated in this class are subject to the same rules as class 16.

CLASS 18—*Wheat, Rye, Corn, Barley, Oats, &c.*

Best acre of winter wheat.....$10
Best bushel of winter wheat..... 4
Best bushel of rye..... 2
Best acre of rye.....$8; best bush. corn ears..... 3
Best acre of oats..... 4; best bush. potatoes..... 3
Best ac. buckwheat 4; 2d best " " 3
Best ac. clover seed 3; 2d best " " 1
Best ½ ac. broom corn 2; best ½ acre peas..... 1
Best ½ ac. rutabagas 1; best ½ acre sorghum..... 2
Best acre turnips.. 2; best bushel turnips..... 1
Best acre corn..... 8; best acre carrots..... 1
Best lot of garden tools..... 1
Best half bushel timothy seed..... 1

Crops being equal, preference will be given to those that yield the largest net profit. Statements to be furnished by the exhibitors. They must be measured or weighed, and a sample furnished at the fair. Applicants for premiums must furnish the committee with a statement signed by themselves, under pledge of veracity, of the quantity of grain raised on the ground entered for the premium, and must state as correctly as he can the kind and condition of the previous crops, the kind and quantity of seed sown, and the time and mode of putting it in the ground.

Persons entering field crops for exhibition, or intending to do so, may give notice to the executive committee at any time, and have the field measured and examined by the committee while growing.

CLASS 19—*Bread and Cereal Food.*

Best loaf wheat bread.....Diploma and 50 cents
Best loaf rye bread.....Diploma and 50 cents
Best loaf corn bread.....Diploma and 50 cents
Best sponge cake.....Diploma and 50 cents
Best jelly cake.....Diploma and 50 cents
Best bachelor's cake.....Diploma and 50 cents
Best pie, any kind.....50 cents
Best preserves and jelly....Diploma and 50 cents
Best dis'y jelly & preserves..Diploma and 50 cents
Best pound cake.....Diploma and 50 cents
Best fruit cake.....Diploma and 50 cents
Best coffee cake.....Diploma and 50 cents
Best Lady's cake.....Diploma and 50 cents
Best cake.....Diploma
Best jelly.....Diploma
Best ice cream.....Diploma

CLASS 20—*Butter and Cheese.*

Best five pounds or more, of butter.....$3
Best ten pounds firkin butter..... 3
Best cheese, made by exhibitor..... 1

CLASS 21—*Flour.*

Best 50 pounds wheat flour.....$4
Best fifty pounds rye flour..... 2
Best fifty pounds spring wheat flour..... 1
Best 50 pounds corn meal..... 1
Best 25 pounds buckwheat flour..... 2

CLASS 22—*Domestic Articles.*

Best box or jar of honey.....$1 00
Best 10 pounds of maple sugar..... 2 00
Best peaches put up air tight.....Dip. or 50
Best tomatoes put up air tight.....Dip. or 50
Best black berries put up air tight....Dip. or 50
Best currants put a air tight.....Dip. or 50
Best fancy jar of pickles.....Dip. or 50
Best gal. syrup or sorghum, or each..... 1 00
Best cured ham (cooked with mode of curing).....Dip. or 50
Best dried beef with mode of curing...Dip. or 50

CLASS 23—*Domestic Manufactures.*

Best 18 yards flannel.....$2 00
Best 10 yards satinet..... 2 00
Best 15 yards woolen carpet..... 2 00
Best 10 yards cloth..... 2 00
Best 15 yards rag carpet, woolen chain..... 2 00
Best pair woolen blankets..... 2 00
Best woolen counterpane..... 2 00
Best woolen fringed mitts.....Dip. & 50
Best pair knit woolen stockings....Dip. & 50
Best specimen knitting, knitting or needle work by a Miss a under 11 years old.Dip. & 50
Best pound linen sewing thread.....Dip. & 50
Best pound stocking yarn.....Dip. & 50
Best hat.....50 cents; Best tidy mat.....50

The premiums in this class are intended only for articles manufactured in the county.

The Fair.

CLASS 24—*Needle, Shell, Wax Work, &c.*

Best specimen needle work.....Dip and 50
Best specimen needle work, machine..Dip and 50
Best specimen flowers in worsted.....Dip and 50
Best specimen embroidery in worsted..Dip and 50
Best specimen embroidery in lace.....Dip and 50
Best specimen embroidery in muslin..Dip and 50
Best specimen of leather work.....Dip and 50
Best specimen of wax flowers.....Dip and 50
Best specimen of feather work.....Dip and 50
Best specimen of ornamental work....Dip and 50
Best shirt made by Miss under 12 yrs.Dip and 50
Best patching or mending.....Dip and 50

CLASS 25—*Millinery and Dressmaking.*

Best millinery.....$3. Best dressmaking,$3

CLASS 26—*Artistic Work.*

Best daguerreotypes taken on the ground.. Dip
Best ambrotypes taken on the ground..... Dip
Best photographs taken on the ground .....Dip
Best landscape painting.....$2 00
Best penmanship..... Dip
Best architectural drawing..... 2 00
Best painting in oil..... 2 00
Best portrait painting..... 2 00
Best cattle painting..... 2 00
Best painting in water colors..... 1 00
Best ornamental painting of any kind..... 1 00

CLASS 27—*Designs.*

Best design for farm house, barn, carriage house and stable..Sloan's Ornamental Houses & $5 00
Best design for dairy house...Manual of the Home
Best design for ice house.....$1 50
Best design for fruit house..... 1 50
Best design for bridge, with plan span not less than 250 feet..... 3 00

CLASS 28—*Metallic Fabrics and Machinery.*

Best cooking stove, wood or coal.....$2 00
Second best..... 2 00
Third best..... Dip
Best parlor stove..$2. Best cast-iron fence 3 00
Second best..... 1. Second best..... Dip
Best specimen or lot of tinware..... 2 00
Second best.....Dip and 50
Best specimen blacksmithing..... 2 00
Best specimen gunsmithing..... 2 00
Best specimen iron turning..... 2 00
Best plate casting..$1. Best shower bath.. 1 00
Best original invention in county.....$5 00
Best display of table and pocket cutlery American manufacture..... 1 00
Best display of edge tools..... 1 00
Best display of farming and field tools..... 1 00

The above premiums are offered for articles manufactured in the county. Diplomas may be awarded for any of the above articles on exhibition, without regard to their place of manufacture.

CLASS 29—*Vehicles of all kinds.*

Best family carriage...$4. best timber sled...$2
Best buggy..... 4. Best horse cart..... 1
Best farm wagon..... 4. Best wheelbarrow.. 1
Best sleigh..... 2.

The premiums in this class are intended only for articles manufactured in the county.

CLASS 30—*Cabinet-ware in county.*

Best dressing bureau.$2. Best set of chairs.$2
Best extension table.. 2. Best sofa..... 2
Best variety of chairs, 2. Best centre table... 1
Best bedstead..... 1. Best lounge.....50c
Best washstand .....50c. Best office chair..50c
Best looking glass.....50c
Best set of parlor furniture.....$4 00
Best display of cabinet ware.....Dip and 2 00

CLASS 31—*Coopering and Carpentering, manufactured in the county.*

Best pineware, tubs, stands, etc....Dip and $1 00
Best set of grain measures..... 2 00
Best window blinds.$3. Best specimen sash.. 1 00
Best lot buckets.... 1. Best panel door..... 2 00
Best lot buckets.... 1. Best pump..... 3 00

CLASS 32—*Roots and Garden Vegetables.*

Best ½ bu. rutabagas50c. Best 6 h'ds cabbage.50c
Best ½ bu. carrots..50c. Best 2h'ds cauliflr's .50c
Best 4 ears lake celery,50c. Best variety melons.50c
Best ½ bu. tomatoes 50. Best " squashes, 50c
Best ½ bushel sweet potatoes.....50c
Best quart windsor beans.....50c
Best ½ bushel table beets.....50c

It must be shown that all vegetables have been raised by the exhibitor.

CLASS 33—*Carriers, Saddlers and Shoemakers.*

Best gents' boots and shoes.....$2 00
Best ladys' boots and shoes..... 1 00
Best display of boots and shoes..... 2 00
Best ladys' riding saddle..... 2 00
Best riding bridle and martingale..... 1 00
Best side finished harness leather..... 50
Best robe made by exhibitor..... 1 00
Best carriage harness, $3. Best tug harness 2 00
Best single harness..... 3. Best gents' saddle2 00
Best display saddlery, 4. Best trav'l. trunk 1 00
Best side kip leather, 50c. Best calf skin..... 50
Best side sole leather, 50. Best side upper's. 50

CLASS 34—*Tailors' and Upholsters' Work.*

Best suit of clothes made by hand.....$4 00
Best coat made by a lady..... 1 00
Best pants and vest made by a lady..... 1 00
Best hair mattress$1. Best straw mattress 1 00
Best hair mattress. 2.

CLASS 35—*Printing in County.*

Best newspaper.....$1. Best handbill.....$1 00
Best blank..... 1. Best card..... 1 00
Best ornamental printing..... 5 00

CLASS 36—*Stone Ware.*

Best assortment and best quality.....$5 00

CLASS 37—*Chemicals and Chemical Action in County.*

Best available manure at moderate cost....$1 00
Best available manure for farm products.... 1 00
Best material for glue..50c. Best linseed oil..50c
Best tallow candles .....50c. Best vinegar.....50c
Best specimen of soap..50c. Best writing ink,50c

CLASS 38—*Wood and Stone.*

Best dressed stone...$1. Best millstone...$1 00
Best grindstone..... 1. Butter bowl, Dip & 50c
Best shingles, not less than 50.....$1 00
Best turned article.....50c
Best floor boards, worked.....$1 00
Best washing machine..... 1 00
Best split or shaved hoops..... Dip
Best butter ladle..... Dip
Best weatherboards, worked.....$1 00

CLASS 39—*Natural Minerals.*

Best salt of useful minerals of Clearfield county, including coal.....$2
Best cabinet of minerals of Clearfield and adjoining counties, to be the property of the Society..... 3
Best limestone....50 cts; best collection fossils.. 1
Best fire clay.....50 cts; best burnt lime..... 1
Best potter's clay,50 cts; best coal..... 1

CLASS 40—*Fruit.*

Best display and greatest variety of grafted apples, summer and winter—Husbandman's and American Wines and.....$4 00
Second best..... 2 00
Best display of pears—Cole's American Fruit Book and..... 1 00
Best plums and cherries.....Coal's American Fruit Book.
Best quinces..... 1 00
Best specimen apples, 1 peck..... 1 00
Best specimen American grapes..Manning's Fruit Book.
Best natural grapery raised in county and worthy of culture..... 50
Best domestic wine and mode of manufacture —Fuller's Grape Culture and..... 1 00
Best current wine..Manning's Fruit Book & 1 00
Best blackberry wine..." " " & 1 00
Best gooseberries....." " "

CLASS 41—*Horsemanship.*

To the lady who manages her horse best and sits most gracefully.....Diploma
To the gentleman who manages his horse best and sits most gracefully.....Diploma
Best display of horsemanship not less than five couple.....Diploma
Best driving on the course by a lady.....Diploma
Best company of cavalry.....Diploma
Best company of infantry.....Diploma
Best band with brass instruments.....Diploma
Best martial band.....Diploma
Best ten singers.....Diploma

CLASS 42—*Nurseries.*

Best nursery containing the greatest variety of fruits and shrubs cultivated in the most approved manner, the applicant to furnish written description, the variety and mode of culture.....$3 00
Second best.....Barry's Fruit Garden

CLASS 43—*General List.*

Best display and greatest variety flowers.....Dip
Best display and greatest variety plants.....Dip
Best display of floral ornaments.....Dip
Best basket bouquet, with handle.....Dip
Best hand bouquet.....Dip

☞ Discretionary premiums will be awarded for all articles of merit exhibited by mechanics in all the various branches, and it is hoped a general exhibition will be made. For all improvements useful to the farmer, and having valuable properties, discretionary premiums may be awarded by the Executive Committee.

GEORGE R. BARRETT, President.
I. G. BARRETT, Secretary. A. M. HILLS, Treasurer.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.—Nathaniel Riebel, S. R. Jordan, L. F. Irwin, A. C. Tate, J. A. L. Flegal.

Clearfield, July 23, 1868.

Grape Vines for Sale.

ALL the leading hardy varieties of first quality. CONCORD CUTTINGS, $1 00 per hundred. CONCORD VINES only 10 cents. Orders solicited as soon as convenient, and filled in rotation, by A. M. HILLS.

Clearfield, Pa., August 6, 1868.

THE FOURTEENTH ARTICLE.

Is it Valid or is it Not—Seward's Proclamation.

THE ANNOUNCEMENT.

A very singular proclamation was issued from the Department of State on the 20th of July last, announcing in a conditional manner that the proposed fourteenth amendment had become valid to all intents and purposes as a part of the Constitution, provided something is true which the Secretary of State did not undertake to say is or is not true. This unprecedented event in our constitutional history is calculated to give us pause. For the first time since we had a Constitution, the high officer whose duty it is by law to announce the final adoption of amendments of that instrument is unable or unwilling to say with certainty, on the public facts before him, whether an amendment has been duly ratified by the requisite number of States or not. Whether the want of a positive official announcement by way of legal finding of the fact of adoption is conclusive against the validity of the adoption supposed to have taken place in this instance, it is perhaps not now necessary to inquire. It is, at all events, officially announced that there is a question respecting this matter; and this novel situation leads to inquiry into the grounds of the doubt. How it happens that there should be a doubt, what that doubt is, and how it should be solved, are very grave matters.

THE LOGIC OF FACTS.

The facts of the case are these: There are thirty-seven States in the Union. The ratifications of at least twenty-seven are necessary to the adoption of any amendment. Of the twenty-three States, consisting of Connecticut, New Hampshire, Tennessee, New Jersey, Oregon, Vermont, New York, Ohio, Illinois, West Virginia, Kansas, Maine, Nevada, Missouri, Indiana, Minnesota, Rhode Island, Wisconsin, Pennsylvania, Michigan, Massachusetts, Nebraska and Iowa, which had ratified the amendment before the official announcement, *two*, namely: Ohio and New Jersey, withdrew their ratifications before any of the remaining States had acted. If that withdrawal was rightful, the ratifying States, of those above recited, are 21; if it was not rightful, they are 23. In either case the ratifications of Arkansas, Florida, North Carolina and Alabama, six States, or some of them, were necessary to the adoption of the amendment. If Ohio and New Jersey are not to be counted, the whole of the above six are necessary; if those two States are to be counted, four out of the six are sufficient to make up the requisite number of 27. In either case, therefore, whether Ohio and New Jersey are counted or not counted as ratifying States, no point of time has yet been reached at which this amendment has been ratified by twenty-seven States, unless the ratifications were valid which have been given by the supposed Legislatures of States reconstructed under acts of Congress by the military power of the United States.

A REVIEW OF THE EFFECT THEREOF.

The Secretary of State, after reciting the course of events, and after reciting that the law under which he acts has not made it his duty to decide whether the ratifications of Ohio and New Jersey could be or have been validly withdrawn, or whether "the newly constituted and newly established bodies avowing themselves to be acting as the Legislatures" of the six Southern and reconstructed States could rightfully act on the proposed amendment, nevertheless proceeds to announce that if the States of Ohio and New Jersey are to be counted as ratifying States, notwithstanding their withdrawal, then the amendment has become valid to all intents and purposes as part of the Constitution; thus appearing to decide *one* of the very questions which he said in the former part of his proclamation it was not his province to decide. I do not know whether he intended to be understood as expressing the opinion that the ratifications by those bodies which he calls "newly constituted," and which I shall call *pretended* Legislatures, are valid, and at the same time to say that his official duty did not require him to pass upon that question. By the terms of his proclamation he has expressed his opinion officially that the amendment has been duly adopted, *if* the withdrawals of Ohio and New Jersey of their previous ratifications, are to be disregarded. But it is as clear as figures can make it that whether Ohio and New Jersey are counted in or counted out, if the ratifications of the pretended Legislatures of the six Southern States are valid, the amendment has been adopted; otherwise it has not been adopted. In this aspect of the official announcement, any citizen may be at liberty to examine the subject for himself or others; and considering the very peculiar character of the official announcement, the question is open before any public body, tribunal, or official, that may have to act upon it, and before the public intelligence.

WHAT THE FRAMERS OF THE CONSTITUTION DESIGNED.

When the framers of the Constitution provided for its amendment by the Legislatures of three-fourths of the States, they carefully avoided every species of coercion in the process of reaching the requisite three-fourths. They thought it enough to make a proposed amendment binding on all the States after it had been adopted by three-fourths of the States. In the process of securing its adoption, they left every State perfectly free to ratify or to reject. They provided no mode by which a Legislature could be *packed*, under the direction, or by the influence of the Congress that had proposed an amendment; and they added to this power of proposing amendments no power of dictating that a State should gain or lose anything in the way of its Federal privileges by acceding to the wishes of the Congress in respect to the amendment. It would seem, therefore, to be a sound general proposition that when the ratification of a State has been procured by Congressional erection of a Legislature specially constructed to bring about the adoption of an amendment of the Federal Constitution, and when the State has been told that until it ratifies that amendment it shall not be represented in Congress, a species of force has been used, in fraud of the freedom of the State and of the rights of other States, and the proceeding cannot be valid. If this proposition were not true, what is to prevent Congress having the power of proposing amendments from setting up in any State a new Legislature specially constructed to carry an amendment, or from saying to any existing Legislature that it must adopt the amendment or retire from the Union? Nothing but a pretext for "reconstructing" the State would be needful, and if recent precedents are to govern, such pretexts could be easily found.

NEGRO SUFFRAGE THE OBJECT OF RECONSTRUCTION.

The process by which these "newly constituted bodies," as Mr. Seward calls them, have become Legislatures of the several Southern States, has been through a forcible interference by Congress, for the purpose of packing a Legislature that would ratify a certain proposed amendment to the Constitution of the United States. In support of this assertion let it be remembered that the fourteenth amendment was proposed by Congress in June, 1866, nine months before the passage of the first "reconstruction" act. Before the end of February, 1867, it was rejected by the Legislatures of all the Southern States whose ratifications are now claimed for it; and as only twenty of the remaining States had ratified it, and public opinion respecting it had begun to change, the prospect of its establishment, without coercive measures, was very slim. Thereupon, March 23, 1867, Congress passed the first "reconstruction" act. What was the object of this act? Plainly and on its face, its great leading object was to compel the adoption of an amendment of the Federal Constitution, whereby universal negro suffrage should be brought about, or those of the Southern States that refused to establish it should be kept out of Congress. Accordingly, the act proceeded to declare that there then was no legal State governments in those States; thereby in effect declaring that their rejection of the proposed amendment was a nullity. The act then denominated them "rebel" States, although the rebellion had been ended for more than a year, and the States and people were doing all they could do to resume their normal Federal relations. The act further declared those States "subject to the military authority of the United States," and put them absolutely under military control. It then required as conditions precedent to the enjoyment of any representation in Congress that a State constitution should be framed by a Convention elected by the adult males of "whatever race, color, or previous condition;" that this Constitution should provide for universal suffrage; that it should be submitted for ratification to the same body of votors of "whatever race, color, or previous condition;" that the Legislature established under it should ratify the proposed fourteenth amendment of the Constitution of the United States; and that when, and not before, that amendment had become adopted by a sufficient number of States to make it a part of the Constitution, the particular "rebel" State which had duly complied with the above conditions might be declared entitled to representation in Congress. In order to prostrate any civil power that might be supposed to stand in the way of the execution of this scheme, the civil governments then existing in those States were declared by the act to be "provisional" only, and were subjected to "the paramount authority of the United States at any time to abolish, modify, control, or supersede the same!"

THE INIQUITY OF IT.

The stupendous assumption of power, and the several features of the scheme, disclose a manifest purpose to force an alteration of the Constitution of the United States which it had become plain could not be brought about if the States were left to their constitutional freedom of will. On the one hand, the Radical leaders in Congress saw that negro suffrage, even if by any contrivance it could be got into the Constitution of any Southern State, would have a precarious existence; that the Constitution of the United States must be brought to bear upon the subject; that this could be done only by such a plan as that embodied in the fourteenth amendment—namely, to put the States under the constraint of a reduction of their representative basis, in case they should withhold suffrage from the blacks. An amendment of the Federal Constitution directly prescribing universal suffrage could not be ventured upon; for it was plain that it could not be carried. But an indirect mode of forcing the same result had some chance of success; for the States accounted "rebel" could be put under the restraint of the "military authority of the United States," and the remaining States which had not yet ratified the amendment could be operated upon through their earnest desire to see the Union fully restored and to have the Southern States again present in Congress. Hence we can account for the otherwise unaccountable part of this extraordinary scheme, which absolutely suspended the full restoration of the Union upon the final adoption of the amendment by a sufficient number of States to make it a part of the Constitution.

HOW IT WORKED.

These purposes, manifest on the face of the first "reconstruction" act and the public history of the times, were followed up in the supplemental acts of March 23 and July 19, 1867, which provided the military machinery for executing these purposes, and for more effectually subjecting the Southern States to the military power and "the paramount authority of Congress." Officers of the army, backed by sufficient troops, were entrusted with the duty of bringing about the adoption of an amendment of the Constitution of the United States, in ten States made subject until its adoption to the absolute will of military commanders and kept excluded from Congress and from the right of self-government, and the enjoyment of civil government, until that amendment had become a part of the fundamental law of the Union. Bold and apparently well contrived as the scheme was, it was a dangerous one in respect to its possible issues; for when its execution began, the fourteenth amendment had been ratified by only twenty States, and public opinion respecting it was liable to change. It did change so rapidly in two of the States, Ohio and New Jersey, that Legislatures were chosen under implicit instructions to withdraw the ratifications previously given, and this was done, and done in season. Moreover, of the States not accounted "rebel," only one more has ratified the amendment, making twenty-three in all, if Ohio and New Jersey are to be counted as having ratified it. Setting aside the question, therefore, in relation to Ohio and New Jersey, the validity of the supposed adoption of this amendment as part of the Constitution turns upon the manner in which it has been forced through the States called "rebel," while subject to the military power of the United States, and to the paramount authority of Congress" and under the coercion of conditions attending the actions of those States upon it.

IS THE CONSTITUTION TO BE THUS TINKERED AT?

Will the people of the United States admit that their National Constitution is subject to alteration by such a process as this? Will the jurists of this country hold that coercion applied by military power, exercised under an asserted "paramount authority of Congress," for the purpose of compelling a seeming ratification of an amendment which Congress desires to have adopted, does not affect the validity of the proceeding? Will any publicist of reputation assert that the Constitution is liable to be changed by the action of States which are not represented in Congress, which are denied the privileges of civil government, and which at the very moment of acting on a proposed amendment are held as conquered provinces under the will of military commanders, and their standing as members of the Union suspended upon the final adoption of the amendment by a sufficient number of all the States to reach the requisite three-fourths? Will any such person say that when the Constitution speaks of the "Legislature" of a State as the body to ratify an amendment it means a Legislature picked by Congress in order to secure the adoption of the amendment? Will he say that the Constitution has conferred on Congress any function but to "propose" amendments, or that it has empowered Congress to use any influence whatever in regard to their adoption?

COMPULSION IS FRAUD.

Walking by such lights as a faithful study of jurisprudence has enabled me to have—I profess no other guide, and follow this in humble deference to the "paramount authority"—I had supposed that when an act is to be done, by a body politic or a private person, which is to be done by the exercise of a free will, the mere presence of constraint or menace of any kind, to affect that will, renders the act invalid. I had supposed that force or compulsion, in any form, is a fraud, and that no advantage can be taken of a consent which has been obtained by fraud. I had been taught by the masters of the law of all ages that consent without freedom of the will is no consent; and from the great men who established our institutions—who digged for us the perennial well of our liberties, and bade us drink of it for all generations—I had learned, or believed I had learned, that perfect freedom from all restraint, compulsion or undue influence, is the very essence of all lawful changes in our constitutional system. So, I am sure, they meant their system to be understood and acted upon; and so, I am equally confident, their descendants must regard it, if they mean to preserve their liberties.

A FEARFUL PRECEDENT.

This precedent is of fearful import. We are told that the Constitution of the United States has been changed, in respect to the representative basis of the States; that the rule which we received from its framers, allowing the States to be represented in proportion to the relative number of their inhabitants, has been modified by the introduction of a new principle, which reduces the representative basis of any State that will not allow the right of suffrage to every adult male, of any race, color or previous condition. We know that some States can limit and regulate suffrage and not lose any part of their Congressional representation, and that others cannot do so. When we come to inquire how this change in a uniform and equitable rule of the Constitution has been brought about, we find that it has been effected by Legislatures erected by direct Congressional interference and the exercise of military power, and that the primary object of that interference was to compel the adoption of this amendment, in order to make the unrestrained suffrage of negroes as perpetual as Federal power can make it.

THE FOURTEENTH AMENDMENT OPENS THE DOOR TO FURTHER CHANGES FOR PARTY PURPOSES.

If, therefore, this amendment is a valid part of the Constitution, the precedent has put the Const