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THE DEMOCRATIC PRESS.

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Business Cards.

FRANCIS L. CLARK,
Mechanical and Architectural Draughtsman. Patent Office Drawing a specialty. No. 22 Fifth Avenue, Pittsburgh, Pa. June 6, 1873. 198-y.

I. H. & M. W. PHELPS,
Attorneys and Counsellors at Law, Ravenna, Ohio. Office over First National Bank. 385

C. H. GRIFFIN,
DENTIST. Office over First National Bank Office hours from 8 a. m. to 5 p. m.

E. C. SWAIN,
Surgical and Mechanical Dentist, opposite Portage House, Main St., Ravenna, O. 465

F. E. HUTCHINS. W. B. THOMAS.
HUTCHINS & THOMAS,
Attorneys at Law, Ravenna, Ohio. Office in Empire Building. Mr. Hutchins will attend at all terms of the Common Pleas and District Courts in Portage County. 41-1y.

I. T. SIDDALL,
Attorney at Law. Office in Phenix Block Ravenna, Ohio 479

PETER FLATH.
Clothier and Merchant Tailor, Hats, Caps and Furnishing Goods. Poe's Building, Main Street, Ravenna, Ohio. Oct. 13, 1866, 1y.

INSURANCE AGENCY.
F. W. Coffin, Life and Fire Insurance Agent. Office on 2d floor, over the Second National Bank, Ravenna, Ohio. Sept. 25, 1869, 55-1y.

J. H. NICHOLS.
Attorney at Law and Notary Public. Office in Phenix Block, over Brainerd & Son's Drug Store. November 30, 1872. 222-tf.

ROCKWELL & NORRIS,
Attorneys at Law and Notary Public, Deusler Block, Kent, Ohio. Dec. 19, 1876. 1y.

J. WAGGONER, M. D.
Physician and Surgeon, Office East end of Phenix Block, Ravenna, Ohio. March 27th, 1872 187-tf.

A. CRAFTS, M. D. JOHN M. CRAFTS, M. D.
CRAFTS & SON,
Physicians and Surgeons. Office in Crafts' Block, Mantua Station, Portage County, Ohio. 383.

E. W. MAXSON,
Attorney and Counselor at Law possesses superior facilities for making collections in all parts of the United States. Office over First National Bank, Garrettsville, Ohio.

C. L. BELDEN,
PHYSICIAN AND SURGEON.—Office in Empire Building; Residence on King street, first door south of Main. Ravenna, May 22, 1876. 404-y*

G. M. PROCTOR, M. D.,
Physician and Surgeon,
SHALERSVILLE, OHIO.
Will attend to all calls in the line of his profession, both day and night. Office, one door East of Shalersville Exchange Hotel. 418-1y

LUMBER
DEALERS IN
Michigan Lumber, Lath and Shingles,
C. Sutherland & Co.
YARD near the C. & P. R. R
Ravenna, Aug. 31, 1869, 53-tf.

New Harness Shop!
I WOULD respectfully announce to the citizens of Portage County that I have opened a new HARNESS SHOP one door south of M. Greenlager's, on Chestnut Street, opposite Court House Park, where I will be pleased to see all those in want of any work in my line.
I have had twenty-two year's experience in the business in some of the best shops in the country, and feel confident of my ability to give entire satisfaction to all those who may patronize me.
REPAIRING promptly and neatly done.
My prices will be suited to the times. Give me a call. G. WISE,
Ravenna, April 10, 1877. 456-3mo

Wagon Making and Repairing.
O. S. BUZZELL
WOULD inform the people of Portage county that he is prepared to manufacture all kinds of LUMBER and SPRING WAGONS, and to do general repairing promptly and in the best manner. Also, HORSE SHOEING and GENERAL BLACKSMITHING.
☞ Prices from 10 to 20 per cent. below any heretofore charged in this region, for cash.
WAGONS of all kinds constantly on hand.
Works on Main Street, West of C. & P. R. R Depot.

TESTIMONIALS.

Ravenna, March 20, 1875.
MR. O. S. BUZZELL: Dear Sir—My Wagon that I purchased of you about two years ago, I must acknowledge is much better than I expected. Being of medium size, I thought it too light for my business; but it is just right, runs light and easy, and I have often carried on it 1400 bricks from my kiln. It will carry eight thousand pounds, and has never cost me one cent for repairs. Yours truly, H. F. CARIS.

Shalersville, March 19, 1875.
MR. O. S. BUZZELL. Dear Sir:—In the fall of 1873 I purchased of you a light wagon. Weight with box on, 532 pounds. It is a thimble skein, which I think is the easiest running wagon in use. I have frequently drawn 3,000 pounds upon it at one time. All the expense that I put upon it for the first twelve years was for setting tire once. Yours, with respect,
S. G. ELDRIDGE

Ravenna, March 11, 1875.
MR. O. S. BUZZELL: Dear Sir—We have been using one of your one horse wagons now over two years in our lumber yard, often loading it with one thousand feet of green hemlock and oak, and we think it the best and easiest running wagon we ever had. It will carry 6,000 lbs., and has never cost us one dollar for repairs for that time. Yours, truly,
C. SUTHERLAND & CO.

I also have for sale
23 VILLAGE LOTS,
Well located on high rolling ground, and in the most pleasant and growing part of the town. Will be sold cheap and on easy terms.
Ravenna, O., Jan. 6, 1875 329

LIVERY,
Sale and Boarding Stable.
R. B. WITTER
Would respectfully inform all in want of a first class Livery outfit, that he is now prepared to furnish them the same, on reasonable terms.
Passengers conveyed to any part of the country.
Particular attention given to Boarding horses by the feed, day, week or month. Also, will attend to the purchase and sale of horses for customers.
Stables on Chestnut Street, North of Empire Building.
Ravenna, January 18th, 1877. 417

POSTER PRINTING neatly executed at this office.

Medical Notice.

To The Afflicted.

DR. JOHN GOUCHER
Having had a very large and successful practice in Chronic Diseases for forty years, both Private and Hospital, is prepared to render satisfaction in the different varieties.

Among the diseases treated have been many miraculous cures of the two true species of Cancer—the Hard and the soft; or the Scirrus or Chronic Cancer, characterized by a predominance of fibrous tissue, and but few Cancer cells; the Medullary, Brain, or Acute Soft Cancer, characterized by an excess of Cancerous cells.

Also, the different varieties of GRAVEL, and disease of the Kidneys and Urinary Organs. Tumors, Rheumatism—Inflammatory and Chronic—Fistula in Ano, Prolapsus of the Phincture, Ani and Rectum, Piles, Tape Worms, Seat or Pin Worms, Intestinal Worms, Hip Disease, Goiter, Enlarged Glands, Scrofula, and all Impurities of the Blood.

CATARRH—that most insidious of all diseases, which is destroying its tens of thousands annually—Invariably cured. Also, SCALD HEAD, and the different diseases of the Skin.

ALSO, THE VARIOUS DISEASES OF FEMALES,
Arising from Uterine Derangements, Enlargement, Inflammation, Ulceration, Tumor, Polypus, and all their sympathetic accompaniments, on the latest scientific principles, without the use of the knife or caustics, but by constitutional treatment and local absorbents, which we believe to be the true method of cure, if timely and properly applied.

CALCULOUS CONCRETIONS OF THE KIDNEYS AND BLADDER.
We have in our possession several varieties of Gravel from different individuals in this locality, which we have removed through the natural urinary passage.

The Doctor is a graduate in the Eye and Ear Infirmary of New York City, and has had a large and successful practice in that department. He absorbs the different varieties of Cataract while they remain soft, and removes films and specks from the eye without the use of the knife.

The Doctor is a graduate of several of the leading schools of his profession, the Diplomas of which are hanging up in his office for everybody to read and investigate.

The Doctor can be consulted every Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday and Thursday at his Office, on the North-West corner of Euclid and Wilson Avenues, up stairs, in Cleveland, O.

OFFICE HOURS—From 10 A. M. to 12 M; and from 1 to 3 P. M.

He can be consulted every Evening in his Office at Ravenna, O.; also, every Friday, Saturday and Sunday.

JOHN GOUCHER, M. D.

☞ Patients will be visited at their homes, when desired.

REAL ESTATE.

Residence for Sale!
I OFFER for sale my residence, corner of Chestnut streets, Ravenna. The property is in good condition and sold for no fault. Terms easy.
April 8, 1873. M. STUART. 342*

HOUSE AND LOT
On Sycamore Street,
FOR SALE!
A DESIRABLE LOCATION for any one having business in town or at the depot.—Five minutes walk from the Postoffice. Enquire of T. M. JONES
at his Marble Works.
Ravenna, O., Jan 19, 1874. 283-tf.

Great BARGAIN!
A HOUSE, AND THREE TOWN LOTS, 60x180 feet each. The house contains a basement 6 large bedrooms, parlor, sitting-room, dining-room, kitchen, wood-shed, pantry, closets, cupboards, a first-class cellar well and cisterns. The house is in good repair, and the rooms are all large and pleasant. The lot is newly fenced, has a large quantity of fruit, and an excellent garden.
For particulars, apply to J. S. SMITH,
or S. R. FREEMAN.
Ravenna, March 12, 1874. tf

CHOICE VILLAGE LOTS
FOR SALE.
21 GOOD BUILDING LOTS on North Chestnut St, and 3 on King St, near West Main St, are in the market for sale. An investment in Village Lots in Ravenna has proven to be better than money at 20 per cent. interest. For terms, inquire at Law Office of
W. B. THOMAS,
April 30, 1874. 296 Ravenna, O.

D. C. COOLMAN'S ADDITION.
SPLENDID LOTS
FOR SALE!
I have recently laid out, in the North-East part of Ravenna Village,
NINETEEN VILLAGE LOTS!
from sixty to seventy feet front, and 170 feet deep, lying on Bowery, Clinton Avenue, and Lafayette Streets, which I offer for sale at reasonable prices, and upon easy terms.
These lots are finely located, and to those who desire to secure good, comfortable homes, a rare opportunity is offered.
Ravenna, May 16, 1874. 299-tf D. C. COOLMAN.

WELL DIGGING AND DRILLING.
Having recovered from my late misfortune, I tender my services to the people of Ravenna and vicinity as a
WELL DIGGER AND DRILLER.
I am also prepared to clean and repair Wells and Cisterns.
Having had over forty years experience in the business, I can guarantee satisfaction to all who may employ me.
☞ Prices as low as those of any other man in the county. JOHN KAY.
Ravenna, Dec. 3, 1875. 320-tf

Machine Repair Shop.
I will attend to repairing all kinds of machinery at my shop, in the Foundry Building, just north of Pittsburgh R. R. Depot.
JOHN BYERS.
Ravenna, Oct. 1, 1877. 475-3m*

100,000 Bushels
OATS WANTED
AT QUAKER MILLS. Highest market price paid. 471

GEO. E. FAIRCHILD,
(Successor to Seymour & Fairchild,)
DEALER IN
FURNITURE
QUEENSWARE,
FRENCH CHINA,
TABLE CUTLERY,
AND LAMPS.
Picture Framing,
done on short notice, by an experienced workman.
UNDERTAKING
Goods for the burial of the dead, consisting of
Fine and Medium Caskets,
Cheap Coffins,
All grades of Burial Robes,
Embalming Fluid,
and all the necessary articles furnished on the shortest notice.

Best Hearse in Corporation	$4 00
Town " " "	2 00
Best Hearse in adjoining townships	5 00

By a considerate attention to the interests of the public wants in my different departments, I hope to merit a continuance of the generous favors bestowed upon the firm of Seymour & Fairchild, and pledge myself to the interests of my patrons.
GOOD GOODS —AND— LOW PRICES!
at the old stand.
No. 8, Phenix Block,
Ravenna, Ohio
August 4, 1877. 467

GEO. SENYARD,
PORTRAIT PAINTER!
GIRARD, PA.
Persons desiring fine, full-sized, accurate likenesses of themselves or friends painted in oil colors, at a small price, can secure them by sending photographs or other pictures. Work warranted.
Refers to N. Converse, J. C. Prentice, William Ward, N. S. Olin, S. D. Harris and others having samples of his work.
Orders may be left at the PRESS office.

Great Reduction
IN PRICE OF CARRIAGES!
FURRY & SON
WILL SELL THEIR STOCK OF
Carriages, Market and Express Wagons,
20 pr ct. Below the Usual Price
and that, in most cases, will be below the cost of their production.
It is Conceded by Good Judges that we are Headquarters for Durable Work.
Therefore, all in want of a vehicle of any kind, please give us a call before purchasing.
FURRY & SON.
Ravenna, June 1, 1876.

H. C. MUETING,
Merchant Tailor.
I would inform my old customers and the public generally, that I continue to carry on business at the old stand on Main Street, opposite Opera Block, where I will be pleased to wait on all who may favor me with their custom.
I have on hand a large and first class stock of
Cloths, Cassimeres,
Fur Beavers, Coatings, and Fancy Vert Patterns.
which I will sell at the lowest living prices.
Cassimeres from 75 cents to $5.00 per yard.
Tailoring Department.
I will cut and make suits at the following low prices:
Sack Coat Suits, from $9.00 to $10.00;
Frock Coat Suits, from $10.00 to $12.00.
Cutting a Specialty.
Full Suits from $1 00 to $1,25; Sack Coats, 50 cents; Frock Coats, 75 cents; Over Coats, 75 cents; Pants and Vests, from 25 to 35 cts each.
Having had over thirty years experience in the business, eight of which have been spent in Ravenna, I feel confident of my ability to give entire satisfaction to all those who may favor me with their custom.
H. C. MUETING.
Ravenna, Sept. 25, 1874 1877.

CHANDLER'S BROADSIDE.

THE HISTORY OF THE GREAT FRAUD BY ONE WHO KNOWS.

CONCORD, N. H. December 26, 1877.

To the Republicans of New Hampshire:

It is my privilege and duty as your representative on the Republican National Committee to state to you the reasons for my hostility to the so-called Southern policy of the Administration of President Hayes.

I. The Presidential campaign of 1876 was carried on with no announced change of the principles of the Republican party concerning the Southern States lately in rebellion.

The Cincinnati Convention had declared the Republican party to be "sacredly pledged" to the complete protection of all citizens of the South "in the free enjoyment of all their rights." "We declare it to be the solemn obligation of the legislative and executive departments of the Government to put in immediate exercise all their constitutional powers * * * for securing to every American citizen complete liberty and exact equality in the exercise of all civil, political, and public rights. To this end we imperatively demand a Congress and *Chief Executive* whose COURAGE and FIDELITY to these duties shall not falter until these results are placed beyond dispute or recall."

Mr. George William Curtis, in the Convention, had commended his favorite candidate as one who, "armed with the power of the Government of the United States as District Attorney of Kentucky, hunted and hunted and hunted the Ku Klux until the Ku-Klux disappeared. The life of every man at the South is safe in the hands of this man from Kentucky, who has known, as you of the South have bitterly learned, * * * the mortal perils of the struggle."

Governor Hayes, in his letter of acceptance, indorsed the resolutions, and specially declared himself in favor of 'the complete protection of all citizens in the free enjoyment of all their constitutional rights.' 'What the South needs most is peace, and peace depends upon the supremacy of the law. There can be no enduring peace if the constitutional rights of any portion of the people are habitually disregarded.'

The candidate for Vice-President, Hon. William A. Wheeler, announced it to be the mission of the party to secure 'to every American citizen complete liberty and exact equality in the exercise of all civil, political and public rights. This will be accomplished only when the American citizen, without regard to color, shall wear this panoply of citizenship as freely and securely in the cane-brakes of Louisiana as on the banks of the St. Lawrence.'

The Presidential campaign was carried on, so far as methods and utterances were concerned, in no respects differently from the campaigns of 1868 and 1872. The duty of the Federal Government to interfere by all possible constitutional and legal means for the protection of life and a free ballot at the South was the principal issue of the contest. The 'bloody shirt,' as it is termed, was freely waived, and Governor Hayes himself urged prominent public men to put forward, as our best argument, the dangers of 'rebel rule and a solid South.'

On the 8th of November, when he thought himself defeated, he utter these words: 'I do not care for myself * * * but I do care for the poor colored men of the South. * * * Northern men can not live there, and will leave. * * * The Southern people will practically treat the Constitutional Amendments as nullities, and then the colored man's fate will be worse than when he was in slavery. * * * That is the only reason I regret that the news is as it is.'

On this main issue, the necessity of keeping Federal power in Republican hands and using it for the protection of black and white Southern Republicans, was the Presidential campaign, by Governor Hayes' advice and procurement, carried on and won.

II. On the morning of the 7th of November it was apparent that Hayes and Wheeler were elected by one majority, if South Carolina, Florida and Louisiana had given them their votes. But immediately the Tilden forces—hungry Northern and desperate Southern Democrats—determined to prevent the counting of the votes of those States for the Republican candidates; and threats, attempts to bribe, and all manner of foul influences were arrayed to seduce or intimidate the local Republican officials who were to declare the result.

To counteract these machinations, Governor Hayes sent a large array of distinguished persons to the contested States, from Ohio notably, the following:

Messrs. John Sherman, afterward made Secretary of the Treasury; Stanley Matthews, private counsel for Governor Hayes, afterward made United States Senator by his influence; Edward F. Noyes, afterward made Minister to France; John Little, Governor Hayes' Attorney-General; Samuel Shellabarger, Governor Hayes' private counsel; James A. Garfield, member of Electoral Commission and Administration candidate for Speaker; and many others went there from other sections.

In South Carolina and Florida, owing to the manifest facts and to the noble fearlessness of Governor Daniel H. Chamberlain and Governor Marcellus L. Stearns in protecting the Canvassing Boards, the correct result of the election—the choice of the Hayes Electors—was declared, without extraordinary assurances from the Northern visitors.

In Louisiana, however, there had been thrown into the ballot boxes over 7,000 more votes for the Tilden than for the Hayes Electors, and to make Hayes President it became necessary for the Returning Board, acting under peculiar local laws, to throw out more than 7,000 Tilden votes on account of alleged murder, riot and intimidation, preventing a fair and free election to certain parishes. To perform this extraordinary, even if justifiable, work, in the face of an armed and infuriated Democracy, required men of undaunted courage; and such courage the Returning Board possessed. It required also that the Board should have assurances that the National exigency demanded its performance; that the moral sentiment of the North would approve it, and that they themselves should be protected from evil consequence to be apprehended from the violence of a mob government, which it was known would be established by one Nicholls, a pretender to the office of Governor, against Stephen B. Packard, who was sure to be found to be elected Governor if the Hayes Electors should be found to have been chosen.

All these assurances were freely and forcibly given by Mr. Senator Sherman and his associates. Mr. Stanley Matthew declared to Mr. J. E. Leonard, and on more than one occasion, that Hayes and Packard should stand or fall together.

A reported interview of Governor Hayes, December 3d, with Mr. W. R. Roberts, of the New Orleans Times, having occasioned alarm as to the future course of the prospective President toward Southern Republicans and the Louisiana and the South Carolina Governments, Governor Hayes, through his Private Secretary, Captain C. A. Lee, since made Consul-General to Frankfort, and General James M. Comly, of the Ohio State Journal, since made Minister to the Sandwich Islands, denied the reported interview and all sympathy with the sentiments therein expressed.

Encouraged and forced forward by these assurances, the Returning Board boldly performed its duty, gave voice to the murdered Republicans of the bull-dozed parishes of Louisiana, and made Hayes President, and Packard Governor of Louisiana, by titles indissolubly connected in law, in morals and in every rule of honor which prevails among civilized men.

The same tender regard for the Louisiana Republicans, and for the result which they had achieved, continued during the ensuing struggle in Congress. The Returning Board were arrested and confined at Washington by the Confederate House of Representatives. Sick and in prison, they were visited by Senator Sherman and his associates, and urged to stand firm until relief could come from the advent to power of the President, whom they had made. Before the Electoral Commission, to maintain and vindicate their work, Governor Hayes personally continued the employment of Messrs. Matthews and Shellabarger, while Senator Sherman, from his place in the Senate, on December 14th, threatened negro insurrection unless Hayes should be counted in, and 'the poor colored men' placed under his devoted care.

'There are other remedies, but I do not like to discuss them. * *

'We can teach the negroes that they have an inherent right of self-defense * * The negro might soon be taught, especially in those parishes where there were three black men to one white man, that he has the right of self defense; but who wishes to even suggest or intimate, or anticipate such horrors? Who wishes to see a war of races? Yet, rather than see what has occurred in Louisiana, these men will learn * * * that they can resent these outrages; that the negro can defend his cabin, his wife, his children, from these outrages, and that he will be justified by the laws of God and man in repelling these assaults, whether they come by day or by night. I do not want to see this done. I fear it, and yet it will come * * unless you give to the negroes the rights secured to them by the Constitution of the United States.

'I do believe that under a wise policy with an Administration that will be firm in maintaining the rights of the blacks, as well as be generous to the whites, all the clouds that are now lowering upon our house will have passed away, and be in the deep bosom of the ocean buried.'

With substantial unanimity the Republicans of the country seconded the determination of the Representatives in Congress to declare and achieve the election and inauguration of President Hayes; and the Republican party was never more courageous, harmonious or united than on the day of his accession.

III. Coming to the Presidency under these remarkable circumstances, what should have been President Hayes' course?

1. Unquestionably he should have asserted, in every possible way, the moral and legal validity of his own title, and of every step taken by his procurement or desire in the long series of events which established it.

2. He should have maintained faithful and scrupulous allegiance to the principles of the Republican party, by proclaiming which the victory had been won, and to the men of that party whose unprecedented efforts and courage had elevated him to a station of the highest honor and power as its representative.

3. Above all, he should have avoided any yielding or concession to the Democratic party, from which the Presidency had been so suddenly unexpectedly and exasperatingly wrested.

It is inconceivable that any wise or honorable man should be willing to take the Presidency and then suffer or effect any taint upon his own title. Governor Hayes had it in his power at any moment, from November 7th to March 4th, to avoid the responsibilities of the office, but thought not of doing it. On the contrary, at every stage in the progress of the countings, State and National, his active influence was present through his counsel, agents and intimate friends, pressing forward the struggle. Not declining, but eagerly demanding and taking the place, it necessarily follows that he was bound to maintain the integrity of his claim thereto, and of the means by which it was made effectual. Any other course would be sure to bring deserved condemnation and disgrace upon him, self, men of the party who had been prominent in his behalf, and upon the party itself.

To make concessions to the defeated Democracy, and to abandon the principles of his own party, would not only proclaim his doubts as to the rightfulness of his own election, but would also be an admission that such election, even if rightful and honest, was undesirable for the country.

If the men and principles of the Democratic party were to control the country, why should they not do so through Samuel J. Tilden, their appropriate representative? Why the protracted labor, the high excitement, the dangerous struggle, the death or the ruin of Southern Republicans, if the principles of the Republican party were to be abandoned and the Administration to be made Democratic in all respects except in name?

Wisdom and honor, therefore, it seems, to me, clearly required that President Hayes should maintain his own rightfulness of title, and stand by the men and principles of his party. Had he done so, in my belief the Democratic cry of fraud would have been the merest folly; the Republican party would have remained dominant in every Northern State, and several Southern States, and would have swept the country in the recent fall elections.—Instead of this, what do we see?

IV. Almost the first act of the new Administration was to fulfill a bargain that had been made during the Presidential count, by which, if Hayes should be President, the lawful governments of Louisiana and South Carolina were to be abandoned, and the mob governments in those States were to be recognized and established.

Certain Democrats in the House of Representatives, seeing that, by the recurring decisions of the Electoral Commission, and the regular proceedings of the two Houses under the Electoral Bill, which they had warmly supported, Hayes would surely be President, conceived the idea of saving something from the wreck. They had, therefore, threatened by dilatory motions and riotous proceedings, to break up the count, and then opened negotiations with such timid or too eager expectant Republicans as they could find ready. They had succeeded beyond their most sanguine expectations. Senator Sherman had visited Ohio and consulted Governor Hayes. Mr. Henry Watterson, a Democratic member, and a nephew of Mr. Stanley Matthews, had acted as a go-between; and on the one side Messrs. Matthews, Charles Foster, John Sherman, James A Garfield, and on the other L. Q. C. Lamar, John B. Gordon, E. J. Ellis, Randall Gibsir, E. Burke and John Young Brown, had agreed, first, that the count should not be broken up in the House, but that Hayes should be declared and inaugurated President; and second, that upon Hayes' accession the troops should be withdrawn from protecting Governors Chamberlain and Packard, and that the new Administration should recognize the Government of Wade Hampton in South Carolina and F. H. Nichols in Louisiana.

By certain general and indefinite letters, since given to the public, by a secret writing now in the hands of E. A. Burke, and in other ways, the agreement was authenticated; and President Grant was immediately requested by Governor Hayes' counsel on no account to recognize Packard or Chamberlain, but to leave the ultimate decision as to their fate to the incoming President.

After the inauguration the bargain was speedily fulfilled. As soon as the Electoral vote of their States was safe, Governor's Packard and Chamberlain had been notified by Messrs. Matthews and Evarts to get out. Governor Chamberlain was now summoned to Washington, and informed that he must surrender. He protested against his taking off. The President hesitated but Wade Hampton demanded the performance of the bargain. Mr. Matthews was sent for, came from Ohio, and within twenty-four hours the United States flag was ordered down in Charleston, and Governor Chamberlain stamped out.

As to Louisiana, the fulfillment proceeded more slowly, but none the less surely. Packard had made, March 21, a constitutional call for Federal aid, which it was difficult to hold from one as surely Governor as Hayes was President. And yet there was the bargain.

As a subterfuge, an unconstitutional commission, consisting of
Messrs. JOHN M. HARLAN,
JOSEPH R. HAWLEY,
C. B. LAWRENCE,
WAYNE MCVEAGH,
JOHN G. BROWN,
was sent to New Orleans, instructed to gradually destroy the Packard Legislature by seducing its members into the Nicholls Legislature. But they proving too stubbornly Republican, the Commission telegraphed the President that nothing would destroy Packard but the actual order withdrawing the troops. At the word the President gave the order, Packard was crushed, and the Commission returned triumphant to Washington, to "be recognized," one of them, General Harlan, by an appointment as Judge of the Supreme Court; another, Mr. Lawrence, by the release of Jake Rehm, the great whisky conspirator and defrauder of the revenue, of Chicago; General Hawley was offered the appointment of Chief Commissioner to the Paris Exhibition, but declined because the salary would be only $5,000; and three offices were tendered to Mr. McVeagh and declined on the ground that his signal services demanded more ample recognition; the English mission was next assigned him, but circumstances have made its delivery inexpedient or impossible.

One other hope remained to Governor Packard. He had a lawful Court of justice, and might appeal to that. But there were two vacancies, and it required all three of the Judges—Ludeling, Leonard and John E. King—to make a quorum. Judge King was immediately appointed Collector of New Orleans, Packard's Court was struck down, and the Nicholls mob-government reigned supreme. The bargain was in every way fulfilled, and Mr. Burke had no occasion, as he had threatened, to make public the secret agreement. Hayes had been made President by the fidelity and courage of Packard and Chamberlain and their devoted followers, and the Administration had trampled them down.

V. In further pursuance of the bargain made with the Southern Democrats, the new administration has adopted a so-called Southern policy, (1) entirely contrary to the announced principles of the Republican party, (2) which has been carried out by the abandonment of all Federal intention and effort to protect life, property, or suffrage at the South, or to enforce the constitutional amendments, and (3) has resulted in the enforced dissolution of the Republican party at the South, and its demoralization, division and defeats at the North.

Senator Dawes, at Faneuil Hall, November 2, in defending what he admits to be a change—a new departure—bases it upon the proposition than 'when the rebels laid down their arms, the States and the people fell back at once into their old position, every one of them with as much power as before the war. The rebel went from the battle-field to the ballot-box, and stood there equal with his conqueror.'

Messrs. Charles Foster and Stanley Matthews, in their written guarantee of February 26, 1877, to John B. Gordon and John Young Brown, defined the new policy to be to give the Southern States 'the right to control their own affairs in their own way;' and John Young Brown so describes in his account of the bargain.

By the New York Tribune, of September 26th, it appears that Governor Wade Hampton is still with the party and is introduced by the President to every audience as an honest and patriotic man, and, that at Atlanta, Hampton said of the President: 'When I saw him carrying out the policy for twelve years advocated by the Democratic party, I said I would sustain him in that policy as long as he continued in that path.'

President Hayes himself calls his new policy only the application of the principle of 'local self government,' and thus eulogizes the Georgians who are to be intrusted with it:

'You, here, mainly joined the Confederate side, and fought bravely, risked your lives heroically in behalf of your convictions. And can any true man, any-where, fail to respect the man who risks his life for his convictions?'

At Chattanooga, September 20th, he said: 'As I demand respect from the man I found fighting against me for my convictions, I yield the same measure of respect to him who fought for his convictions.'

At Gallatin, Tenn. he said: 'We have differed in the past, but we have fought out that difference. Those among you who fought and risked your lives, did so for your principles. We fought and risked our lives on the opposite side for our convictions, and men who can do that can meet and look each other in the face with respect always.'

At Atlanta, September 23d, he said: 'So, with no discredit to you and no special credit to us, the war turned out as it did.'

Having thus blotted out all distinctions between loyalty and treason, between Union and rebel soldiers, between the torturers of Andersonville and the veterans of the North, he is equally explicit as to what he means to do for the poor colored men, whom he pitied so much November 8th: 'And, now, my colored friends, listen. * * * After thinking it over, I believed that your rights and interests would be safe if the great mass of intelligent white men were LET ALONE by the General Government.'

His confidence in his new friends is complete. At Chattanooga also he tells the colored people: 'Our confidence is perfect, that with the bayonets removed from the South, the people of the South would be safer in every right, in every interest, than they ever were when protected merely by the bayonet.'

As the policy of the Democratic party was to be carried out at the South, a Southern Confederate General, Mr. D. M. Key, a Democrat, who had opposed Hayes' election, and in the Senate denounced his election as fraudulent, was appointed Postmaster General, and commenced the distribution of the Southern Post-offices to rebel Democrats.

The negro murderers of Hamburg and Ellenton had been indicted in the Federal Courts of South Carolina. The great and good Hampton appealed for their release, and it was accorded by the President in a letter of May 12th, granting general amnesty to negro murderers as 'political offenders.' To make immunity more certain, the policy of appointing as District Attorneys and Marshals men agreeable to the white people of the South—that is, Democrats—was determined upon.

At the dictation of the most trusted and potent adviser of the Administration, General Gordon—captured by Grant in 1876—one O. P. Fitzsimmons a rebel Democrat and a cousin of Wade Hampton, was appointed Marshal of Georgia, in place of one Smythe, a competent and honest Republican, and was confirmed by the Democratic Senators' votes and that of Stanley Matthews alone.

Prior to the selection of Fitzsimmons the President had determined to change Smythe and appoint Mr. W. A. Huff, of Macon, a Democrat whom Gordon had selected. Some Republicans of Georgia joined in recommending Huff, upon discovering which damning fact, Gordon retraced his selection of Huff and procured the President to nominate Fitzsimmons.

Gordon thus states his reasons in a letter to Huff: 'I heard for the first time that you were being pressed for appointment as a suitable person to build up the Republican party in Georgia. Surprised at this I at once asked the President to withhold any appointment for a day, and until I could be heard from. The President consented.'

'Messrs. McBurney and Dibble, Republicans from Macon, * * * say in their letter to the President that your appointment would materially strengthen Republicanism in Georgia in harmonizing conflicting party differences, and bring much strength from sources hitherto dormant or in active opposition.

'I therefore ask the President the direct question: 'Is Mr. Huff urged for appointment as a Democrat?' He said: 'No, not as a Democrat, but as a man with very liberal ideas in politics.'

'The information given me by the President himself, supplemented by the fact that Messrs. McBurney and Dibble had presented and urged your appointment because it would materially strengthen Republicanism in Georgia, were the reasons, for my opposition to your appointment.

'They left me no alternative but to say to the President that I did not believe your appointment would be acceptable to the people of Georgia.

'Had you made known your disapproval of such arguments, you would have saved the President from any misapprehension as to your political status, me from the disagreeable task which a sense of duty to my State compelled me to perform, and yourself, possibly, from the mortification experienced at the loss of the office you desired to fill. J. B. GORDON.'

And so General Gordon procured Samuel J. Tilden—no, Rutherford B. Hayes!—to turn out Smythe, a Republican; change from Huff, a liberal Democrat, to Fitzsimmons, a rebel Democrat, and make the latter Marshal to protect the poor colored people of Georgia.

Of a like character, procured by like influences, are the appointments of Waldon as Marshal of Tennessee, and and Northrop and his assistant as District Attorneys in South Carolina.

These significant instances of a surrender of the power of the Federal Courts to Rebel Democracy, the prompt and Complete amnesty to all negro murderers and Ku-Klux, and the eager trampling out the only remaining Republican State Governments in the South, entirely crushed all Republican courage and left Republicans at the mercy of their enraged enemies, who turned upon them with fierce hatred.

Persecutions and prosecutions in the State Courts have been freely resorted to, and obnoxious Republicans driven away or unjustly convicted. The Republican party has been compelled to disband, and the dangers of a solid South and rebel rule, which President Hayes wanted the people of Ohio made to believe would be averted if he were elected, have become terrible realities.

In Mississippi, Governor Stone, infamous for his failure to prosecute effectually the Chisholm murderers, was re-elected by 96,382 votes, only 1,168 Republicans daring to go to the polls, where in 1872, Grant had 82,175 votes and Greeley only 47,288, and in 1876 Hayes had 52,605 votes to 112,173 for Tilden. In Virginia, 101,940 Democratic votes were cast, and 4,389 Republican.

In Georgia the Republican party, seeing Senators Gordon and Hill the intimate friends and trusted advisers of President Hayes, dictating the appointments and controling the Federal patronage, must of necessity dissolve, and yet, in 1872, Grant had 62,550 votes and Greeley 76,346, and even Hayes had 50,446 to 130,068 for Tilden.

In Pennsylvania, where Hayes had 384,122 votes to 366,158 for Tilden, the Republican party in 1877, weighted by the Hayes policy, cast but 244,489 votes, a falling off of 140,000, and the Democrats carried the State by 7,000 majority.

In Ohio, where Hayes had 330,698 to 323,182 for Tilden, the Republican party in 1877 cast only 241,437 votes, a loss of 89,261, and lost the State by 27,000 majority, and the Legislature by over forty majority, which the previous year had been Republican by thirty-five majority.

In Massachusetts, where the new policy was most offensively thrust down the throats of Republicans, of the 150,063 voters for Hayes, who gave him 42,000 majority over Tilden, over 70,000 refused to vote for Governor Rice in 1877, and the majority against him was 1,836, and it was only by the support and money of the organized rum-sellers of the State, and over 10,000 Democratic votes procured by rum influence, that he secured his election by a plurality, and the State was saved from the fate of Ohio and Pennsylvania.

Look, however, at the result where the new policy was repudiated:

In Iowa, Hayes had 59,228 plurality, and in 1877 the Republicans had 51,823 plurality.

In New York, Tilden had 32,742 majority, and in 1877 the Democrats had only a 11,264 majority, although the new policy men promoted the Democratic side by indifference, and by procuring the new Administration to make or announce many injudicious removals of Federal officers for the sole purpose of irritating and humiliating Senator Conkling and his friends.

VI. "These, then, are the facts before us:

1. Rutherford B. Hayes was elected President by the Republican party on the platform of opposition to rebel rule and a solid South; and with pledges to protect, to the extent of Federal power, life, suffrage, and the free exercise of all political rights at the South; was counted in as President only by reason of special pledges to the same effect given by his representatives and agents Senator Sherman and other Ohio emissaries, who particularly and emphatically promised that he would recognize and maintain the lawful State Governments of South Carolina and Louisiana, and stand by Governors Chamberlain and Packard.

2. Before the actual declaration of his election, and to secure the same a deliberate written bargain was made in his behalf by the same Senator Sherman and his associates, by which it was agreed with Senator Gordon, and other Southern rebel Democrats, that when he should be President no attempt should be made to enforce the above principles of his party, but that the South should be allowed to manage its own affairs in its own way, and that in particular he would abandon the lawful State Governments of Louisiana and South Carolina, and recognize in their stead the mob Governments of Wade Hampton and F. H. Nicholls.

3. After his inauguration, the bargain was literally fulfilled; the United States flag was disgracefully taken down in Columbia and New Orleans; the lawful Governments notified to surrender to rebel mobs, and, upon their hesitation, deliberately and actively torn down by his Administration by unconstitutional processes, and the use of Federal patronage, vigorously wielded by the same Secretary Sherman and his associates; the mob governments of Hampton and Nicholls recognized; and a Solid South and rebel rule established by the swift and eager action of his Administration.

4. All attempts to administer the Government upon the principles by proclaiming which he had been elected and counted in, were deliberately abandoned; the South notified that it should not be interfered with by his administration; Southern Ku-Klux and negro murders released and amnestied by Presidential order; the enforcement of Federal laws at the South given up, or intrusted to rebel Democratic hands; Senator Gordon and his fellow-bargainers accepted as the intimate and acknowledged advisers of the President and the disposers of Federal patronage; and the black and white Republicans of the South mercilessly surrendered to the insults, persecutions and atrocities of their Democratic enemies.

5. As a necessary result of all this, the Republican party at the South was disbanded, and no Republican votes were cast in