Miscellaneous.

WILLIAM M. HENRY, JUSTICE OF THE PEACE AND ... LUMBER CITY. Collections made ... promptly paid over. Articles of agreement and deeds of conveyance neatly executed and warranted correct or no charge. 23jy'72

BOOT AND SHOE MAKING.

JOSEPH H. DERRING, on Market Street, in Shaw's Row, Clearfield, Pa., has just received a fine lot of French Calf Skins and Kips, the best in the market, and is now prepared to make aftersure everything in his line. He will warrant his work to be as represented. ... for sale.

The citizens of Clearfield and vicinity are respectfully invited to give him a call.

Work done at short notice. 7|16'72ly

FOR SALE.—

The undersigned will sell at private sale all that tract or parcel of land situate in Decatur township, Clearfield county, Pa., within a short distance of the Tyrone & Clearfield R. R., an adjoining lands of Robert Hudson and others and known as the Jacob B. Gearhart lot. The said tract containing 60 acres more or less, with two veins of valuable coal thereon, has about 30 acres cleared, and is the key to a large body of coal about being developed. Will be sold low and upon easy terms. For particulars, apply to

DAVID L. KREBS.

Clearfield, Pa., July 12, 1876.

DANIEL GOODLANDER,

LUTHERSBURG, PA.,

Dealer in

DRY GOODS, NOTIONS

HOSIERY & GLOVES,

HATS & CAPS and BOOTS & SHOES,

Tobacco, Groceries and Fish, Nails, Hardware, Queensware and Glassware, Men's and Boys' Clothing, Drugs, Paints, Oils, School Books, a large lot of Patent Medicines, Candies, Nuts & Dried Fruits, Cheese and Crackers, Rock and Rifle Powder,

Flour, Grain and Potatoes,

Clover and Timothy Seed,

Sole Leather, Morocco, Linings, Findings and Thread, Shoemakers' Tools and Shoe Findings.

No greater variety of goods in any store in the county. All for sale very low for cash or country produce at the Cheap Corner. May 1, 1875.

HUEY & CHRIST,

SOLE PROPRIETORS OF THE

CELEBRATED

AND

DR. STŒVER'S

TONIC HERB BITTERS.

SEND FOR PRICE LIST.

HUEY & CHRIST,

121 N. 3d Street,

PHILADELPHIA

March 29, 1876-6m

Hardware, & Tinware.

POWELL & MORGAN.

DEALERS IN

HARDWARE,

Also, Manufacturers of

Tin and Sheet Iron Ware.

CLEARFIELD, PA.

FARMING IMPLEMENTS of all kinds for sale by POWELL & MORGAN.

RAILROAD WHEELBARROWS for sale by POWELL & MORGAN.

OIL, PAINT, PUTTY, GLASS Nails, etc., for sale by POWELL & MORGAN.

HARNESS TRIMMINGS & SHOE Findings, for sale by POWELL & MORGAN.

GUNS, PISTOLS SWORD CANES For sale by POWELL & MORGAN.

STOVES, OF ALL SORTS AND Sizes, for sale by POWELL & MORGAN.

IRON! IRON! IRON! IRON! For sale by POWELL & MORGAN.

HORSE SHOES & HORSE SHOE NAILS, for sale by POWELL & MORGAN.

PULLEY BLOCKS, ALL SIZES And best Manufacture, for sale by POWELL & MORGAN.

THIMBLE SKEINS AND PIPE BOXES, for sale by POWELL & MORGAN.

SACKETT & SCHRYVER

DEALERS IN

HARDWARE,

and manufacturers of

TIN, COPPER & SHEET IRON WARE,

Second Street, Clearfield, Pa.

Having refitted our store room and doubled our stock, we are prepared to offer bargains to purchasers in our line. We have decided to do a

Strictly Cash Business,

and can therefore sell at greatly reduced prices

Carpenters and persons who contemplate building will do well to examine our

Tools and Building Hardware,

which is new and of the best manufacture.

We keep a large stock of

NAILS,	LOCKS,
GLASS,	LATCHES,
PUTTY,	HINGES,
GLUE,	SCREWS,

All kinds of Bench Planes, Saws, Chisels, Squares Hammers, Hatchets, Plumbs and Levels, Mortised & Thumb Gauges, Bevels, Brazes & Bits, Wood and Iron Bench Screws, and the best Boring Machine in the market.

Double and Single Bitt Axes,

POCKET CUTLERY, &c.

Agents for Burnell's Iron Corn Sheller, warranted.

Also, agents for Richards'

GOTHIC FLUE TOPS,

which effectually cure Smoky Flues.

Farm Implements, Garden Tools, of every description.

A large variety of

COOK STOVES,

which we warrant to give satisfaction.

Portable Ranges and Furnaces.

Roofing, Spouting and Job Work done on reasonable terms. All orders will receive prompt attention. Plumbing and gas fitting attended to by experienced workmen. May 8, 1876.

Dry Goods, Groceries, Etc.

HARD TIMES

HAVE NO EFFECT

IN FRENCHVILLE!

I am aware that there are some persons a little hard to please, and I am also aware that the complaints ... former and prove conclusively that "hard times" will not effect those who buy their goods from me, and all my patrons shall be initiated into the se...

HOW TO AVOID HARD TIMES

I have goods enough to supply all the inhabitants in the lower end of the county which I sell exceeding low rates from my mammoth store in HULSONBURG, where I am always be found ready to wait upon callers and supply them with

Dry Goods of all Kinds,

such as Cloths, Satinetts, Cassimeres, Muslins, Delaines, Linsey, Drillings, Calicoes, Trimming, Ribbons, Lace,

Ready-made Clothing, Boots and Shoes, Hats and Caps—all of the best material and made to order—Hose, Socks, Gloves, Mittens, Laces, Ribbons, &c.

GROCERIES OF ALL KINDS.

Coffee, Tea, Sugar, Rice, Molasses, Fish, Salt Pork, Linseed Oil, Fish Oil, Carbon Oil.

Hardware, Queensware, Tinware, Castings, Plows and Plow Castings, Nails, Spikes, Corn Cultivators, Cider Presses, and all kinds of Axes.

Perfumery, Paints, Varnish, Glass, and a general assortment of Stationery.

GOOD FLOUR,

of different brands, always on hand, and will be sold at the lowest possible figures.

J. H. McClain's Medicines, Jayne's Medicines Hostetter's and Hoofland's Bitters.

5000 pounds of Wool wanted for which the highest price will be paid. Cloverseed in hand and for sale at the lowest market price.

Also, Agent for Strattonville and Curwensville Threshing Machines.

Call and see for yourselves. You will find everything usually kept in a retail store.

L. M. COUDRIET.

Frenchville P. O., August 12, 1874.

REMOVAL!

JOHN McGAUGHEY

Would respectfully notify the public generally that he has removed his Grocery Store from Shaw's Row, to the building formerly occupied by J. Miles Kratzer, on Second street, next door to Bigler's hardware store, where he intends keeping a full line of

GROCERIES.

HAMS, DRIED BEEF and LARD.

SUGARS and SYRUPS, of all grades.

TEAS, Green and Black.

COFFEE, Roasted and Green.

FLOUR AND PROVISIONS,

CANNED FRUITS,

All kinds in the market.

PICKLES, in jars and barrels.

SPICES, in every form and variety.

FAMILY FLOUR,

ALL KINDS OF CRACKERS.

SOAPS,

MATCHES,

DRIED APPLES,

DRIED PEACHES,

DRIED CHERRIES,

Coal Oil and Lamp Chimneys.

And a good assortment of those things usually kept in a grocery store, which he will exchange for marketing at the market prices.

Will sell for cash as cheaply as any other one.

Please call and see his stock and judge for yourself.

JOHN McGAUGHEY.

Clearfield, Jan. 5, 1876.

GROCERIES.

JAS. H. LYTLE,

(Successor to LYTLE & MITCHELL)

WHOLESALE AND RETAIL

DEALER IN

CHOICE LINE OF TEAS.

OOLONGS,

JAPANS,

IMPERIAL,

YOUNG HYSON,

ENGLISH BREAKFAST

Purest in Market.

BUTTER AND EGGS

Will be kept and sold at first cost. Cash paid for Country Produce.

GERMAN CHERRIES,

TURKEY PRUNES,

PRESERVED PEARS,

PHILADELPHIA HAMS.

FISH.

Mackerel, Lake Herring, Cod, &c.

PICKLES.

Barrel Pickles and English Pickles.

FLOUR AND FEED.

Flour, Corn Meal, Oat Meal, &c.

mch1'75 JAS. H. LYTLE.

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Complete in 16 Volumes.

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For further information address

J. H. WILLIAMSON,

Publisher's agent, 149 Sixth street,

June 29, 1876-1y. Pittsburgh, Pa.

THE REPUBLICAN.

CLEARFIELD, PA

WEDNESDAY MORNING, JAN. 5, 1877.

DEMOCRATIC STATE COMMITTEE MEETING.

GOVERNOR BIGLER'S ADDRESS.

In accordance with a previous call issued by Chairman ... the committee met at Harrisburg, on the 21st, for the purpose of advising and counseling together and to take such steps as the party may decide is the proper ... The following gentlemen answered to the roll call:

Adams—Daniel Grimelman.
Allegheny—F. M. Hutchinson, J. L. Guthrie, Col. P. N. Guthrie, James P. Barr, T. O'Leary, John Coyle and Wm. McClelland.
Bedford—E. Y. Kerr.
Berks—S. E. Ancona and H. M. Keim.
Blair—R. W. Guthrie, Colonel J. C. Everhart.
George Stroup and T. Brophy.
Bucks—W. H. H. Davis.
Centre—P. Gray Meek.
Chester—R. E. Monaghan.
Clearfield—Wm. Bigler and M. R. McGrath.
Crawford—H. J. Humes.
Cumberland—R. J. Haldeman, J. B. Bratton, B. K. Goodyear and M. Williams.
Dauphin—E. B. Cobaugh, R. L. Maenes, A. P. Lash, B. F. Meyers, W. C. Morgan, John H. Fisher and John W. Brown.
Erie—John W. Walker.
Greene—J. P. Temple and Wm. J. Dayard.
Huntingdon—J. Simpson Africa.
Jefferson—Kennedy L. Blood.
Juniata—Amos G. Bonsall and T. P. Garman.
Lancaster—H. M. North, A. J. Steinman, W. H. Grier and W. U. Hensel.
Lehigh—S. A. Bridges.
Luzerne—C. L. Lamberton and M. A. Duffy.
Lycoming—H. H. Cummin.
Mercer—P. J. Pierce.
Mifflin—A. Reed.
Montgomery—J. B. Hickinson.
Northampton—J. D. Hess.
Perry—J. A. Magee.
Philadelphia—Wm. M. Reilly, George W. Biddle, Daniel M. Fox, A. Sidney Biddle, E. R. Worrell, John Cadwalader, Jr., S. G. Thompson, Samuel Dickson, John R. Read, Dr. E. Morwitz, Richard Vaux and Geo. St. Clair A. Mulholland.
Schuylkill—M. Beard.
Tioga—J. L. Saxton, Jr.
Venango—J. M. Callister.
Westmoreland—John Lutz and C. F. Worden.
York—N. M. Wanner and John B. Gibson.

Below we publish in full the report of ex-Governor Bigler on the state of affairs in Louisiana:

To the Democratic State Committee. Captain Wm. McClelland, Chairman:

I considered myself greatly honored in being selected, with others, to go to Louisiana to counsel peace and a fair and honest return of the votes cast at the late election in that State, and I think that I can safely say that I never entered upon any public trust with a more sincere desire to promote the welfare of my country.

The first remarkable institution that attracted our attention was the famous returning board. We found it constituted on principles at variance with our notions of Republican simplicity. Its members had been selected by the State Senate, not during good behavior, or the pleasure of that or any other body, but for life. They were, in addition, clothed with authority to fill all vacancies that might occur from time to time, so that the board itself might have an unlimited existence.

The next most alarming thing brought to our attention was the extent to which the State Administration can supervise and control the elections. From the highest to the lowest the election officers are responsible to the administration. The supervisors of registration, whose duty it is to register the voters of the several parishes are appointed annually by the Governor. They select their own assistants, and appoint three commissioners to hold the elections in each district. These commissioners should be from both political parties. But there seems to be never less than two and often three Republicans in the same district. The supervisors are clothed with authority to fix the places of holding the elections in the several parishes, and change them at pleasure. This extraordinary power, it is alleged, is often abused in the interests of the Republican party.

Registration is a primary qualification for the elector. No man need approach the polls without his certificate of registration. The commissioners preside over the election. They receive the votes and at the close of the election count them. It is also their duty to make out duplicate lists of the votes cast and the names of the persons for whom cast and deliver one of them, sealed up, to the district court and the other to the supervisor of registration, whose duty it is it to forward the same to the returning board by mail. Under these forms the late election was held. Republican officers first decided who should vote. They received and counted the vote cast, and when the returns were opened and counted it turned out that this party, who did everything in its own way, had been emphatically defeated. The highest Tilden elector over the lowest Hayes elector had 9,957 majority. The total vote of the State was 166,000. An equal percentage on the total vote of Pennsylvania would exceed 40,000 and on that of New York 60,000. Had this majority been for Hayes, or had he received 500 instead of 9,900 or the one-tenth of one hundred, his right to the electoral vote of the State would have been promptly conceded. It was too obvious for dispute that this result was a serious disappointment to the administration, hence the straits to which the returning board was put to reverse the decision of the people. We have shown you that there could be no reasonable presumption against the vote cast by the Conservative party, and, indeed, there was no testimony impeaching the legality of the votes cast in any part of the State, except as to two wards in the city of New Orleans, and as to these the contest was finally abandoned, so that it was agreed on all sides, that the 166,000 votes had been cast by citizens having a legal right to vote.

As anticipated by those who had witnessed the proceedings of the returning board at former elections, it reversed the decision made by the vote actually cast and declared the State for Gov. Hayes by over 4,500 majority. It was difficult to witness the consummation of such a wrong without calling for the interposition of some power to avert its effects; but we were told that the judiciary of the State would not interpose, and that the decisions of the returning board must be accepted, like the laws of the Medes and Persians, as unchangeable. We have shown you that it was conceded on all sides that the total vote cast was legal, and yet the board to bring about the result it has announced had to disfranchise over 15,000 of these legal voters, notwithstanding the letter of the Constitution of the United States to the contrary. Justification for this action of the board is sought for in allegations of riots, tumults and other acts of violence, producing such measures of intimidation as deterred an equal or a larger number of Republicans from attending the election. The first great fact in the way of the reasonableness of this conclusion is that the total vote of the State was 15,000 larger than that cast at any former election, and the next is that the aggregate vote in the principal districts and parishes thrown out by the returning board was unusually large.

With regard to intimidation, it is a mistake to conclude that the riots, tumult and other acts of violence amounting to intimidation, to have any legal effect under the law, must occur on the day of the election. I was under this impression myself; but if these acts occur at any time after the commencement of the registration in August the penalty is all the same. It is also an error to conclude that acts of violence, a knowledge of which may come to the board, no matter in what form or what time, will justify it in rejecting votes. On this point the law is very clear, and all parties are agreed as to its meaning. Unless the commissioner of election or the supervisor of registration, at the time of making out the returns, attach thereto statements, under oath, setting forth that there have been "riots, tumults, acts of violence, intimidation, bribery or corrupt influence preventing or tending to prevent a fair, free, peaceful and full vote of all the qualified electors, and have the same corroborated by three respectable citizens of such district, under oath," then and in such cases the returning board must canvass and count the vote as it comes to them. Without these preliminary steps it cannot deduct a single vote; and to the end that our Republican neighbors may see that this opinion is not peculiar to myself, I offer the opinion of the 44 of the Republican Congressional Committee of 1874, composed of the names of Messrs. Hoar, W. A. Wheeler, Frye, Foster and others. They expressed themselves as follows, to wit:

"We are all clearly of the opinion that the returning board had no right to do anything except to canvass and compile the returns which were lawfully made to them by local officers, except in cases where they were accompanied by the certificates of the supervisor or commissioner provided in the third section. In such cases the last sentence of that section shows that it was expected that they would ordinarily exercise the grave and delicate duty of investigating charges of riot, tumult, bribery or corruption, on a hearing of the parties interested in the office. It never could have been meant that this board, of its own motion, sitting in New Orleans, at a distance from the place of voting, and without notice, could decide the right of persons claiming to be elected."

Our associates at New Orleans, Gov. Palmer, Judge Trumbull, George B. Smith, George W. Julian and P. H. Watson, among the ablest lawyers in the country, concur in the foregoing opinion. The last named gentleman are also clearly of opinion, in which we concur, that the legal steps necessary to vest the board with judicial or discretionary authority over the returns were regularly taken in a very few, if in any of the voting districts examined from the count. They say the law has not been complied with; most of the supervisors who have put in complaints have not done so at the proper time and at the proper parish; they have not annexed them to their returns, sealed and sent them by mail; they have brought these returns to New Orleans with no statements so annexed, but have patched up statements here at an improper time and at improper place. They could only fulfil their duty according to law by furnishing their returns and attached statements sealed up, and mailed them in one envelope, at one of their parish postoffices, within the time required by law. Nothing more scandalous was developed than the utter disregard of the law requiring supervisors to send their returns to the board within a limited period by mail. It was known to us that the returns were carried about in the city for days if not weeks, and as to those from at least one parish they were found in one of the hotels open to the inspection of everybody. But there is no room for dispute on these points, for the chairs of the board made frequent reports showing what returns had not been received by the board, which amounted to conclusive evidence that the law requiring the returns to be sent by mail had not been complied with. That the returns were being tampered with was conclusively shown by the disgraceful development about those from the parish of De Soto, where the package post-marked the 14th of November was found to contain affidavits charging intimidation, dated the 25th of the same month, at New Orleans. Other similar frauds were detected. Nothing went further to convince us of a purpose to do wrong than the practice of laying over returns on informal and insufficient complaint to be considered in secret session after the patches to which there was no objection had been disposed of. Had disputed cases been settled as they arose, the witnesses could have seen what legal principles, if any, were applied in each case. But the whole mass of disputed cases were laid over and finally disposed of in the absence of the witnesses. If the board had a fixed purpose to accomplish, it was probably more convenient for them to bring it about without being troubled with either the law or the witnesses.

As to lawlessness and crime in Louisiana, to my mind the crowning shame to those in authority is that crime is seldom, if ever, punished. It is beyond our comprehension that with the executive and judicial officers alleging that the State has been redeemed from the ... of these crimes are never detected and punished. If it were possible to separate the crimes arising from mere lawlessness from those inspired by political animosities much of the testimony ... crimes committed by bad colored men on their own race could be picked out this alone would relieve the white people from much that is unjustly charged against them. As for acts of violence to produce political intimidation, it has been overstated on both sides. The most effective of all, so far as we could discover, was that of colored Republicans against the colored Conservatives who desired to vote for Tilden and Nichols. The colored Republicans being usually in the majority and having the countenance of all the State, federal and election officers and soldiers were not easily intimidated, and they usually voted as they desired; whereas the colored Conservatives, having less support, were not so courageous. My associates and myself came to the conclusion that the Republican managers, having all the election machinery, the federal officers and the army, had more than held their own in the matter of intimidation. That there is a growing intimidation among the best class of colored people—the tax payers—to abandon the Republican party, especially the State party, is too obvious to be concealed.

Governor Kellogg said to some of our party the day after our arrival at New Orleans that there were not twenty colored men in the State who had voted the Democratic ticket, whereas our rooms during all the time of our sojourn there were frequented, and at times crowded with colored men from all parts of the State, who came to explain their reasons for leaving the Republican party. They said it had deceived them, and that the State administration was prodigal and corrupt in the use of the public money; that the school fund had been used for political purposes; that taxes were too onerous; that live and property were not protected and crime seldom punished. Some of these men represented organized bodies who had gone over to the Conservative side. Although both Committees from the North staid at the same hotel, I think I can say, without risk of exaggeration, that ten colored men visited our rooms for every one who called at the Republican quarters. These men seemed to have a real desire to compare views with the great men who headed the Republican organization in the days of its progress and glory. They knew Mr. Julian as an early, able and courageous Abolitionist. They had heard of Gov. Curtin as the patriotic war Governor of Pennsylvania, who had met the demand of Mr. Lincoln with such prompt fidelity. Gov. Palmer many of them knew personally as an eminent Union General during the war, and they had heard of Judge Trumbull as the leader of the Republicans in the United States Senate and P. H. Watson as Assistant Secretary of War under Stanton. They were naturally impressed with the idea that if these great lights of their old party found it necessary to make common cause with the Democrats to redeem the country from intolerable evils poor colored men might be indulged in the same privilege. These men scouted the idea so common in the North, that it was only necessary to look at the course to find the Republican strength in Louisiana, holding that where the colored citizens outnumbered the whites the vote must stand in the same ratio. They confessed to the correctness of this rule at the beginning, but said it was far otherwise at the late election. Some went so far as to say that if there had been no Presidential election a majority of colored people would have voted for the Democratic candidate for Governor, so sick were they of the state of affairs. No issue of late seemed to understand the condition of things better than these men, and their testimony, if taken in legal form, would put to shame most of that sent to Washington by the Returning Board.

As to the testimony it is voluminous and cannot be dealt with in this paper. That of Elisha Pinkston probably created more excitement in the North than that of all others besides, and it has already become a reproach to those who got it up. It was a horrible murder, but had no necessary or incidental connection with politics. That testimony of Major Burton, a Republican and the military commander at West Feliciana, showing that peace and good order prevailed not only on the day of election, but from the beginning of registration, was contradicted by ready-made testimony at the custom house, and the parish was thrown out of the count. A Republican is of no more consequence than a Democrat before that board when he gets in the way of the purposes it has determined to accomplish.

In conclusion permit me to say that President Grant never uttered a sober sentiment than that contained in his dispatch to General Sherman, dated at Philadelphia, November 10, when he said: "Either party can afford to be disappointed in the result, but the country cannot afford to have the result tainted by the suspicion of illegal or false returns." The election of Governor Hayes, for whom I have had much personal respect, by the decision of the Louisiana Returning Board, reversing the vote actually cast, would be in the estimation of all the world, be an election tainted with fraud. WM. BIGLER.

The following resolution was passed:

Resolved, That the thanks of this meeting are due and hereby tendered to the gentlemen who visited the South to counsel the peace and a fair and honest count of the vote actually cast.

After the adoption of the address which we published yesterday, and which, owing to some inaccuracies in telegraphing, we republish below corrected, the meeting adjourned to be convened at the call of the chairman:

THE COMMITTEE'S ADDRESS.

To the People of Pennsylvania:

We address you in that spirit of patriotism which is common to all the citizens of this Commonwealth. The political condition of our country is fraught with impending peril. The expression by the people of their intention to support these constitutional means which will settle the issue made on the question of the Presidency may prevent what otherwise all will deplore. Whatever violates either the letter or the spirit of the constitution, tends to weaken and destroy our government. There is not a question or a measure relating to the peace and happiness of the whole people exciting controversy and portending discord for which the constitution fails to provide.

The election of a President and Vice-President of the United States is a high and solemn duty of the people of the several States. To attempt to evade obedience to the popular will by any effort to distort the meaning of the constitution, or by interpretation of law to seek to set up barriers against the free of this declared will is subtituting revolutionary expedients for constitutional methods. The Senate and House of Representatives of the United States have by the constitution the sole and exclusive power to settle all questions which relate to the validity of the electoral vote of the several States. In no event of the contitution gives the House of Representatives the power to elect a President. We therefore earnestly invoke from you every effort cognizable by law in the assertion and support of the constitutional methods by which is to be determined who are the lawfully elected President of the United States.

We invite those who feel the present danger to aid in all lawful means which may induce the Senators and Representatives of the States and people in Congress assembled to obey the plain intent and meaning of the Constitution and laws, and not in defiance thereof attempt to place in high offices of the government men whose title is tainted with fraud. As free citizens of this Commonwealth we suggest that you consider those measures which such a contingency may invite or command.

We believe a large number of our citizens, who are too patriotic to be bound by the designs of the managers of the present administration of the general government, are prepared openly to condemn the disposition they manifest to plunge the country into a sea of dangers, rather than return to the people the trust committed to them for a specific period of a Presidential term.

If the people will with courage and calmness, in full faith in their sovereignty as the source of all political power, make these declarations, then their servants may listen and obey.

Believing that these opinions are entertained by all honest and patriotic citizens, we declare.

First, That Samuel J. Tilden and Thomas A. Hendricks were on the 7th day of November last elected President and Vice President of the United States. Self gratulation has no part in this our solemn statement of the fact upon which we intend to rest our future conduct.

And secondly, That we call upon the members of both houses of Congress, to adopt such lawful means as may lead to the official declaration of the fact that Mr. Tilden and Mr. Hendricks have been elected; and we urge them to resist with all their power the proposal to settle the ascertainment of a fact already accomplished by a reference of it to any other tribunal than that already appointed to decide it by the Constitution of the United States.

EX-GOVERNOR CURTIN ENDORSES EX-GOVERNOR BIGLER'S LETTER.

PHILADELPHIA, Dec. 22, 1876.—*Hon. William Bigler*—MY DEAR SIR:—I thank you for the admirable and unanswerable presentation of the truth relative to the shameless fraud perpetrated by Governor Kellogg and his obedient returning board of Louisiana, in your address I have just read. Many of the most important facts so strikingly stated by you came under my own notice while with you in New Orleans, and the whole statement is so dispassionate and conclusive that it must command the profound attention of the people of Pennsylvania.

Very truly yours,

A. G. CURTIN.

If we will take the good we find, asking no questions, we will have heaping measures. The great gifts are not got by analysis. Everything good is on the highway. The middle region of our being is the temperate zone.

Indolence is a distressing state; we must be doing something to be happy. Action is no less necessary than thought to the instinctive tendencies of a human frame.

Prosperity shines on different persons much in the same way that the sun shines on different objects; some it hardens like mud, while others it softens like wax.

WHAT IS INTIMIDATION?

A STRONG LETTER FROM HORACE WHITE.

To the Editor of the Chicago Tribune:

Any result of the pending Presidential election which shall be reached without harm to the processes under which our elections are held and our institutions maintained will not only be acquiesced in by the people, but welcomed by the larger portion of both political parties. Any result which should ... those processes would be a grave peril to the country and will bring condign punishment upon the party guilty of so grave a crime.

Among the processes by which our institutions are maintained, the most important is that of frequent popular elections, and the most important of these is the Presidential election. We are now brought, for the first time, to a state of facts which threatens to substitute, in place of popular elections, the views of the returning board. This I call a threatened subversion of the processes by which our institutions are maintained, in comparison with which the election of Hayes or of Tilden is of no consequence. Whether Hayes or Tilden be elected, the people can, within four years, resume their prerogative of choosing another President, provided the process of declaring their choice has not been tampered with. They can correct any errors that may have been committed in the meanwhile by Hayes or Tilden, provided the system of popular election remains. But if the process has been tampered with, and the system itself undermined, then anything may happen. The American republic, may become as unstable, and property here as insecure, and social disorder as unbearable, as in Mexico or Venezuela.

We are told that the interference of a returning board in Louisiana is necessary on account of the intimidation of voters. It is precisely this interference which I challenge as a subversion of the processes by which our institutions are maintained. It is proposed to throw out the vote of A B because C D is supposed to have intimidated E F. It is only necessary to make this the rule hereafter, and to secure its general adoption, in order to dispense with elections entirely, and to substitute in their place the views of thirty-seven returning boards. Intimidation will become the only element of any value in politics. Instead of discussing the civil service, the currency, the last war, or the next one, the office-seeking class will confine themselves wholly to intimidation. Intimidation will multiply like the grasshoppers, and in a short time ravage the land.

What is intimidation? It is a word of very broad scope. It embraces everything from the fear of death to the loss of social position. It opens the door to every species of degradation that can be conceived of in politics, from individual cowardice to combined perjury. And over all places an arbitrary and irresponsible tribunal to weigh the cowardice and to gauge the perjury, from whose judgment there is no appeal, not even to the people themselves. After A B and other honest citizens have cast their votes and gone about their business, C D and E F confederate together, the one to intimidate and the other to be intimidated, with a view to vitiating the election; that is, to disfranchise all honest voters in the precinct. Why not? That is the logic of the new system of carrying elections by intimidation.

I assert that there is no way to throw out, on the score of intimidation, the votes of legal voters duly polled that does not admit and invite this species of rascality. Is there any mode of electioneering so inexpensive and certain as this? Is there any mode so likely to become popular with the class who live by politics? Is there any mode which so clearly and completely subverts the processes of popular elections, or which so directly attacks the foundation of our government? But, say some, it cannot possibly spread; it is too absurd and contemptible to find lodgment among the superior beings of the North. Not to encumber this article with didactic reasoning as to the danger of admitting so evil a precedent into our system, I observe that the case now before us has spread, to all intents and purposes, over the entire land, since upon its determination rests the whole Presidential election, from the Atlantic to the Pacific, from the lakes to the gulf. The rights of voters in Illinois are as much bound up in it as though the case were awaiting decision before a returning board sitting in Chicago instead of one sitting in New Orleans.

Again, I ask, what is intimidation, and who is to judge of its weight in a contested election? It is not difficult to determine whether FRAUD has been committed, whether a person has voted who was not entitled to vote, whether a poll has been altered after the votes have been counted, &c. These are all questions of fact. But intimidation is a matter of opinion, of guess-work, of uncertainty. In its best estate, the interference of a returning board in such cases takes from the intimidated class the very faculty they stand most in need of—that of self-reliance and independence in their political action. It says to them: "Don't go to the polls if you think you will be 'bull-dozed,' or if you apprehend loss of employment or caste. Be cowards and ignoramuses to the end of the chapter; we will make all right by throwing out the votes of the courageous and intelligent." This, I say, is the doctrine, in its best estate, when exercised with good intentions and proper motives. It is a premium on timidity and laziness—a stigma on diligence and self-respect. When exercised with other intentions and with different motives, it is the convenient avenue of fraud, perjury and revolution and social decay. It is at war with our whole system of government, and our system cannot survive if it once gains lodgment there.

Now let us take the worst case of "bull-dozing" that anybody can bring forward—that the negroes were an actual majority in the parish. It is admitted that the Republicans had the State government and the local government; that Republican supervisors of elections were everywhere, and that plenty of United States troops were there, or if they were not there it was the fault of those who now claim that their voters were intimidated. Nevertheless, it is alleged that the negroes were afraid to vote. And because, with these aids and incentives to political intrepidity, they were still afraid to vote, therefore the votes of those who did vote are to be thrown out. I venture to predict that the political party that takes its stand on this platform will be "bull-dozed" worse at the next election than any parish in Louisiana or elsewhere.

I do not believe that Governor Hayes will ... platform. If so, I ... to get that I cast my vote for him. If he would, I do not see how he could carry on the government afterward. The Republican party, in the tattered condition to which the present administration has brought it, is not able to give its antagonist any advantages of position in the next encounter. A greater disadvantage to itself than this—the seating of a President by means and appliances which undermine the very processes by which our institutions are maintained—it would be impossible to conceive of. Deprived of moral support in the consciences of the intelligent-thinking, order-loving property-holding classes, the party would melt away and the administration leaning on it for support would be as helpless as a birch-bark canoe in a cyclone. No person capable of commanding the confidence of the country would accept a position in a cabinet bottomed not upon the returns of an election, but upon the views of a returning board as opposed to the returns themselves. With a successful and united party at his back, Governor Hayes might make shift to administer the government with a cabinet of nonentities, but in the present state of things he could not, and he is not likely to find any other material to advise and assist him in the emergency contemplated. I am much mistaken in my conception of Governor Hayes, if he is the man to walk into the White House under any doubtful road.

It is painful to hear this question discussed as though it were a contested election between two candidates for alderman in the Ninth ward. It is painful to read that because a Vermont elector was a village postmaster, therefore the people of Vermont are to be partially disfranchised; that because a North Carolina elector was a commissioner to a Centennial Exposition, therefore North Carolina is to lose part of her voice in the National election; that since the twenty-second joint rule has been re-enacted by the present Congress, therefore the presiding officer of the Senate may declare anybody elected whom he chooses. Of course the forms of law must be respected; but these are all piddling objections that will be swept out of the way like autumn leaves by the breath of the people when they have the opportunity to pass their opinion upon them. You might as well attempt to oppose the law of gravitation by witchcraft as to settle this disputed Presidency by mere legal conundrums.

Are there no dangers confronting us? We have seen two Governors and two Legislatures at work in Louisiana at the same time, two Legislatures in Alabama, two in Arkansas, and two now in South Carolina. The spectacles of two Presidents and two Congresses would not be an edifying one, but it would not be a long step in advance of what we have already witnessed. Stress is laid on the fact that Gen. Grant will see Hayes duly inaugurated. The only form of inauguration known to the law is for the newly elected President to take the oath to support the constitution of the United States, and this he can do before any person authorized by law to administer oaths; and when he has taken it Gen. Grant cannot inaugurate him or disinaugurate him any further. I am not one of those who think that the present financial cramp is due to political causes, but I can see that the disorder, confusion, and uncertainty growing out of the doubled-barreled government would produce far greater depression in business than anything we have experienced since the panic of 1873.

If the Republican party is ready to adopt intimidation as an element in politics, and to substitute the judgment of returning boards in place of the votes legally polled, it is a worse party than I supposed when I joined the Liberal movement in 1872. I do not think so badly of it as this. I think that all the present fuss is due to the anxiety of officeholders for their places, for which the great mass of the party have no sympathy, but, on the contrary, a well-grounded contempt. Accepting its defeat in a manly way, if it is defeated by a true count of the votes legally polled, the Republican party has a fair prospect of returning to power four years hence. At all events it will be in a position to take advantage of the errors and shortcomings of its adversary; but, crawling into the Presidency over the ruin and subversion of the processes of popular elections, it will be annihilated. It has already received such harm as its wisest leaders can with difficulty repair. HORACE WHITE.

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