THE STANDARD
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By D. MACKLEY,
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Neatly and Promptly Executed at City Prices.

THE JACKSON STANDARD.

A Progressive Newspaper, Devoted to Politics and Miscellaneous Reading, and Particularly to the Interests of Jackson County.

RATES OF ADVERTISING.

SPACE.	1 w.	2 w.	3 w.	1 m.	2 m.	3 m.	6 m.	1 y
1 inch	$1 00	$1 50	$2 00	$2 50	$4 00	$6 00	$10 00	$10 00
2 "	1 75	2 50	3 00	3 50	5 00	8 00	14 00	18 00
3 "	2 00	3 00	3 50	4 00	6 00	9 00	16 00	24 00
4 "	2 50	4 00	4 50	5 00	8 00	11 00	20 00	30 00
6 "	3 00	4 50	6 75	8 00	10 00	14 00	27 00	40 00
8 "	3 00	5 50	7 50	9 00	12 00	20 00	30 00	50 00
12 "	4 00	6 50	11 00	12 00	20 00	30 00	40 00	65 00
16 "	5 00	8 00	14 00	15 00	25 00	37 00	50 00	75 00
24 "	6 00	10 00	18 00	22 00	30 00	50 00	80 00	100 00

Obituary Notices under ten lines, free. Over 10 lines, $1.00.
Legal advertisements, rates fixed by Statute.
Marriage notices, 50 cents each.
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DIRECTORY.

JACKSON COUNTY OFFICIAL DIRECTORY.

1877.

Judge, Court of Common Pleas—Porter Dunlaway.
State Senator—Isaac T. Monahan.
Representative—Arthur B. Monahan.
Probate Judge—John J. C. Evans.
Auditor—Thomas W. Patterson.
Treasurer—James R. Hunter.
Clerk—William H. Horton.
Sheriff—John M. Ewing.
Prosecuting Attorney—C. A. Atkinson.
Surveyor—John D. Brown.
Recorder—Enoch H. Lewis.
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Infirmary Directors—Peter Bunn, W. S. Schellenger and L. G. Dyson

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Scioto Township—Andrew H. Rehs, Robert Beatty, A. J. Evans.
Hamilton—Harrison Canter, George Gilliland.
Jefferson—J. Edward Jones, John Isaac Jones.
Madison—Jonathan Davis, Edward Hunt, Daniel Herbert.
Bloomfield—Grimsley Poor, Wm. L. Perkins.
Milton—George W. Whitman, Samuel Dempsey.
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Samsonville—Geo. Reniger.
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Clay—D. J. Richards.
Rays—I. H. McCormick.
Keystone—
Camba—B. E. Evans.
Rocky Hill—E. W. Marvin.
Eureka ville—Adam Winfough.

Church Directory for Jackson, O.—1877.

CHRISTIAN CHURCH.—Elder William H. Devore, Pastor. Preaching every 2d and 4th Lord's Day at 10½ A. M., and at night. Prayer meeting every Wednesday night, and every 1st and 3d Lord's Day at 10½ A. M. Sabbath School every Lord's Day at 9 A. M.

PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH.—Rev. J. K. Gibson, Pastor. Preaching every Sabbath at 10½ A. M., and at night. Sabbath School every Sabbath at 9 A. M. Teachers' meeting Tuesday evening. Prayer meeting Wednesday evening. Choir meeting Friday evening. Woman's Missionary meeting 1st Monday in every month. Communion service 1st Sabbath in March, June, September and December.

METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH.—Rev. J. F. Williams, Pastor. Preaching every Sabbath at 10½ A. M., and at night. Teachers' meeting Tuesday evening. Prayer meeting Thursday evening. Sabbath School every Sabbath at 9 A. M.

BAPTIST CHURCH.—No regular service.

Post-Office Bulletin for Jackson, Ohio.

Post-Office is open during the week from 6:30 a. m. to 7:00 p. m., but never on Sunday.

MAIL GOING NORTH—Closes at 10:30 a. m. and 5:40 p. m. The mail closing at 5:40 p. m. is a through mail to Cincinnati, Ohio, and all points West and South of there, and Grafton, W. Va., and all points East and North of there.

MAIL GOING SOUTH—Closes at 4:45 p. m., daily, being all the mail South.

WEBER, GRAHAMSVILLE & MABEE'S—Closes at 7 a. m. on Friday.

BEAVER & MEADOW BRANCH—Closes at 12 m. every Saturday.

EUREKA VILLE—Closes at 1 p. m. every Wednesday and Saturday.

S. P. BALDRIDGE, P. M.

PHYSICIANS.

A. B. & W. H. MONAHAN,
Physicians and Operative Surgeons.
Office at their residence, Main St., opp. Public Square,
Jackson C. H., Ohio.

C. K. CRUMIT,
Physician and Surgeon,
JACKSON C. H., OHIO.
When not professionally engaged he may be found at his office, on Broadway Street, over Thomas' Shoe Store.

B. F. HOLCOMB,
Physician and Surgeon,
JACKSON C. H., OHIO.
Office over Miller's Drug Store, corner Pearl and Broadway Sts.

G. L. MONAHAN,
Physician and Surgeon,
WELLSTON; OHIO.

J. F. WHITE,
Physician and Surgeon,
JACKSON C. H., OHIO.
Office and residence, Main street, opposite Rupp's Tinshop. 39no v76m6

ATTORNEYS.

J. L. JONES,
ATTORNEY-AT-LAW,
JACKSON, OHIO.
Office over the Hardware Store of T. S. Matthews, Broadway Street.

DAVID DAVIS,
ATTORNEY-AT-LAW,
JACKSON, OHIO.
Office in Scott's Building, Broadway Street. Will attend promptly to all business intrusted to him. febl, 1877ly

SADDLES AND HARNESS.

J. RULE,
Manufacturer of
Saddles, Harness,
Bridles, Whips, Collars, &c.,
PORTLAND, OHIO.

LUMBER.

H. LEET & CO.,
—OF—
PORTSMOUTH, OHIO,
Keep constantly on hand at
JACKSON,
FINISHING LUMBER
OF ALL KINDS,
WEATHERBOARDING,
FLOORING
SHINGLES, LATH.
Enquire at First National Bank.
H. L. CHAPMAN, Ag't.

BANKS.

FIRST NATIONAL BANK
—OF—
Jackson, Ohio.
(Successor to Chapman, Clare & Co.)
Paid up Capital, $50,000.
Solicit the accounts of business men and individuals of Jackson, Vinton and adjoining counties, deal in
Exchange, Uncurrent Money and Coin,
make collections in all parts of the country, and remit proceeds promptly on the day we get returns.
Government Securities
for sale.
Persons wishing to remit money to foreign countries, can obtain at our office, drafts on
England, Ireland, Scotland & Wales.
Interest Paid on Time Deposits.
PETER PICKREL, President; J. D. CLARE, Vice President; D. ARMSTRONG, Cashier; T. J. EDWARDS, Assistant Cashier and Bookkeeper.
Directors—H. L. Chapman, J. D. Clare, John D. Davis, Peter Pickrel, T. S. Matthews, John Sanders and O. S. Miller.
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John P. Jones.
ISAAC BROWN, *President.* T. F. SUTHERLAND *Vice-President.*

IRON BANK of JACKSON,
MAIN STREET.
Opposite the Court House.
Capital, - - - - $74,000 00.
Stockholders Individually Liable.
Receive Deposits, Discount Notes and Bills deal in Exchange, also buy Drafts on all parts of Great Britain and the Continent of Europe, buy and sell Gold, Silver and Government Bonds and do a general banking business on the most reasonable terms.
Collections Made and Remitted for Promptly.
Interest Paid on Deposits.
The accounts of business men and individuals in Jackson and adjoining counties respectfully solicited.
W. T. SAPPINGTON, Cashier.
DIRECTORS:—Isaac Brown, W. T. Sappington, James Tripp, James Chestnut, T. P. Sutherland, B. Kahn and C. S. Dickason.
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John L. Ramsey.

LIVERY STABLE.

LIVERY

—AND—
Feed Stable.
I take this method of informing the public, that I have opened a
Livery and Feed Stables.
On Portsmouth Street, near Orange Shaft.
JACKSON, OHIO,
Where I will be found day or night, ready to accommodate all who will favor me with their patronage.
MY PRICES FOR LIVERY AND FEED
will be as LOW as can be obtained at any other stable in Jackson.
JOHN BURT.
January 6, 1875—tf

SPRING CAMPAIGN!

The Livery Stable of
THOMAS DELAY
near Broadway street, back of the Patton House, is now fitted up for
THE SPRING CAMPAIGN!
Buggies repaired and painted.
Horses Fat, Sleek and well shod.
Harness repaired and oiled.
Horses fed a little cheaper than at any other Stable in town.
Straw for beds always on hand, clean and well threshed.
Good, fresh Manure for gardens, for sale cheap.
CALL AND SEE ME.
THOMAS DELAY.
March 1, 1877.—tf.

EDUCATIONAL.

NOTICE TO TEACHERS.

The Board of School Examiners of Jackson County, Ohio, will hold regular meetings for the examination of Teachers, at Jackson, on the

FIRST FRIDAY IN EVERY MONTH

Examinations will begin at 10 o'clock, A. M on the first day of each session, and continue from day to day if necessary.

Applicants not known to the Board, must produce testimonials of good moral character. Certificates will only be granted at a regular meeting, and will, in no case, be either antedated, or postdated.

By order of the Board of Examiners.
Nov 11, 75—tf J. W. LONGBON, Clerk

Treasurer and Depositary. These ports were, on motion, received.

A committee on nominations of offic for the ensuing year, was now appoint by the chair, as follows: Bros. Vaugh Evans, Pollock, Grimes and Atkinson.

The committee retired for consul tion, and the choir sang hymn numb 682.

Addresses were now made by Rev. K. Gibson and Rev. J. F. Williams.

The committee on nominations n reported as follows:

"Your committee on nominations officers for the ensuing year, recomme the re-election of the present officers a Board of Directors.

"WM. VAUGHN, Ch'n."

The old Board of officers is as follow J. W. Longbon, President; H. C. Mill Sec'y; J. J. C. Evans, Treasurer; Vi Presidents, Pastors of co-operati churches; Executive committee, J. Long, J. D. James, A. Hanna, S. T. B and J. S. Reasoner.

BOB INGERSOLL.

HIS SOLUTION OF POLITICAL PROBLEM.

A Cordial Support of the Policy of the Administration—Enthusiastic Approval of the New Cabinet—Hearty Agreement With the Plan of Conciliation in the South.

Col. Robert G. Ingersoll, of Illinois, delivered the following lecture in Steinway Hall, New York City, on Wednesday evening, March 14, 1877. Although the weather was bad the hall was crowded, many ladies being in the audience. Mr. A. B. Cornell introduced the speaker, who addressed the audience as follows:

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN: We have passed through the most remarkable campaign of our history—a campaign remarkable in every respect. It was bitter, passionate, relentless, and desperate, and I admit, for one, that I added to its bitterness and relentlessness. And it may be well enough for me to say that now, having in some part changed my feeling, that I am willing to forgive, and do forgive with all my heart, every person and every party that I ever said anything against. [Applause.] Each party expended all the means at its disposal; nothing was left undone, good or bad. [Laughter.] Everything happened that could happen. There was no complication omitted. Each party said and did about all that could be said and done. Everybody attended to politics. Business was suspended. Everything was given over to processions and torches, and flags and transparencies, and resolutions, and conventions, and speeches, and songs. Old arguments were revamped; old stories were pressed into the service and speeches were made over and over again, and the old story of the war was revived, and the North was arrayed against the South as though upon the field of battle. Party cries were heard on every hand. Each party leaped like a tiger upon the reputation of the other, and tore with tooth and claw, with might and main. Speeches by the hundred thousand, documents by the million, discussions without number, all this and all these constituted the campaign of 1876. In olden times it used to be said that after the election you could probably tell who was Governor. In this campaign no particular light was thrown upon that question by the election. [Laughter.] The Democrats swore that Tilden was President, but at their banquet they saw the dim outline of the skeleton of defeat. Republicans rejoiced with a face ready at any moment to express the profoundest grief. Then came dispatches and rumors, and estimated majorities, and vague talk about Returning Boards, and intimidated voters, and stuffed ballot boxes, and fraudulent returns, and bribed clerks, and injunctions, and contempts of court, and telegrams in cipher, and outrages, and octoroon balls in which reverend Senators were whirled in love's voluptuous waltz. Everybody discussed the qualifications of Electors, and the value of Governors' certificates, and how to get behind returns, and who had the right to count, and persons expecting offices of trust, honor and profit began to threaten war and extermination, and calls were made for 100,000 men, and there was no end of meetings and resolutions, and denunciations, and the downfall of the country was prophesied, and yet, notwithstanding all this, the name of the person who really was elected remained unknown. The last scene of this strange eventful history, so far as the election by the people was concerned, was Cronin. [Laughter.] I see him now as he leaves the land where rolls the Oregon, and hears no sound save his own dashings. Cronin, the last surviving veteran of the grand army of honesty and reform. Cronin, a quorum of one. [Laughter.] Cronin, who elected the two others by a plurality of his own vote. I see him now armed with Hoadly's opinion and with Grover's certificate, trudging wearily and drearily over the wide and wasted saleratus deserts of the West.

"And still the wonder is, and still it grows,
How one small head could carry all his nose."
[Laughter.]

Then came the great question of who shall count the Electoral vote. The Vice President being a Republican, it was generally contended, at least by me, that he had a right to count that vote. [Laughter.] My doctrine was if the Vice President would count the vote right he had the right to count it. [Laughter.] The Vice President not being a Democrat, the members of that party claimed that the House could prevent the Vice President from counting it, and this was claimed simply because the House was not Republican. Nearly all decided according to their politics. Finally, a bill was passed creating a tribunal to count the vote if any, and hear testimony if any, and declare what man had been elected President, if any. [Laughter.] This tribunal consisted of fifteen men, ten being chosen on account of their politics, and five from purely geographical considerations. [Laughter.] I was there, and I know exactly how it was. [Laughter.] This tribunal divided as near even as it is possible to divide fifteen men. On all questions, except adjournments, they stood eight to seven, and it has been remarked by unprejudiced observers that in no single instance involving an Electoral vote did a solitary Democrat vote with the Republicans. [Laughter.] It seems impossible for them to forget old party ideas and associations; such is the weakness of man and such is the strength of political habit. But, notwithstanding the seven Democrats voted constantly together, the eight Republicans kept having a majority of one, until the last disputed State was given against the great party of honesty and reform, and Hayes and Wheeler were declared to be President and Vice President of the United States.

WEAK POINTS IN THE CONSTITUTION AND LAWS.

While the election failed to decide who was elected it clearly pointed out weak places in our laws and in our Constitution. It discovered defects that must be remedied. It suggested amendments that must be made if our form of government is to be preserved. [Applause.] Our government is supposed to be based upon, and to rest upon, the legally expressed will of the people. [Applause.] I have said it a great many times—it will do no harm to say it again—that this government is the only government that pretends to derive all its powers from the people, and from no other source whatsoever. [Applause.] Before the foundation of this government every particle of authority was derived, or pretended to be derived, from on high. The kings were anointed with holy oil, and this divine petroleum trickled from head to head until the last drop resting upon the skull of the parish beadle constituted the only right they had to rob mankind. In theory our government is perfect. In practice I admit that it is imperfect. There is but one way, so far as I know (outside, of course, of the newspapers,) to ascertain the will of the people, and that is by ballot. But the laws have been so imperfect and fraud so easy of accomplishment that the real will of the people has remained as mysterious as most of the decrees of fate. Great cities were the mothers of election frauds, and New York has had as many children of that character as any other city in this world. [Laughter.] They inaugurated violence and intimidation. They produced the repeaters and the false boxes. They invented fan-tailed tickets and pasters, and gradually these delightful and patriotic hearts, arts, and practices have spread almost over the entire country. Unless something is done to preserve the purity of the ballot box our form of government must cease. The fountain of power is poisoned; the sovereignty of the people is stolen and destroyed; government becomes organized fraud; all respect will soon be lost for laws and the decisions of the courts; legislators are elected in many instances by fraud. Every department of the government becomes tainted and corrupted. It is no longer a republic unless some way can be devised to ascertain with certainty the real, honest will of the sovereign people.

For the accomplishment of this object, the good and patriotic men of all parties should most heartily unite. To cast an illegal vote should be considered by all as a crime. [Applause.] Various States have passed laws for the registration of voters, but they all leave wide open the doors of fraud. Men are allowed to vote if they have been a year, say, in the State, and thirty or sixty days in the ward or precinct, and when they have failed to have their names registered before the day of election, they can avoid the effect of this neglect by making a few affidavits, certified to by reputable householders. [Laughter.] Of course all the necessary affidavits are made, with hundreds and thousands to spare.

My idea is that the period of registration in the first place is too short. In the second place, no way should be given by which they can vote unless they have been properly registered, affidavit or no affidavit. [Applause.] Every man, when he comes into a ward or precinct, should be registered. It should be his duty to see to it that he is registered. Offices should be kept for that purpose and never be allowed to pass a vote until the voter has been registered at least one year. [Applause.] Sixty days or thirty days—sixty days would be better—before the election the registry list should be corrected. Every citizen should have the right to enter a complaint or objection against any man found upon that list. Thirty days or twenty days before the election that list should be published—[applause]—and should be exposed in several public places in each ward and in each precinct, and upon the day of election no man should be allowed to vote whose name is not upon that registry list. [Applause.] Our wards and precincts should be made small, so that the people can vote without loss—so that they can vote without wasting the entire day—so that the honest business man who wishes to cast his ballot for the Governor of his choice can walk to the ballot box like a gentleman, deposit his vote and go about his affairs. [Applause.] And allow me to say that unless some such plan is adopted in the United States, there will not be another fair election in this country. During the late campaign all the arts and artifices of the city—all the arts and artifices of the lowest ward were spread, as it were, over the entire country, and unless something is done to preserve the purity of the ballot box, and guard, as it were, the sovereign will of the people, we shall cease to have a republican form of government. [Applause.] Another thing—and I cannot say it too often—fraud at the ballot box undermines all respect in the minds of the people for the ballot. When they are satisfied that the election is a fraud, they despise the officers elected; when they are satisfied it is a fraud, they despise the laws made by the legislators [applause]; when they are satisfied it is a fraud, they hold in utter contempt the decisions of our highest and most august tribunals. [Applause.]

COUNTING THE ELECTORAL VOTE.

Let me also discuss another defect in our form, as it were, of government, or rather in the form of our Constitution, and that is in the matter of counting the Electoral vote. [Applause.] I believe it is of the greatest importance that the Executive should be entirely independent of the legislative and judicial departments of this country. I do not believe that Congress should have the right to create a vacancy which it can fill. I do not believe that the Senate of the United States, or the lower House of Congress, by a simple objection, should have the right to deprive any State of its Electoral vote. Our Constitution now provides that the Electors chosen in each State shall meet in their respective States upon a certain day and there cast their votes for President and Vice President of the United States. They shall properly certify to the votes which are cast, and shall transmit it, together with the proper certificates, if they can get them, to the Vice President of the United States. And it is then declared that upon a certain day, in the presence of both houses of Congress, the Vice President shall open the certificates, and the votes shall then be counted. It does not exactly say who shall count those votes. It does not in so many words say the Vice President shall do it, or may do it, or that both houses of Congress shall do it, or may do it, or that either house can prevent a count of the votes. It leaves us in the dark, and, to a certain degree, in blindness. I believe there is a way, and a very easy way, out of the entire trouble, and it is this: I don't care whether the Electors first meet in their respective States or not, but I want the Constitution so amended that the Electors of all the States shall meet on a certain day in the City of Washington and count the vote themselves; to allow that body to be the judge of who are Electors, to allow it to choose a chairman, and to allow the person so chosen to declare who is the President and who is the Vice President of the United States. [Applause.] The Executive is then entirely free from the Judicial Department, and I tell you it is a public calamity to have the ermine of the Supreme Court of the United States touched or stained with a political suspicion. [Applause.]

In this way, as I said before, the election of President and Vice President would be purely a political matter. The Executive would be to that extent perfectly independent of all other departments of this government. That course will avoid future complications; that course may avoid future civil war; that course will give independence to one of the departments of this government, and it will prevent the complications of 1876-77 ever occurring again in the United States. The mode I have pointed out, in other words, will prevent the Mexicanization of our country. Something must be done, or some time the great ship will be dashed to pieces upon the rocks of civil war. [Applause.]

TERMS OF OFFICE SHOULD BE LENGTHENED.

Another thing which should be done is to lengthen the term or terms of office. Our elections are too frequent. They interfere with the business of our country. Where elections are so frequent men make, as it were, a business of politics. If they fail to get an office they immediately run for another, and they keep running until the people elect them for the simple purpose of getting rid of the annoyance. [Laughter.] Lengthen the terms, purify the ballot, and the present scramble for office will become contests for principle. [Applause.] A man who cannot get a living—unless he has been disabled in the service of his country or from some other cause—without holding office, is not fit for an office. [Applause.] A professional office seeker is one of the meanest and lowest, and basest of human beings—a little higher than the lowest animals and a little lower than man. [Laughter and applause.] He has no earthly or heavenly independence; not a particle. A successful office seeker is like the center of the earth; he weighs nothing himself, and draws all things towards the office he wants. [Laughter.] He has not even got a temper. You can not offend him. You cannot insult him. Shut the door in his face, and so far as he is concerned, it is left wide open, and you are standing on the threshold with a smile, extending the hand of welcome. He crawls and cringes and flatters and lies and swaggers, and brags and tells of the influence he has in the ward he lives in. We cannot too often repeat that splendid saying, "The office should seek the man, not man the office." If you will lengthen the term of office, it will be so long between meals that he will have to do something else or starve. Adopt the system of registration as I have suggested; have small and convenient election districts, so, as I said before, the honest, law-abiding and peaceable citizen can attend the polls, so he will not be compelled to risk his life to deposit his ballot, that will be stolen or thrown out or forced to keep the company of ballots cast by fraudulent violence. Lengthen the term of office, drive the professional hunter and seeker of office from the field, and you will go far toward strengthening and vivifying and preserving the fabric of the Constitution. Something must be done to put down the mob, whether rich or poor it matters not. All who seek to rise by fraud—they constitute the mob—whether covered with rags or clothed in silk and linen. Something must be done to give us an honest ballot. Something must be done to expel the Huns and Vandals from our country. The Republican government must be supported by ballots, not by bayonets; by the hearts of the people, not by the fraud of rascality and violence. We want neither a government of suppression nor oppression, but a government resting upon and supported by the honest choice of a free, independent, enlightened people.

Another question pressing now for an answer is: To what extent can the general government defend its citizens in various States? It has lately been said by some exceedingly orthodox Democrats that if a State will not protect a citizen, the citizen can leave the State. It has been said that the general government has no right to march an army across the line of a State to protect the rights of a citizen, unless the government of that State, if the Legislature is not in session, and the Legislature of the State that is in session, calls upon the President for troops. In my judgment that is the absurdest kind of secession. If the State of Illinois must protect me, if I have no right to call for the protection of the general government, all I have to say is that my allegiance must belong to the government that protects me. If Illinois protects me, and the general government has not the power, then my first allegiance is due to Illinois, and should Illinois unsheath the sword of civil war, I must stand by my State, if that doctrine is true. What does the general government propose to give me in exchange for my allegiance? The general government has a right to take my property. The general government has a right to take my body in its necessary defense. What does that government propose to give me in exchange for that right? Protection, or else our government is a fraud. Who has a right to call for he protection of the United States? I say the citizen who needs it. Can our government obtain information only through the official sources? Must our government wait until the government asks the proofs, while the State tramples upon the rights of the citizen? Must it wait until the Legislature calls for assistance to help it stop the robbing and plundering of citizens of the United States? Is that the doctrine and the idea of the Northern Democratic party? It is not mine. A government that will not protect its citizen is a disgrace to humanity. A government that waits until a Governor calls—a government that cannot hear the cry of the meanest citizen under its flag when its rights are being trampled upon, even by citizens of a Southern State—has no right to exist. It is the duty of the American citizen to see to it that every State has a government, not only republican in form, but it is the duty of the United States to see to it that life, liberty, and property are protected in each State. If they are not protected it is the duty of the United States to protect them, if it takes all her military force both upon land and upon the sea.

DUAL STATES GOVERNMENTS.

Now there is another question, which is that of bureau government in the cities. What are we to do about that? What do you think the political economists of the olden times would have thought if we had said to them that "in the United States of America we will show how much cheaper it is to run a government with two Governors than with only one." I understand that in South Carolina there are two Legislatures, and not one cent of tax collected in the Treasury. The same is true in the State of Louisiana. Now the question for us to decide, and one to be decided by this Administration is, How are we to ascertain which is the local government of a State, and what department of the government has a right to ascertain that fact? Must it be left to Congress? Has the Senators alone a right to determine it? Can it be left in any way to the Supreme Court, or shall the Executive decide it for himself? I don't see that the Executive has the power to decide that question for himself. I do not see that he has not; but I do not say that he has. The question so far as Louisiana and South Carolina are concerned—that question is now in the Senate of the United States. Gov. Kellogg is asking for admission as a Senator from the State of Louisiana, and the question has to be decided by the Senate itself whether he is entitled to his seat. And that question of course rests upon the one fact—was the Legislature that elected him the legal Legislature of the State of Louisiana? It seems to me while that question is pending before the Senate of the United States the President has not the right, or at least it would be improper for him to decide it on his own motion, and say that this or that government is the real government of the State of Louisiana. Some mode must be adopted, some way must be discovered to settle these questions and to settle them peacefully. We are an enlightened people. Force is the last thing any civilized country should resort to. As long as courts can be created, as long as boards of arbitration can be selected, as long as we can reason and think and urge all the considerations of manhood upon each other there should be no appeal to arms in the United States upon any question whatever.

There is another question, and that is the remonetization of silver. I do not know how you feel about it in New York, and I care just as little as I know, except for the general good. We are a silver-producing Nation. For what earthly reason will we slander our own wares? Silver is good enough for me; it is good enough for you. It will buy bread; it will buy labor; and anything on earth that will buy bread and labor is good enough to pay a debt. I want to see good times coming back to this country; I do not want to see everything given up to the persons they are pleased to call the creditors of this government. I want them to have every dollar that is coming to them. If we have agreed to pay them in gold, let us pay them in gold. If we agreed to pay them in coin, let us pay just as soon as we can, every dollar, in coin; but I want it to be understood that the debtor is as good as the creditor, and that the man who takes his coupon down to the bank every morning at 10 o'clock is no better than the man who has dug in the snow and the cold for his dollar.

PRESIDENT HAYES SOUTHERN POLICY.

All these questions are upon us. It is for you to say whether there shall be honest ballots cast, and only honest ballots cast, in this country. It is for you to say whether the office shall be given to the honest and deserving. It is for you to say whether every election shall be a scramble for office, or a real honest contest for principle. All these questions are upon us. This is no time for war. War settles nothing except the mere question of strength. That is all war ever did settle. You cannot shoot ideas into a man with a musket, nor with cannon into one of those old Bourbon Democrats of the North. You can not let prejudices out of a man with a sword. This is the time for reason, for discussion, for compromise. This is the time to repair, to rebuild, to preserve. War destroys; peace creates. War is decay and death; peace is growth and life and sunlight and air. War kills men; peace maintains them. Artillery does not reason; it asserts. A bayonet has point enough, but no logic. [Laughter and applause.] When the sword is drawn, reason remains in the scabbard. It is not enough to win upon the field of battle. You must be victor within the realm of thought. There must be peace between the North and South some time [applause]—not a conquered peace, but a peace that conquers. With a knowledge of our wants, with a clear perception of our difficulties, Rutherford B. Hayes became President of the United States. [Applause.] Nations have been saved by the courage, the grandeur of one man. Above all things a President should be a patriot. Party at best is only a means to an end, that end being the good of the country and the happiness of the people. The President took the right hand of the North and put it into the right hand of the South and said, "Let us be friends. We parted at the cannon's mouth; we were divided by the edge of the dripping sword. We are all citizens in a government of the people, for the people, by the people, and there shall not be a downtrodden class, whether white or black. To this feast every child of the Republic shall be invited and welcome." It was a grand thing grandly done. If the President succeeds in his policy, it will be an immense compliment to his brain. If he fails, it will be an equal compliment to his heart. [Applause.] He has opened the door. He has advanced and he has extended his hand. He has broken the silence of hatred with the words of welcome. Actuated by this broad catholic spirit he selected his constitutional advisers. Let me say right here, the President has a right to select his constitutional advisers to suit himself. [Loud applause.] The idea of men endeavoring to force themselves or others into the Cabinet of a President, against as it were, his will! I would as soon think of circulating a petition to compel some woman to marry me! [Laughter.]

HEARTY PRAISE FOR THE CABINET.

He has gathered about him the men he considers the wisest and the best. I say, let us give them a fair chance. I say, let us be honest with the President of the United States and with his Cabinet, and give his policy a fair and honest chance. Mr. Evarts—[loud applause]—is a lawyer standing confessedly at the head of the American bar, a man perfectly acquainted with international law, and who has a character without a stain. Carl Schurz is a man of culture, a man of great literary attainments, and I believe an honest man. I look upon his selection as a real compliment paid to intelligence and brains. Richard W. Thompson I have known personally for a good many years. He has been a Republican ever since that party was born, and I believe he has helped write every platform it ever put before the world. He is an excellent lawyer. He is one of the kindest, purest, and best of men. Gen. Key—I will be honest with you, I did not like the appointment when I first heard of it. I went and called on him. I thought I would be fair about this thing. [Laughter.] I am satisfied with that appointment. It will do good. And he begins to resemble a Republican already. [Laughter.] He fought against this government, and did nearly as much harm as though he had lived in the North, and talked and wrote against the government. There is one thing in his favor—he never was a member—I won't say it. He voted for Samuel J. Tilden. What do you think of that? [Laughter.] Don't tell me that reformation is not possible for all the sons of men. He is a Democrat, and yet the President made up his mind that to appoint that man would be to say to the South, "I don't look upon you as pariahs in this government; I look upon you as fellow-citizens; I want you to wipe forever the color line off the Union line from the records of this government on account of what has been done heretofore." "What are we now?" is the only question that should be asked. It was a strange thing for the President to appoint that man. It was an experiment. It is an experiment. It has not yet been decided, but I believe it will simply be a proof of the President's wisdom. It was a brave thing to appoint him, and it was a brave thing on the part of Gen. Key to accept the nomination. [Applause.] For my part I am glad the ice is broken, and I believe the future will justify and applaud the appointment of Gen. Key. Nothing could have been better, in my judgment, than the appointment of John Sherman at the head of the Treasury. [Applause.] He is perfectly acquainted with our financial history, and with our legislation upon that subject, and he has the confidence of the entire country. As long as Gen. Sherman holds the sword and John Sherman the purse this nation will neither be whipped nor robbed. [Applause.] The Attorney-General, Charles Devens, was as brave as he is modest, and is as learned as he is unassuming. I am satisfied with him. McCrary is naturally a man of peace; if the South will accept this proffered branch, and if the South will not, my judgment is that he will be a man of war. He comes from the banner Republican State of this Union. He is a firm, honest man, and whatever he does will be that which his conscience and his heart approve and applaud.

Taken altogether the Cabinet suits me. I am satisfied with every one of them; satisfied to make the experiment, satisfied to help the experiment succeed. The moderate men, the men of business, men representing the substantial interests of the country, men who have succeeded, men who expect honestly to succeed—the real heart and brain of the whole country are satisfied to try this policy. [Applause.] So far as it has been developed they are satisfied to stand by the President in this matter. They know that this policy is only a means to an end, and if this policy fails, I tell you tonight, the President has got the brain and has got the pluck to change his policy just as often as the ends of good government require it. Of course there are men South and North who can never be conciliated. They are the implacables in the South, and the Bourbons in the North. Nothing will conciliate them—nothing. The implacables want to hunt the negroes and whip them, and the Bourbons never will be satisfied until they help to catch them. The implacables with violent hands drive immigration from their shores; they poison the springs and sources of prosperity; they dine on hatred, they sup on regret, and they mourn over the lost cause, and partake of the communion of revenge. They strike down the liberty of their fellow-citizens, and do not enjoy their own; they remember nothing but wrongs, and they forget nothing but benefits. [Laughter.] Their bosoms are filled with the serpents of hate. No one can compromise with them. They must be left to the softening influences of time and death. [Laughter.] I believe it was Charles Lamb who, when walking in the cemetery, after reading the epitaph, said to his mother, "Where do they bury the bad people?" If in the future one walks through the cemetery where will sleep the implacables I think the question will be, "Where do they bury the good?" [Laughter.] A Bourbon in a majority is an implacable, and the implacable in a minority is a Bourbon. But there are in the South thousands of men who have accepted in good faith the results of the war. There are thousands of Democrats in the North who have accepted in good faith the results of the war—thousands of them who admit that they were not successful in the late civil strife. [Laughter.] Thousands of these men, I say, there are, North and South, who wish to preserve the nation. They are tired of strife, men longing for a reunion based on mutual respect and confidence. These men are willing that the colored man should be free, willing that he should vote and vote for the government of his choice, willing that his children should have all the rights of an American citizen. There is air enough for us all; let everybody breathe. There is water enough for us all; let everybody drink. There is liberty enough for us all; let everybody be free. The man who is not willing to extend to every other human being every right he claims to himself is a dishonest, mean, and selfish man. [Applause.] Those North and South who still love this country are tired of the implacables, they are disgusted with the Bourbons. These men wish to unite with the patriotic men of the North, with the men of the North who have an interest at stake in the great work of re-establishing the government of the law.

INDEBTEDNESS TO SOUTHERN DEMOCRATS.

For my part call me of what party you please, I am willing to join hands with those men without regard to color or previous condition. These men have already—these men of the South have already made us their debtors. Let me tell you something. If the High Joint Commission had failed; if the Vice-President had never counted the vote; if the election had been thrown into the House of Representatives, Samuel J. Tilden would never have been elected, but Rutherford B. Hayes would have been elected by Southern votes. [Applause.] I know, I know what I am talking about. During the last Congress the Southern members, not all of them, but enough of them—men who had fought upon the field of war against the life of our country—held in the hands, so to speak, the destiny of the United States. With one word they could have plunged us into the hell of civil war. We were not saved by the Northern Democrats, we were not saved by the great host of honesty and reform [Laughter], we were not saved by those who had once sought to destroy the Nation because they had had enough of war—they wanted peace. [Applause.] They refused to act with the Bourbons of the North; they said: "We like this country, we know what war is; our land was laid waste, our homes and towns and towns and cities were reduced to ashes; there shall be no more war than we can prevent. A President shall be inaugurated in peace." Men, I say, who had fought upon the field of battle against us stood up in the caucus of the Democratic party in Washington and uled those very words. [Applause.] To them we are indebted for a peaceful solution of the question. They gave us peace; they preserved us, so to speak, and I am willing to unite with them to preserve that priceless gift forever. [Applause.]

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