Political.

LIGHT ON YEARS OF FRAUD

A STARTLING EXPOSURE OF CORRUPTION IN THE TREASURY DEPARTMENT.

Gigantic Frauds Unearthed by the Committee—Millions on Millions of the Public Funds Stolen and Squandered—Robbing the Country With Impunity Money to Carry Elections—Startling Deficits in the Public Moneys—How the Bureau of Printing and Engraving is Now Found Absolutely Unchecked and the National Finances at the Mercy of Scoundrels and Robbers.

The following from the N. Y. *Star* is a document which deserves the thoughtful consideration of every citizen, no matter what may be his political predilections. It is the report of the Congressional Committee of which Hon. John M. Glover was Chairman, which committee was empowered to investigate the affairs of the Treasury Department and the numerous ramifications, including the Secret Service and the Printing and Engraving Bureaus. Republican influence of the strongest character has been brought to bear on the members of the committee and upon Congress itself to prevent publicity being given to the history of the shameless mismanagement of the national finances which the committee discovered. The result was that notwithstanding Democratic activity the report of the committee was suppressed in Congress, and every effort to bring it to the light has met with the most violent partisan opposition up to the present time.

The record of infamy and corruption in the National Treasury and its various bureaus, under the management of John Sherman and his immediate predecessors, is a startling one, and has been fully laid bare by the committee. Millions upon millions of dollars of the people's money have been squandered and stolen; the Department has been made a tool for most infamous purposes; secret issues of money have been made to carry elections for the Republicans; all avenues that might lead to exposure have been closed, and honest, conscientious officials dismissed; the Southern people have been shamelessly plundered by Sherman's Treasury Ring; the mints have been a mine for official thieves, speculators and defaulters, and the country has been flooded with counterfeit paper whenever such a course served the purposes of the Ring and its dependents. The report, moreover, shows that there is absolutely no check or safeguard against the perpetration or repetition of the greatest frauds in the national finances under Sherman's management, and closes with recommendations which cannot but be deemed necessary under the circumstances.

The report in substance is as follows:

The document opens by stating that Rule 103 of the House, adopted during Madison's Administration, directs this committee to inquire and report whether the expenditures of the Treasury Department are justified by law; whether the claims satisfied are supported by vouchers establishing their justness; whether the moneys disbursed have been so paid in accordance with appropriation laws, and whether any and what provisions are necessary to provide more perfectly for the proper application of the public moneys, and to secure the Government from demands unjust in character or extravagant in amount; to report from time to time whether any and what retrenchment can be made in the expenditure of the Department without detriment to the public service; whether any and what abuses exist in the failure to inforce the payment of moneys due the United States from public defaulters or others; whether any offices in the Department have become useless or unnecessary; and to report on the expediency of modifying or abolishing such offices. Under this rule little was done for a long time, and when Mr. Glover was placed at the head of the committee in 1877 the gathered wrongs of years had to be inquired into. The committee had been habitually packed by Speakers Colfax and Blaine with do-nothings. January 11, 1878, the House instructed the committee to proceed with its duties (which it had sometime betore begun), and empowered it to send for persons and papers (compel attendance of witnesses and production of documents needed as evidence and to pay the attendant expense), and to examine all the affairs of the Treasury for such periad as the committee might deem necessary for its own guidance or the protection of the public interests and the exposing of any frauds or abuses. The necessary authority to pay a clerk and experts was, however, by the intrigues of interested parties delayed until March 7, when the session was more than half gone. Nevertheless, the work was pushed as fast and far as circumstances would allow.

The Treasury at Washington contains over thirty bureaus and divisions equivalent to bureaus, charged with important functions and the oversight of more than 12,000 employes. The scope of its powers extend from New Brunswick to California, from the Mexican Gulf to the Polar Ocean, and those powers are in their exercise often despotic to a degree that admits of the suppression of proof of official misconduct. Beside these thirty odd Bureaus at Washington the Treasury Department contains sub-treasuries at Baltimore, Boston, Chicago, Cincinnati, New Orleans, New York, Philadelphia, San Francisco and St. Louis. It also contains mints at Philadelphia, San Francisco, Carson, Denver and New Orleans, assay offices at Boise, Charlotte, Helena and New York; a chain of custom houses and custom offices stretching across the continent from Eastport, Me., along the frontiers of New Brunswick, Canada, Lakes Ontario, Huron and Superior, the frontiers of Manitoba and British Columbia, to Port Townsend on Puget Sound, Washington Territory, thence northward along the Pacific Coast to the Asiatic Sea, southward to the boundary of Lower California, eastward and southward along the frontier of Mexico, eastward along the shores of the Gulf, southward to Key West, and thence northeast along the Atlantic Coast to Maine, with an organization embracing also the interior States of Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Kentucky, Missouri, Nebraska, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Tennessee, Vermont and West Virginia, with the Navy and special "revenue marine" fleet of thirty-seven vessels to enforce the Customs laws—the Treasury having charge of building, equipment, repair, purchase and sale of these revenue vessels, and the examination, admission and government of cadets therein—a network of assessors, collectors and other Internal Revenue officials reaching over the whole country, with the United States Army and the Federal Courts to uphold them; the construction, illumination, inspection and superintendence of 600 lighthouses, and of the light vessels, beacons, buoys, sea marks, fog signals, and of the arrangements for saving lives during shipwrecks along the entire coast, river and lake in the United States, including 4 000 pilots, engineers, etc.; hospitals and physicians for 28 000 sick or disabled seamen, located at New York, San Francisco, Baltimore, New Orleans, Louisville, Boston, Chicago, Mobile, Detroit, Key West, Portland, Me.; Pittsburgh, Norfolk, Philadelphia, St. Louis, Cincinnati, Galveston, Cairo, Savannah, Washington, Evansville, Cleveland, Milwaukee, Binghamton and Newbern; the U. S Coast Survey, whose operations extend over the interior and along the northern lakes; the supervision of the seal fisheries and other matters in Alaska; the registration, enrolment, documenting and mortgaging of 25,000 American vessels, the entry and clearance of 31 000 vessels yearly from and for foreign countries, and the admeasurement and tonnage of all these; twenty "special agents" engaged in detection of smuggling and frauds; a "Secret Service" employing many persons professedly in detection of counterfeiting. The Treasury is charged with the custody of funds held in trust by the Government for Indian tribes; with the organization, supervision and winding up of 2 000 national banks; the publication of charts of the "Coast Pilot;" the custody and manufacture of standard weights and measures; the engraving, printing, issue, redemption, destruction and entire management of over $2,000,000 000 of public debt and $700 000 000 of paper currency; the coinage of 80 000,000 gold and silver dollars yearly; the construction and custody of nearly all public buildings; the preparation of the statistics of commerce and navigation; the collection of hundreds of millions of customs and internal revenue yearly from the people; the final scrutiny and settlement of all the expenditures of the Federal Government, and the keeping of the Government's accounts. Since 1861 over $13,000,000 000 have passed through the Treasury's hands.

In 1877 the "Graves Committee," appointed by Secretary Sherman to examine the Bureau of Engraving and Printing, reported that "in the Treasury Department especially that the efficiency of the supervision of its chief authorities is greatly impaired by the vastness of the field which its administration covers." In 1874 the Committee on Ways and Means reported to the House, in connection with the Sanborn case, that the responsibility for official acts is very loose and easily evaded, subordinates being able to control matters supposed to be decided by superiors. Secretary Boutwell reported in 1869 regarding a single breach of the Department that, "It is impossible for the Secretary of the Treasury to give to the various questions that arise in the management of the system the attention which is essential to the service."

SINECURES BY THE HUNDRED.

In the Bureau of Engraving and Printing it was found that shortly before last year's elections nearly 300 needless employes were put on the pay-rolls. Instead of the Bureau costing about $150,000 in the fiscal year 1878, as has been publicly represented, it really cost the Government in various ways over $800,000, thus:

"Aggregate expense of operating the Bureau," (Chief's report)	$538 861 33
Paper used	182,926 31
Material in stores, diminution of stock	31 990 15
Working Macerator	3,000 0
Rent made necessary	7,000 00
Site for new building	27,636 00
Interest on value of machinery and tools	15,229 89
Interest on value of dies and rolls	11 193 47
Interest on value of plates	3,947 93
Interest on value of material and stores carried	2 036 90
Interest on value of paper carried	6,000 00
Interest on cost of unfinished securities carried	2,056 52
Approximate "aggregate cost"	$832,528 50

About a million and a quarter of public money is permanently invested in the Bureau, thus:

Distinctive paper on hand May 1. 1877	$300,000 00
Space occupied in Treasury building	216 666 66
Machinery and tools	2 3 851 52
Stores	105 947 56
Dies and rolls	186 557 85
Engraved steel plates	65 632 23
Machine shop and site	50,000 00
Unfinished notes, bonds and stamps carried and on hand	65 6 8 17
Approximate investment	$1,214,333 98

$27,000,000 WASTED AND STOLEN.

Wherever approximate figures are given in this report they are below rather than above the truth. The cost of the Bureau for the sixteen years of its existence is so mixed in the Treasury accounts with other matters that it could not be precisely ascertained without the labor of a number of competent clerks for many months. According to the best attainable information at least $27,000,000 have been spent on it, much of which has been wasted or stolen. The report gives a list of expenditures which are officially shown or admitted to be needless or fraudulent, as follows:

1862-3, dry printing	$500,000
1863-8, rent, needless	2[illegible],000
1869-76 waterproofing	266,000
1869-73, needless employes, excessive wages	1,360,000
1873-7, needless employes, excessive wages	1,700 000
1862-77, excessive prices for seal red ink	120,000
1874, excessive prices for printing fractional currency	90 000
1869 77, re-examination of paper	600,000
1869-78, excessive prices of paper	200 000
1871 77, useless purchase of paper	60 000
Needless engraving	19,000
1876 7, unfinished fractional currency destroyed	850,000
1877-8, needless printing on fractional currency	131 602
1878, site for new building	27,636

This, the report states, is by no means the whole loss, but simply what could be ascertained in the time at command. The amount overdrawn and wasted in 1878 is ascertained from the figures furnished by the Chief of the Bureau to the committee, and from the bills rendered by and paid to the Bureau for work for other bureaus, at these totals:

	Drawn from Treasury for work on	Real cost.	Overdrafts.
Legal tenders	$216 111 62	$101 599 83	$123,211 79
National Bank notes	139 827 33	1[illegible]2 056 83	18,770 50
Bonds consols	70,512 10	30,449 90	40 092 20
	$426,480 05	$244,406 56	$182,074 59
Add new building site	27,737 00	9 574 00	18,163 00
Total	$454,016 05	$253,780 56	$200,236 59

THE "DRY PRINTING" FRAUD.

Thus nearly half appears to be waste in a "reform" administration of the Bureau. If previous management was no worse—and it is known that it was no better—about $12 000 000 have been wasted or stolen. The "dry printing" fraud was an effort to print fractional currency on dry paper by hydrostatic pressure. In this attempt $300 000 were wasted by a professed inventor named Stuart Gwynn, and it now turns out on inspection of the secret archives of the Patent Office that the then Chief of the Bureau, Spencer M. Clark, was part owner with Gwynn in the worthless patent, for developing which he paid Gwynn much of this money. The "waterproofing" fraud was a pretense to make greenbacks and fractional currency waterproof by dipping the paper into a mixture of water, castile soap and some other ingredients. This bath had no good effect, and the mixture cost about 5 cents a gallon, while from 50 to 95 cents a gallon was paid for it. For the red ink used for printing the seals on notes from two to twelve prices were paid. The Internal Revenue Bureau, the Bureau of Statistics, the office of the Marine Hospital Service, the Lighthouse Board, and other parts of the Treasury building by the wholly unnecessary enlargement of this unnecessary Bureau, which has no authority of law (beyond yearly appropriations) for its existence. This crowding out has made the Government pay large sums in rent for outside accommodations, which were superfluous, because the Currency Printing Bureau was not needed at all, responsible parties having always stood ready to do in a way safer, cheaper and finer, all that the Bureau has done. For the same reason no new building for the Bureau was needed, and the appropriation of $327 536 which was forced through the House under the previous question without debate in the confusion attending the close of the session in June, 1878, is a clear waste and loss, as is also the $50,000 obtained by the same means last February for moving the Bureau from the Treasury into the new building. For the first half of the fiscal year 1879, ending December 31, 1878 the expenditures of the Bureau were nearly $800 000, or about double those of the previous year; and the Bureau by misrepresentations obtained appropriations of about a million for the present year. This presents a strong contrast to McPherson's claim to have spent but $200 000 a year and to have made large savings. Large sums have been yearly asked and obtained for "new machinery," and some of this machinery is stored as useless, yet the demand for fresh appropriations goes on yearly, though the Bureau always claims to be better equipped than any private establishment. The Bureau also has on hand engraved work enough to supply, in printing notes and bonds, the Government's needs for fifty years to come, yet large sums are yearly spent on engraving, though the engraving division of the Bureau is practically useless.

EXTRAVAGANT AND CORRUPT OFFICIALS.

Among the very first reforms made after the "reorganization" of the Bureau in May, 1877, when Edward McPherson took charge, was the purchase of an expensive carriage and horse ($450 for the former and $225 for the latter), and the employment of a man as driver, whose pay ($1.50 per day) was increased by an allowance of 37½ cents each day as extra time, and the cost of the carriage and horse, as well as livery bill of the latter (amounting to $20 per month), was paid from the appropriation for labor and expenses of engraving and printing the securities of the Government; the whole reserved exclusively for the private use of the Chief of the Bureau, except for the few hours the driver acted as messenger in the office.

When McPherson entered on his duties he made requisition on the custodian of the building for the construction of a new office and fittings for the same. A portion of the money appropriated for "labor and expenses of engraving and printing" was diverted from its legitimate channel and disbursed under the direction of the custodian for this purpose.

The printing of bank notes has been taken from the Comptroller of the Currency, in violation of law, and put into this corrupt Bureau. The printing of the backs of greenbacks, fractional currency and bonds has been taken from responsible and skillful engravers—also in disregard and violation of law—and is now all done in that concern; and the Revised Statutes have been tampered with to make it seem lawful. This concentration of the printing in the Bureau has been condemned as every way wrong by repeated reports of investigators. It has been excused by false pretenses of cheap work.

September 25, 1877, in response to advertisements inviting proposals for printing the blank backs on national bank notes, bids were received from engravers, and when opened were found to range from $12 to $8 94 per 1,000 sheets. The Chief of the Bureau offered to do the work for $3.92, two cents lower than the least bid, and the work was awarded to the Bureau.

An inspection of the bills rendered under this arrangement showed that while the Bureau charged $8 92 per 1 000 sheets for the first printing, it charged $14 for the green printing on the backs, and $20 for the faces; being together $42 92 a thousand for the three printings, instead of $29 76 as on the basis of this bid it should have done. The Bureau also obtained, in violation of law, the printing of the black backs of the legal tenders by putting in an absurd "bid" of $8 27 per 1,000 impressions. At this rate the completed bank notes should not have cost over $37.66 a 1,000 sheets; but the Chief admitted that it was $45 79, and his own figures revealed the fact that it was $101.15! The Bureau accounts are not so kept as to show the cost of printing any kind of obligation, and these facts had to be dug out. The accounts had also been falsified in various respects.

SECRET ISSUES OF GOVERNMENT NOTES AND BONDS TO THE EXTENT OF $6,550,000,000.

It is remarkable, and somewhat alarming, that this corrupt and law-defying Bureau has by its showing, printed notes and bonds for which the Government is liable to the extent, up to June 30, 1878, of $6 550,000,000, and that while it has been conducted with extreme secrecy, it has done $5,775 000,000 within nine years past, and also 13,000,000,000 of revenue stamps.

In 1873, when the panic was at its height, George F. Cutter, now Paymaster-General of the Navy, remitted to Pay Director Bradford at London $500,000 to meet drafts drawn by Paymasters all over the world on Jay Cook, McCulloch & Co. Cutter bought bills of exchange from Francis O. French, exchange teller of the First National Bank of New York and New York agent of Jay Cooke, McCulloch & Co., the very house against whose threatened failure the many drafts at London were to be protected by remitting to Bradford. Oct. 4 he drew from the New York Sub-Treasury $300,000, and Oct. 6 $181,323, and paid them to French for bills of exchange. This he did some days before the mail left for London, and, as cash was then worth 5 per cent. a day in the market, French and his associates were enabled to use this half million to make $100,000 or upward. Cutter swore that he did this by order of Secretary Robeson.

WIDENING THE SCOPE OF THE INVESTIGATION.

Thousands of dollars, the total not being ascertainable without a much longer investigation were found to have been obtained from the Treasury as interest on registered bonds by forging powers of attorney for their collection, the forgers in many cases having confederates in the Treasury. Beside this, Treasury employes, who had means of knowing to whom this interest was due, had confederates outside who went to the owners and told them—the existence of the claim being forgotten or in some way overlooked or unknown—that they knew where there was money due them, and could procure it, but must have half for their services. This extortion was made practicable by the Treasury taking no steps to notify owners of the failure to collect, and keeping the whole matter a profound secret. George Sharp Jenkins, the man who seems to have been most largely engaged in these extortions, was warned of his approaching arrest by some one in the secret, and fled the country; but not till a package containing $500 thus obtained and addressed by him to the wife of the clerk of the First Auditor's Office who had furnished the information, had fallen into the hands of Major William B. Moore, Supervising Special Agent of the Treasury, who detected the operations. When Major Moore asked the detail of an operative from the Secret Service to help this detection, one Maxwell was detailed, who had been appointed in reward for his services in 1876, who afterward received an appointment in the army for the same cause, who has since been sent to the penitentiary for misconduct in the army, and who seems to have played the spy and done all he could to shield the parties concerned.

FRAUDULENT COLLECTION OF INTEREST.

This inquiry, however, which seemed to be desired by all treasury authorities, while it related to extortion, had a very different fate when it reached the forgeries. At the same time that the package of $500 fell into Supervising Agent Moore's hands, a package was also found addressed to the wife of the Interest Teller of the Treasurer's office, containing a valuable silk dress pattern. This was kept by the teller, C. L. Jones, till he learned that one of Moore's assistants had inquired about it, when he returned it to the sender, R. M. Williams, formerly Deputy Collector of Customs at New York, who had lately been indicted for complicity in the "Lawrence" frauds on the revenue, and who was soon after detected in fraudulently collecting unclaimed interest from the Government by forging powers of attorney. In three cases it was ascertained that A. U. Wyman, Treasurer of the United States, had learned of these frauds, and instead of exposing Williams and having him punished, had compelled him to refund the money, and then surrendered to him the forged papers that would have convicted him. One of these three forged powers of attorney was drawn in favor of Interest Teller Jones, who, in paying the many sums collected by Williams, drew the check, in violation of regulations, in favor of Williams, instead of in favor of the claimant, and gave Williams other privileges. Treasurer Wyman knew of Williams' fraud before Moore found the package addressed to Mrs. Jones; but while hearing the investigation of the extortion by outsiders, he let Moore know nothing of these forgeries, though Moore informed him of the finding of the Jones package. Williams was introduced to Jones and vouched for—while under indictment—by the Appointment Clerk of the Treasury, J. W. Porter, and by D. Baker, Chief of the Loan Division of the Secretary's office. During the Glover investigation Baker resigned. Some of these fraudulent payments were made to Williams through Middleton & Co., bankers, Washington. The head, S. E. Middleton, was one of Treasurer Wyman's bondsmen, formerly cashier of the Treasurer's office, and in at least one case where Wyman returned the forged papers to Williams, Middleton & Co., at last accounts still held the money, no effort being made by the Treasury officials to compel its return, and Wyman is still a defaulter to that extent. The startling facts were discovered by the committee that Wyman's accounts had been passed and settled as correct, this defalcation not being known to the persons who settled his accounts except to his bondsman Middleton, who said naught of it; that the Treasury records do not show the character of the fraudulent payments; that the sole means of detection is for the owner to claim the money, and that the entry of the fraudulent transaction and the forged signature to the receipt for the money were scratched off the Treasurer's office records. This unclaimed interest has at times been several millions in amount. When not called for after a long time, it should revert to the Government, but the Treasury has taken no steps of this kind.

WHAT ASSISTANT SECRETARY CONANT KNEW.

It turns out that Charles F. Conant, Assistant Secretary of the Treasury, was intimate with the forger and swindler Williams, and that J. W. Porter, Appointment Clerk of the Treasury, and D. Baker, Chief of the Loan Division of the Secretary's office, who introduced Williams, and vouched for him while under indictment, to Interest Teller Jones, knew all about the unclaimed interest business, Baker having been designated by the Secretary to aid and protect owners in collecting their money, and Porter having had charge of the records of the fund in the First Auditor's office.

In 1874 John P. Bigelow, then Chief of the Loan Division, Secretary's office, under Secretary Richardson obtained a copy of the record of unclaimed interest, much of which was due to parties abroad. Soon after, he was made London agent of the Government in syndicate operations. When he went abroad the list of claimaints disappeared. He staid abroad till 1877, and when Williams was in danger, returned to defend him. James H. Robinson, Assistant Solicitor of the Treasury, declined to aid Moore's investigation, saying, "They don't want it continued up stairs," referring to the Secretary's office; and he co-operated with Appointment Clerk Porter in an effort to break down Moore's investigation by abolishing the force of Inspectors of Customs, to which Moore's assistant in the matter—who had first traced the Jones package—belonged. Robinson suddenly manufactured an opinion that there was no law for the existence of this force, which has existed over fifty years. When Moore informed Assistant Secretary Conant of Williams' frauds, Conant, to Moore's astonishment, advised him to drop the inquiry, and he threw such difficulties in its way that Moore felt forced to suspend it the whole time that Conant was Acting Secretary of the Treasury. When Sherman became Secretary, Moore reported the facts to him, and Sherman referred the matter to George F. Talbot, Solicitor of the Treasury, instructing him to complete the inquiry in accordance with Moore's suggestions. Moore and Treasurer Gilfillan, who had co-operated, conferred with Talbot and enabled him to obtain evidence to establish the facts. They cautioned him against Conant, Bigelow, Baker, Robinson and others; but within forty eight hours they were shut out from the investigation, and these very men, including Williams, were in constant communication with Talbot. The suspected parties had possession of and passed round the testimony and reports against Williams, and some of them called Treasurer Gilfillan to account for telling what he knew. Gilfillan went to New York to aid District Attorney Woodford to arrest and prosecute Williams there. Williams was warned of this and passed Gilfillan between New York and Washington, appearing before Talbot and saying he was informed Talbot wanted him. While Gilfillan was arranging Williams' arrest with Woodford, the latter received a telegram from Talbot, directing him to act in concert with Bigelow, Williams' friend, and himself under suspicion, and to try to have Williams give up the list of owners of unclaimed interest to Bigelow! Before the Glover Committee Talbot swore that he never sent such a telegram, but the committee obtained a copy of it, with his signature. This dispatch stopped Gilfillan. Talbot allowed Williams to be examined without arrest by a United Stases Commissioner of Williams' choosing. Neither Moore, Gilfillan nor any other person who knew the facts, was notified of this "examination," or allowed to testify; only witnesses friendly to him were examined, and he was discharged. When Middleton & Co. were asked to refund the sums wrongfully paid to them on Williams' fraudulent account, the letter addressed to them at Washington was answered by Williams from London. Talbot made a whitewashing report to Secretary Sherman, devoted mainly to exculpating Conant, against whom no charges had been laid before him, but Sherman deemed it policy for Conant to retire; he was sent to London to keep Bigelow company, and the foreign loan operations of the Government have since

(CONTINUED ON 3d PAGE.)

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NOTARY PUBLIC—Navarre, Stark Co., Ohio. mal-gy

J. P. FAWCETT,
ATTORNEY AND COUNSELOR AT LAW. Office in Eagle Block, over 1st National Bank, Canton, Ohio. may9'78-tf

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CHARLES C. UPHAM,
ATTORNEY AT LAW. Office in New Cassilly Block, East Tuscarawas St., Canton, O. ap26tf

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HENRY W. HARTER,
ATTORNEY AT LAW—Office: Harter's Bank Block, Canton, O. aug9'77-tf.

JOHN C. WELTY,
ATTORNEY AT LAW, office Richard's Block west side Public Square, Canton, Ohio.

M. M. KING,
ATTORNEY AT LAW AND JUSTICE OF THE PEACE, Alliance, Ohio. [sept 7 '76 tf.

WM. A. LYNCH. WM. R. DAY AUSTIN LYNCH.
LYNCH, DAY & LYNCH,
ATTORNEYS AT LAW—OFFICE IN CASSILY block, public square, Canton, Ohio. may4'70aoct24'72

LOUIS SCHAEFER.
ATTORNEY AT LAW—Canton, Stark county, Ohio. june1'70

GEORGE E. BALDWIN,
ATTORNEY AT LAW—Office in Richard's block, west side public square, Canton, O. apr23'74

A. D. BRADEN,
ATTORNEY AT LAW—Office in Eagle Block, over Herbruck's store, Canton, O. nov30'73-y1

C. TURRENTINE MEYER. WILLIAM J. PIERO.
MEYER & PIERO,
ATTORNEYS AT LAW. Office—New Cassilly Block, (up stairs), East Tuscarawas St., Canton, Ohio. may2'78-tf

JONATHAN S. HUDSON,
ATTORNEY AT LAW AND JUSTICE OF THE PEACE. Office—New Cassilly Block, (up stairs) East Tuscarawas St., Canton, O. may2-tf

R. S. SHIELDS,
ATTORNEY AT LAW—Office in Eagle Block, opposite the court house. In litigated cases associated with Joseph C. Hance, Esq., of New Philadelphia, O. nov18'78

W. & A. McKINLEY,
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HARVEY LAUGHLIN,
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ATTORNEY AND COUNSELLOR AT LAW Commercial Block, Canton, O. mar12'74.

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