The Somerset Herald.

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The Somerset Herald,
Somerset, Pa.

ATTORNEYS-AT-LAW.

H. S. ENDSLEY, ATTORNEY AT LAW, Somerset, Penna. Aug 14

HENRY F. SCHELL, ATTORNEY AT LAW and Bounty and Pension Agent, Somerset, Pa. Office in Mammoth Block. jan. 11-tf.

ED. R. SCULL, ATTORNEY AT LAW, Somerset, Penna.

S. U. TRENT, ATTORNEY-AT-LAW. Somerset, Penn'a.

LAW NOTICE.—Alexander H. Coffroth has resumed the practice of law in Somerset and adjoining counties. Office in Mammoth Building. feb. 26, '76.

VALENTINE BAY, ATTORNEY AT LAW and dealer in real estate, Somerset, Pa., will attend to all business entrusted to his care with promptness and fidelity. aug. 12-1y.

W. J. & S. L. BAER, ATTORNEYS AT LAW, Somerset, Pa., will practice in Somerset and adjoining counties. All business entrusted to them will be promptly attended to.

JOHN H. UHL, ATTORNEY AT LAW, Somerset, Pa., will promptly attend to all business entrusted to him. Money advanced on collection &c. Office in Mammoth Building.

WILLIAM H. KOONTZ, ATTORNEY AT LAW, Somerset, Pa., will give prompt attention to business entrusted to his care in Somerset and the adjoining counties. Office in Printing House Row.

JOHN O. KIMMEL, ATTORNEY AT LAW, Somerset, Pa., will attend to all business entrusted to his care in Somerset and adjoining counties with promptness and fidelity. Office in Mammoth Block. feb. 15 76-1y

J. GOLE, ATTORNEY AT LAW, Somerset, Pa. Professional business entrusted to my care will be promptly attended to with promptness and fidelity.

A. H. COFFROTH. W. H. RUPPEL. COFFROTH & RUPPEL, ATTORNEYS AT LAW. All business entrusted to their care will be promptly and generally attended to. Office—South Main Cross street, opposite the Mammoth Block.

JOHN R. SCOTT, ATTORNEY AT LAW, Somerset Pa. Office in Mammoth Block. All business entrusted to his care attended to promptly and faithfully.

JAMES L. PUGH, ATTORNEY AT LAW, Somerset, Pa. Office, Mammoth Block, up stairs. Entrance Main Cross St. Collections, made, estates settled, titles examined, and all legal business attended to with promptness and fidelity. apr19

SURVEYING, Writing Deeds, &c., may be expected at reasonable terms. Enquire at Cauffiel & Co's Store. C. F. WALKER. Aug 28.

PHYSICIANS.

DR. J. K. MILLER has permanently located in Berlin for the practice of his profession.—Office opposite Charles Kreisinger's store. apr.22, 76-tf.

DR. H. BRUBAKER tenders his professional services to the citizens of Somerset and vicinity. Office in residence, one door west of the Barner House.

DR. E. H. KIMMEL will continue to practice Medicine, and tenders his professional services to the citizens of Somerset and surrounding country. Office at the old place, a few doors east of the Mansion House.

DR. A. G. MILLER, after twelve years active practice in Shanksville, has now permanently located at Somerset for the practice of his profession, and tenders his professional services to the citizens of Somerset and vicinity.—Office in his Drug Store, opposite the Barner House, where he can be consulted at all times when not professionally engaged.

All professional calls promptly answered. Jan 23, '72-tf.

Dr. W. F. FUNDENBERG, Late Resident Surgeon, New York Eye and Ear Infirmary, Has located permanently in the City of CUMBERLAND, Maryland for the EXCLUSIVE treatment of all diseases of the Eye and Ear, including those of the Nose and Throat. Office, No. 20 South Centre Street. June 26.

DENTISTS.

DR. WM. COLLINS, DENTIST, Somerset, Pa. Office in Casebeer's Block, up stairs, where he can at all times be found prepared to do all kinds of work, such as filling, regulating, extracting, &c. Artificial teeth of all kinds, and of the best material inserted. Operations warranted.

JOHN BILLS, DENTIST. Office in Coffroth & Neff's new building, Main Cross Street, Somerset, Pa. april

WM. COLLINS, DENTIST. Office above Casebeer & Pease's store, Somerset, Pa. In the last fifteen years I have greatly reduced the prices of artificial teeth in this place. The constant increasing demand for teeth has induced me to so enlarge my facilities that I can make good sets of teeth at lower prices than you can get them in any other place in this country.—I am now making a good set of teeth for $8, and if there should be any person among my thousands of customers in this or the adjoining counties that I have made teeth for that is not giving good satisfaction, they can call on me at any time and get a new set free of charge. march

ARTIFICIAL TEETH!! J. C. YUTZY. DENTIST. DALE CITY, Somerset Co., Pa. Artificial Teeth, warranted to be of the very best quality. Like life and handsome, inserted in the best style. Particular attention paid to the preservation of the natural teeth. Those wishing to visit me by letter, can do so by enclosing stamp address as above. 1875-76

HOTELS.

DIAMOND HOTEL, BOYSTOWN PA. This popular and well known house has lately been thoroughly and newly refitted, with all new and best of furniture, which has made it a very desirable stopping place for the travelling public. The bar is stocked with the choicest liquors, and the table will always contain not be surpassed, all being free class, with a large public hall attached to the same. Also large and roomy stabling. Feed and boarding can be had at the lowest possible prices, by week, day or meal. SAMUEL CUSTER, Prop. S. E. Cor. Diamond, Boystown, Pa. July 31.

Sign of the SWINGING CLOCK. 1876. 1878. Corner of West Main and Roxanna Sts. JOSEPH HERR, The Veteran Watchmaker, is prepared at all times to furnish you a first-class time-keeper, either in the line of WATCHES OR CLOCKS. Repairing a specialty. Work guaranteed. Dec. 4

GUNS Including Shooting Outfit, Every Gun Warranted. Sheppard, Moore & Brooks St. Louis

BANKS, ETC.

NEW BANK.

Somerset County Bank

CHARLES J. HARRISON, *Cashier and Manager.*

Collections made in all parts of the United States. Charges moderate. Butter and other stocks collected and cashed. Eastern and Western exchange always on hand. Remittances made with promptness. Accounts solicited.

Parties desiring to purchase U. S. 4 PER CENT. FUNDED LOAN, can be accommodated at this Bank. The coupons are payable in denominations of

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Agents for Fire and Life Insurance, JOHN HICKS & SON, SOMERSET, PA., And Real Estate Brokers. ESTABLISHED 1850.

Persons who desire to sell, buy or exchange property, or for rent will find it to their advantage to register the description thereof, as no charge is made unless sold or rented. Real estate business generally will be promptly attended to. aug31.

Charles C. Orton & Co., Tobacconists.

The finest, cheapest and best selected stock of Cigars and Chewing and Smoking Tobaccos in Somerset Co. Also an infinite variety of Smokers Materials, at Zimmerman's old stand in the MAMMOTH BLOCK. Nov. 12

WALTER O. TRENT, MANUFACTURER OF CIGARS, FACTORY NO. 18. Cor. Main and Pleasant Streets, SOMERSET, PA. Cigars manufactured from the Finest Leaf Tobacco, of all grades, styles and prices to suit all requirements, from the cheapest to the most expensive. All my goods are selected with a view to quality as well as low figures. I have at present a large stock of the leaf tobacco of all kinds on hand, and will be able to manufacture cigars at cheaper prices than any other firm in the county. WALTER O. TRENT. Sept. 11, 6 mos.

S. R. PILE, DEALER IN FLOUR AND FEED. Groceries, Confections, Queensware, Willow-ware, Salt, Fish, Tobacco and Cigars, &c., &c., &c. New Stock. ONE PRICE. All Goods Positively SOLD AT BOTTOM PRICES. FAIR AND SQUARE IS Our Motto. Do Not Fail to Give NO. 2, BAER'S BLOCK A CALL, When doing your SHOPPING. Jan. 30

"DOMESTIC" SO SIMPLE IT REQUIRES NO CARE. DOMESTIC SO PERFECT IT FAILS TO PLEASE. DOMESTIC SO STRONG IT NEVER WEARS OUT. SO LIGHT A CHILD CAN RUN IT. "DOMESTIC"

LADIES! USE "Domestic" Paper Fashions. They are especially designed to meet the requirements of those who desire to dress well. They are unsurpassed in Style, perfect in Fit, and so simple that they are readily understood by the most inexperienced. Send 5c. for catalogue. Address, "Domestic" Fashion Co. NEW YORK. Dec. 4

PATENTS. T. F. LEHMANN, Solicitor for Patents, No. 55 Sixth Ave., Pittsburgh, Pa. No Patent, no pay. Nov. 13 Send for Circular.

MISCELLANEOUS.

VIGORENE. THE GREAT POSITIVE CURE for all DISEASES arising from a derranged condition of the BLOOD, LIVER, NERVES, or DIGESTIVE ORGANS.

The Best Family Medicine on Earth. $100 IN GOLD to any person afflicted with disease that VIGORENE will not cure or cure, providing the bones or organs are not wasted beyond repair. VIGORENE is scientifically compounded from Herbs, Roots, Barks and Grums grown in California and the West Indies, combining a Tonic, Cathartic, Aperative, Diuretic and Sudorific. Its immediate effect upon the digestive organs, may be traced by disease or exhausted from any cause. It invigorates their powers of secretion and nutrition. It removes the acrid, morbid elements, and purifies the blood, restores to the muscular and circulating system. Imparts to the nervous system a healthy tone, corrects sour stomach, gives the bloom of health to the pale face, tones the organs of generation, imparts vigor to the system.

THE ONLY TRUE REMEDY FOR COLDS. It is unsurpassed by any medicine in the relief of this GREAT BLOOD, LIVER, KIDNEYS, DYSPEPSIA, DEBILITY, CONSTIPATION, BILIOUSNESS, SCROFULOUS HUMORS, or any disorder arising from IMPURE BLOOD, get a bottle of VIGORENE and take it as per directions, which are printed in English, German, Spanish and French. One bottle will satisfy everyone you of its merits than words or pamphlets printed left.

A trial of one bottle proves its adoption on every family, for no Man, Woman or Child can take VIGORENE and remain longer sick. It first cleanses the system, then repairs, then builds up. Unlike cordial cleansers and exhilarants, it builds on a permanent, safe and enduring basis.

Put up in large bottles, and in convenient to take. Sold by Druggists generally. Price, $1.00 per bottle. Walker & Badger Mfg. Co., Prop'rs, 60 John Street, New York.

VIGORENE. SUFFERED 30 YEARS. Jersey City, September 27, 1875. No tongue can tell what I have suffered for the past 30 years from DYSPEPSIA and LIVER COMPLAINT, at times so bad that I could not stand upon my feet. I could not walk half a mile without suffering almost intense agony which would bring on severe illness. About one year ago I was induced to try a bottle of your VIGORENE and am glad to state that after taking four bottles I was entirely cured of both diseases and am now enjoying excellent health and strength. I advise all similarly afflicted to try VIGORENE. Mat. C. P. FERRIS, 128 Sussex St.

DON'T GO FOOLING AROUND. As a regulator medicine I can conscientiously recommend VIGORENE. I have used it in my family and know others who have tried it, and all pronounce it good and reliable. It cured my daughter of a severe and chronic cough by making us stop, but it attends to business and accomplishes most wonderful results. It is sent. WM. R. DUVALL, Merchant, L. I.

OF YEARS STANDING. I used one bottle of VIGORENE and can truthfully say that it has cured me of DYSPEPSIA and BILIOUSNESS of years standing. S. C. ROE, M.D., Lebanon, N.J.

VIGORENE. FOR SALE BY G. W. SPEERS, *DRUGGIST, Somerset, Pa.* Who is authorized to guarantee Vigorene to prove as guaranteed. Sept. 18,

Cook & Beerits' FAMILY GROCERY, Flour and Feed STORE. We would most respectfully announce to our friends and the public generally, in the town and vicinity of Somerset, that we have opened our New Store on MAIN CROSS STREET And in addition to a full line of the best Confectioneries, Notions, Tobaccos, Cigars, &c. We will endeavor, at all times, to supply our customers with the BEST QUALITY OF FAMILY FLOUR, CORN-MEAL, OATS, SHELLED CORN, OATS & CORN CHOP, BRAN, MIDDLINGS And everything pertaining to the Feed Department at the LOWEST POSSIBLE PRICES. FOR CASH ONLY. Also, a well selected stock of Glassware, Stoneware, Woodenware, Fresh fish of all kinds, and STATIONERY Which we will sell as cheap as the cheapest. Please call, examine our goods of all kinds, and satisfy yourselves of our judgment. Don't forget where we stay—MAIN CROSS Street, Somerset, Pa.

PROVERBS.	PROVERBS.
"For shaking spells, fits, dizziness, pulpitation and low spirits, rely on Hop Bitters."	"Also will be paid for a case that Hop Bitters will not cure or help."
"Read if you are sick Hop Bitters, and you will be strong, healthy, and happy."	"Hop Bitters build up strengthens, and gives continually from first dose."
"Ladies do you want to be strong, healthy, and beautiful? Then use Hop Bitters."	"Pale skin, rosy cheeks, and the sweetest breath in hop Bitters."
"The greatest appetizer, stomach, blood and liver regulator—Hop Bitters."	"Kidney and Urinary complaints of all kinds permanently cured by Hop Bitters."
"Clergymen, Lawyers, Editors, Bank Men, and Ladies need Hop Bitters Daily."	"Sour stomach, sick headache, and dizziness, Hop Bitters cures with a few doses."
"Hop Bitters has restored to sobriety and health perhaps wrecks from intemperance."	"Take Hop Bitters three times a day and you will have no doctor bills to pay."

For sale by GEORGE W. SPEERS, Somerset, Penna.

PENNSYLVANIA FEMALE COLLEGE, (Pittsburgh, East End,) Pa. Collegiate year opens September 12th. Location 4 miles from Court House, over-looking East Liberty valley. Easy of access and free from smoke. Terms for boarding pupils reduced. For particulars and catalogue apply to MISS HELEN E. PELETREAU, Acting President. GEO. A. BERRY, Treasurer. Aug. 7

$5 GOLD PLATED WATCHES. Cheapest in the known world. Sample Watch Free to Agents. Address, A. COULTER & Co., Chicago.

Written for the HERALD.

CHRISTMAS CAROL.

BY OLIVE HARPER.

There is a story olden, golden,
Laden with the sweetest peace,
Of a stranger, in a manger,
Couched on Autumn's rich increase;
Robed not in sable, for a stable
Where the rude and straw-clad walls
Formed a shelter, where did nestler
Cattle in their stalling stalls.

Soft and slowly, pure and holy,
Raised the mother on her arm,
Smiling saintly, whisp'ring faintly
Sweetest notes the child to charm.
Oh, the splendor of the tender
Light of love within her eyes;
Oh, the meaning, as she leaning
O'er her son, did bless with sighs.

Through silver lining, above was shining
Bright the star of Bethlehem;
Through crevices gable in the stable
The rays fell on the heads of them
The pure and holy, though weak and lowly,
Chosen of God, despised of man;
And nearer, nearer, brighter, clearer,
Burned the star of glory, then.

Above the stables' pointed gables,
Did the star of glory stand;
And adoring wealth outpouring,
Knelt the men from stranger land;
Softly saying with their praying,
While their eyes with tears were dim:
"From afar we've seen this star,
And have come to worship him."

Oh, the holy, poor and lowly
Prince of Peace thus meanly born;
Glory render to the splendor
Of that shining natal morn:
To our Saviour, whose behavior
Gained Him but a thorny crown;
Who, for the winning of the shining
Left for us this golden throne!

Oh, remember that sweet December
When the Son of Man was born;
And, may ever our endeavor
Sanctify that blessed morn!
And, loudly voicing our rejoicing,
Our things glad of this day, when
Heaven adorning the Star of Morning,
Flashed peace on earth, good will to men.

SPEECH OF JAMES G. BLAINE.

VIOLATION OF SUFFRAGE RIGHTS.

On motion of Mr. Hamlin, the Senate proceeded to the consideration of the resolution submitted by Mr. Blaine in regard to inquiring as to whether at the recent elections the constitutional rights of American citizens were violated, etc

Mr. Blaine proceeded to address the Senate, and said:

MR. PRESIDENT: The pending resolution was offered by me with a two-fold purpose in view: First, To place on record, in a definite and authentic form, the frauds and outrages by which some recent elections were carried by the Democratic party in the Southern States: Second, To find if there be any method by which a repetition of these crimes against a free ballot may be prevented.

The newspaper is the channel through which the people of the United States are informed of current events, and the accounts given in the press represent the elections in some of the Southern States to have been accompanied by violence; in not a few cases reaching the destruction of life; to have been controlled by threats that awed and intimidated a large class of voters; to have been manipulated by fraud of the most shameless and shameful description. Indeed in South Carolina there seems to have been no election at all in any proper sense of the term. There was instead a series of skirmishes over the State in which the polling-places were regarded as forts to be captured by one party and held against the other, and when this could not be done with convenience, frauds in the count and tissue-ballot devices were resorted to in order to effectually destroy the voice of the majority. These, in brief, are the accounts given in the non-partisan press, of the disgraceful outrages that attended the recent elections, and, so far as I have seen, these statements are without serious contradiction. It is but just and fair to all parties, however, that an impartial investigation of these facts shall be made by a committee of the Senate, proceeding under the authority of the law and representing the power of the nation. Hence my resolution.

But we do not need investigation to establish certain facts already of official record. We know that one hundred and six Representatives in Congress were recently chosen in the States formerly slave-holding, and that the Democrats elected one hundred and one or possibly one hundred and two, and the Republicans four or possibly five. We know that thirty-five of these Representatives were assigned to the Southern States by reason of the colored population, and the entire political power thus founded on the numbers of the colored people has been seized and appropriated to the aggrandizement of its own strength by the Democratic party of the South.

THE ISSUE THUS RAISED

before the country, Mr. President, is not one of mere sentiment for the rights of the negro—though far distant be the day when the rights of any American citizen, however black or however poor, shall form the mere dust of the balance to any controversy; nor is the issue one that involves the waving of the "bloody shirt," to quote the eloquent vernacular of Democratic vituperation; nor still further is the issue as now presented only a question of the equality of the black voter of the South with the white voter of the South. The issue, Mr. President, has taken a far wider range. One of portentous magnitude—and that is, whether the white voter of the North shall be equal to the white voter of the South in shaping the policy and fixing the destiny of this country; or whether, to put it still more boldly, the white man who fought in the Union army shall have as weighty and influential a vote in the Government of the Republic as the white man who fought in the ranks of the rebel army. The one fought to uphold, the other to destroy, the Union of the States, and to-day he who fought to destroy is a far more important factor in the Government of the nation than he who fought to uphold it.

Let me illustrate my meaning by comparing groups of States of the same representative strength North and South. Take the States of South Carolina, Mississippi and Louisiana. They send seventeen Representatives to Congress. Their aggregate population is composed of ten hundred and thirty-five thousand whites and twelve hundred and twenty-four thousand colored; the colored being nearly two hundred thousand in excess of the whites. Of the seventeen Representatives, then, it is evident that nine were apportioned to these States by reason of their colored population, and only eight by reason of their white population; and yet in the choice of the entire seventeen Representatives the colored voters had no more voice or power than their remote kinsmen on the shores of Senegambia or on the Gold Coast. The ten hundred and thirty-five thousand white people had the sole and absolute choice of the entire seventeen Representatives. In contrast take two States in the North, Iowa and Wisconsin, with seventeen Representatives. They have a white population of two million two hundred and forty-seven thousand—considerably more than double the entire white population of the three Southern States I have named. In Iowa and Wisconsin, therefore, it takes one hundred and thirty-two thousand white population to send a Representative to Congress, but in South Carolina, Mississippi and Louisiana every sixty thousand white people send a Representative. In other words sixty thousand white people in those Southern States have precisely the same political power in the Government of the country that one hundred and thirty-two thousand white people have in Iowa and Wisconsin.

THE SOLID SOUTH

Take another group of seventeen Representatives from the South and from the North. Georgia and Alabama have a white population of eleven hundred and fifty-eight thousand and a colored population of ten hundred and twenty thousand. They send seventeen Representatives to Congress, of whom nine were apportioned on account of the white population and eight on account of the colored population. But the colored voters are not able to choose a single Representative, the white Democrats choosing the whole seventeen. The four Northern States, Michigan, Minnesota, Nebraska, and California have seventeen Representatives based on a white population of two and a quarter millions, or almost double the white population of Georgia and Alabama, so that in these relative groups of States we find the white man South exercises by his vote double the political power of the white man North.

Let us carry the comparison to a more comprehensive generalization. The eleven States that formed the Confederate Government had by the last census a population of nine and a half millions, of which in round numbers five and one half millions were white and four millions colored. On this aggregate population seventy-three Representatives in Congress were apportioned to those States—forty-two or three of which were by reason of the white population, and thirty or thirty-one by reason of the colored population. At the recent election the white Democrats of the South seized seventy of the seventy-three districts, and thus secured a Democratic majority in the next House of Representatives. Thus it appears that throughout the States that formed the late Confederate Government sixty-five thousand whites—the very people that rebelled against the Union—are enabled to elect a Representative in Congress, while in the loyal States it requires one hundred and thirty-two thousand of the white people who fought for the Union to elect a Representative. In levying every tax, therefore, in making every appropriation of money, in fixing every line of public policy, in decreeing what shall be the fate and fortune of the Republic, the Confederate soldier South is enabled to cast a vote that is twice as powerful and twice as influential as the vote of the Union soldier North.

LAW AND JUSTICE DEFIED.

But the white men of the South did not acquire and did not hold the superior power by reason of law or justice, but in disregard and defiance of both. The fourteenth amendment to the Constitution was expected to be and was designed to be a preventive and corrective of all such possible abuses. The reading of the clause applicable to the case is instructive and suggestive. Here it is:

Representatives shall be apportioned among the several States according to the respective numbers, counting the whole number of persons in each State, including Indians not taxed. But when the right to vote at any election for the choice of electors for President and Vice-President of the United States, Representatives in Congress, the executive and judicial officers of the State, of the members of the Legislature thereof, is denied to any male inhabitants of such State, being twenty-one years of age, and citizens of the United States, or in any way abridged, except for participation in rebellion, or other crime, the basis of representation therein shall be reduced in the proportion which the number of such male citizens shall bear to the whole number of male citizens twenty-one years of age in such State.

The patent, undeniable intent of this provision was that if any class of voters were denied or in any way abridged in their right of suffrage, then the class so denied or abridged should not be counted in the basis of representation; or, in other words, that no State or States should gain a large increase of representation in Congress by reason of counting any class of population not permitted to take part in electing such Representatives. But the construction given to this provision is that before any forfeiture of representation can be enforced, the denial and abridgment of suffrage must be the result of a law specifically enacted by the State. Under this construction every negro may have his suffrage absolutely denied or fatally abridged by violence, actual or threatened, by irresponsible mobs, or by frauds and deceptions of State officers from the Governor down to the last election clerk, and then, unless some State law can be shown that authorizes the denial or abridgment, the State escapes all penalty or peril of reduced representation. This construction may be upheld by the courts, ruling on the letter of the law, "which killeth," but the spirit of justice cries aloud against the evasive and atrocious conclusion that deals out oppression to the innocent and shields the guilty from the legitimate consequences of willful transgression.

THE FRANCHISE A MOCKERY.

The colored citizen is thus most unhappily situated; his right of suffrage is but a hollow mockery; it holds to his ear the word of promise, but breaks it always to his hope, and he ends only in being made the unwilling instrument of increasing the political strength of that party from which he received ever-tightening fetters when he was a slave, and contemptuous refusal of civil rights since he was made free. He resembles, indeed, those unhappy captives of the East, who, deprived of their birthright, are compelled to yield their strength to the upbuilding of the monarch from whose tyrannies they have most to fear, and to fight against the power from which alone deliverance might be expected. The franchise intended for the shield and defense of the negro has been turned against him and against his friends, and has vastly increased the power of those from whom he has nothing to hope and everything to dread.

The political power thus appropriated by Southern Democrats by reason of the negro population amounts to thirty-five Representatives in Congress. It is massed almost solidly and offsets the great State of New York; or Pennsylvania and New Jersey together; or the whole of New England; or Ohio and Indiana united; or the combined strength of Illinois, Minnesota, Kansas, California, Nevada, Nebraska, Colorado and Oregon. The seizure of this power is wanton usurpation; it is flagrant outrage; it is violent perversion of the whole theory of Republican Government. It inures solely to the present advantage and yet, I believe, to the permanent dishonor of the Democratic party. It is by reason of this trampling of human rights, this ruthless seizure of unlawful power that the Democratic party holds the popular branch of Congress to-day and will in less than ninety days have control of this body also, thus grasping the entire legislative department of the Government through the unlawful capture of the Southern States. If the proscribed vote of the South were cast as its lawful owners desire, the Democratic party could not gain power. Nay, if it were not counted on the other side against the instincts and the interests, against the principles and the prejudices of its lawful owners, Democratic success would be hopeless. It is not enough, then, for modern Democratic tactics that the negro vote shall be silenced; the demand goes farther and insists that it shall be counted on their side, that all the Representatives in Congress and all the Presidential electors appointed by reason of the negro vote shall be cast and so governed as to insure Democratic success—regardless of justice, in defiance of law.

UNPROVOKED INJUSTICE

I doubt if it be in the power of the most searching investigation to show that any Southern State during the period of Republican control any legal voter was ever debarred from the freest exercise of his suffrage. Even the revenges which would have leaped into life with many who despised the negro were buried out of sight with a magnanimity which the "superior race" fail to follow and seem reluctant to recognize. I know it is said in retort of such charges against the Southern elections as I am now reviewing that unfairness of equal gravity prevails in Northern elections. I hear it in many quarters and read it in the papers that in the late exciting election in Massachusetts intimidation and bull dozing, if not so rough and rancorous as in the South, were yet as widespread and effective.

I have read and yet refuse to believe that the distinguished gentleman, who made an energetic but unsuccessful canvass for the Governorship of that State, has endorsed and approved these charges, and I have accordingly made my resolution broad enough to include their thorough investigation. I am not demanding fair elections in the South without demanding fair elections in the North also. But venturing to speak for the New England States, of whose laws and customs I know something, I dare assert that in the late election in Massachusetts, or any of her neighboring Commonwealths, it will be impossible to find even one case where a voter was driven from the polls, where a voter did not have the fullest, fairest, freest opportunity to cast the ballot of his choice and have it honestly and faithfully counted in the returns. Suffrage on this continent was first made universal in New England, and in the administration of their affairs her people have found no other appeal necessary than that which is addressed to their honesty of conviction and to their intelligent self-interest. If there be anything different to disclose I pray you show it to us that we may amend our ways.

WHAT WILL BE DONE ABOUT IT.

But whenever a feeble protest is made against such injustice as I have described in the South, the response we get comes to us in the form of a taunt, "What are you going to do about it?" and "How do you propose to help yourselves?" This is the stereotyped answer of defiance which intrenched wrong always gives to inquiring justice; and those who imagine it to be conclusive do not know the temper of the American people. For let me assure you that against the complicated outrage upon the right of representation lately triumphant in the South, there will be arrayed many phases of public opinion in the North not often hitherto in harmony. Men who have cared little, and affected to care less, for the rights or the wrongs of the negro suddenly find that vast monetary and commercial interests, great questions of revenue, adjustments of tariff, vast investments in manufactures, in railways, and in mines, are under the control of a Democratic Congress whose majority was obtained by depriving the negro of his rights under a common constitution and common laws. Men who have expressed disgust with the waving of bloody shirts and have been offended with talk about negro equality are beginning to perceive that the pending question of to-day relates more pressingly to the equality of white men under this Government, and that however careless they may be about the rights or the wrongs of the negro, they are very jealous and tenacious about the rights of their own race and the dignity of their own firesides and their own kindred.

WHAT CANNOT BE DONE.

I know something of public opinion in the North. I know a great deal about the views, wishes and the purposes of the Republican party of the nation. Within that entire great organization there is not one man, whose opinion is entitled to be quoted, that does not desire peace and harmony and friendship and a patriotic and fraternal union between the North and the South. This wish is spontaneous, instinctive, universal throughout the Northern States; and yet, among men of character and sense, there is surely no need of attempting to deceive ourselves as to the precise truth. First pure, then peaceable. Gush will not remove a grievance, and no disguise of State rights will close the eyes of our people to the necessity of correcting a great national wrong. Nor should the South make the fatal mistake of concluding that justice to the negro is not also injustice to the white man; nor should it ever be forgotten that for the wrongs of both a remedy will assuredly be found. The war, with all its costly sacrifices, was fought in vain unless equal rights for all classes be established in all the States of the Union; and now, in words which are those of friendship, however differently they may be accepted, I tell the men of the South here on this floor and beyond this chamber, that even if they could strip the negro of his constitutional rights, they can never permanently maintain the inequality of white men in this nation; they can never make a white man's vote in the South doubly as powerful in the administration of the Government as a white man's vote in the North.

In a memorable debate in the House of Commons, Mr. Macaulay reminded Daniel O'Connell, when he was moving for Repeal, that the English Whigs had endured calumny, abuse, popular fury, loss of position, exclusion from Parliament rather than the great agitator himself should be less than a British subject; and Mr. Macaulay warned him that they would never suffer him to be more. Let me now remind you that the Government, under whose protecting flag we sit to-day, sacrificed myriads of lives and expended thousands or millions of treasure that our countrymen of the South should remain citizens of the United States, having equal personal rights and equal political privileges with all other citizens. And I venture, now and here, to warn the men of the South, in the exact words of Macaulay, that we will never suffer them to be more!

THURMAN OFFERS AN AMENDMENT AND REPLIES TO BLAINE.

Mr. Thurman then took the floor and submitted the following as an amendment to the resolution of Mr. Blaine:

"The committee shall also inquire whether any citizen of any State has been dismissed, or threatened with dismissal, from employment or deprivation of any right or privilege by reason of his vote or intention to vote at the recent elections, or has been interfered with, and to inquire whether, in the year 1878, money was raised by assessment or otherwise upon Federal officeholders or employes for election purposes, and under what circumstances and by what means, and if so, what amount was raised and how the same was expended; and further, whether such assessments were not in violation of the law; and shall further inquire into the action and conduct of the United States Supervisors of Elections in the several States, as to the number of Marshals, Deputy Marshals and others employed to take part in the conduct of said elections, in what States or cities appointed, the amount of money paid or promised to be paid them, and how or by whom and under what law and authority."

Mr. Thurman then addressed the Senate. He said: I attempted to offer the amendment before the Senator from Maine proceeded with his remarks, but failed to have any opportunity to do so. I intended then to say that whatever opinion might be entertained on this side of the Chamber as to the competency of Congress to make all the investigations that these resolutions contemplate, yet we were disposed to waive all scruples of that character and suffer the resolutions to pass without opposition, if the amendment now proposed should be added to them. The Senator from Maine, however, having his speech carefully studied and prepared, exercised his right to deliver that speech before my amendment could be offered. I do not complain of that at all, nor do I now rise to make any extended reply to the speech I have heard just now. Should this debate be protracted, I may exercise my privilege of saying something in reply to the Senator from Maine, but to-day I shall confine myself to a very few general observations.

The Senator is frank in one thing. His resolution is broad. It includes all states, it provides for investigation whether the rights of American citizens in connection with the elective franchise have been violated or interfered with in any of the States, but he frankly admits, in the very outset of his remarks, that that was not his purpose; that his purpose was to assail the Democracy of the South. He had two purposes in preparing his carefully elaborated speech—not to vindicate the right of suffrage throughout this whole Union, but to inquire whether the Democracy of the Southern States had violated the rights of American citizens, and then to find out what should be done with them Now, Mr. President, that is a very frank, and I have no doubt a very true statement of the animus of this resolution.

THE INVESTIGATION NOT POSSIBLE.

Mr. President, I said there might be some doubts as to the propriety of this investigation. I repeat it, there may be some doubts, especially to-day. The Senator proposes an investigation that I defy any committee that can be found to make with anything like thoroughness, nay, in any satisfactory manner, with anything like either justice to those who are implicated or those who may be implicated within the time that remains of this session of the Senate. It is an impossibility. I have therefore wondered why this resolution was introduced, unless it was to be made a string upon which to hang speeches to arouse sectional hatred in one portion of the Union against an almost defenceless people in another portion of the Union.

Now, Mr. President, this assault of the Senator from Maine is not an assault simply, however, upon the people of the South. I said five months ago that it did seem as clear to me as anything in American politics could be, that there was a deliberately formed purpose, under the protest that there was a solid South to create a solid North, to rule not only the solid South, but to rule one-half, nearly, if not more, of the people North. I thought then, and I think now, that a purpose more unpatriotic, more unjust, more fraught with ruin to this country, never entered the brain of man. That is my belief.

THE BURDEN OF COMPLAINT.

Why, Mr. President, of what is it that the Senator from Maine complains? That there were not enough Republican votes at the South?—that is the amount of it. And how does he make that out? He assumes without any shadow of truth produced here, that negroes South were prevented from voting or forced to vote the Democratic ticket. He assumes, therefore, that owing to these causes the negroes of the South are not represented by members of the House of Representatives who come from that section of the Union, or by Senators on this floor who represent Southern States. What right has the Senator from Maine to say the negroes of the South are not represented by chosen representatives of the South, and chosen Senators of the South? What right has he to vote those negroes on one side himself, and say the men who bear credentials of election do not represent their constituents? Why, Mr. President, it is a bare assumption on his part that he has no right whatever to make. But, again, the Senator should have thought of this when he was framing his Fourteenth and Fifteenth amendments, or when he was assisting in framing them. There were men then, of his own party, too, who told him, with long foresight, that in the end property and intelligence will rule the land, and ignorance cannot. There were men of his party who foresaw that those people who have the intelligence, the education and the property will not be ruled by those who have neither, and that it is not necessary to separate the community into white people and colored people. Not at all is it necessary to do that. No, Mr. President, the result of these Constitutional amendments was easy enough to be foreseen I am not here to justify the violation of the rights of any man, however humble he may be, whatever may be the poverty of his situation. I am here for no such purpose as that. I am here as much in favor of respecting the right of every man under the Constitution as the Senator from Maine or any other Senator on this floor; but I do know that property, intelligence and education will assert their supremacy everywhere on the face of the globe.

RESPONSIBLE FOR THE COLOR LINE

Who was it that drew the color line between the whites and negroes in the South? Let me tell you, sir, that millions of the money of the people of the United States were expended by your agents, the Freedmen's Bureau agents, in getting every colored man in the South into the Loyal Leagues, and swearing him never to vote for a Democrat. That is where the color line began to be drawn. That institution which took charge of the negro at the ballot box took charge of him in the cotton fields, everywhere, supervised every contract to be made, allowed no contract to be made unless it had the approval of the agents of the Freedmen's Bureau, and spent money and property called "captured and abandoned property," that was surrendered to it, and many millions of money directly appropriated out of the Treasury of the United States. It was that bureau and its agents who first drew the color line, and yet, when the white people South, when men owning property, and having intelligence and education, saw their very social system menaced with destruction, saw their very households threatened with ruin, under an inundation of barbarism directed by the most unscrupulous of men, and when they naturally came together, when they naturally united as a people menaced with danger ever will unite, then a cry is raised against the "Solid South." O! Mr. President, it will not do. This system of legislation toward the South that began six years ago is reaping fruit, and it is not by additional penal laws you can better the condition of this country.

NO MORE LAW NEEDED.

What does the Senator want more penal laws for? Let him look into the statute book on this very subject; let him read the statutes in regard to the enforcement of the rights of citizens to vote, and I defy him to find in the statute books of any civilized country on this globe a body of laws so minute, so searching and bristling all over with penalties and fines and forfeitures, as do these laws. But that is not all. In addition to that you have the vast machinery of Superintendents of Elections, Federal Supervisors, Marshals and Deputy Marshals, paid electioneers out of the Treasury of the United States, under the guise of being men to preserve the freedom of suffrage and peace at elections. You have a whole army of them provided for by your statutes. What more does the Senator want? I think I see, Mr. President, what is wanted. This is a note which is sounded to the people of the North that they must retrace their steps, and this very party which required amendments to the Constitution to be made, in the interest, it was said, of the colored population of the South, is now preparing to face about, retrace its steps, and undo what it did only a few years ago, either directly or by indirection. Indeed I thought while the Senator from Maine was making his speech how much reason this country, and especially the Southern part, had to congratulate itself that the next House of Representatives will not have a majority of gentlemen thinking like the gentleman from Maine. For if he is right in what he said, if his threats are not mere idle wind (and I certainly do not attribute any such thing to him), if they are the deep-seated and permanent thoughts of those with whom he acts, then I should be prepared to see a House of Representatives in which there was a Republican majority exclude Southern members by the score. Then I should be prepared to see them decide themselves that the right of suffrage was prohibited down there to the negro, and then to see them in their supreme authority, as they would construe it, vote out the chosen Representatives of the South not by ones, not by twos, but by the score. It is a fortunate thing for this country, it is a fortunate thing for our free institutions, that there is not in the present House of Representatives, and will not be in the next, a majority thinking as the Senator from Maine thinks, and willing to act as he is willing to act.

A GREATER DANGER.

Mr. President, one word on the amendment I have offered. It is my own belief that there is a far greater danger that menaces our institutions, and menaces the right of suffrage in this