National Republican

W. J. MURTAGH.....Editor and Proprietor.

Amusements To-night.

National Theatre—Fechter; Matinee. Monte Cristo.

Ford's Opera House—Joe Murphy; Matinee. Kerry Gow.

Theatre Comique—Variety. Matinee.

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From the weather reports furnished us to-day, the indications are that there will be severe southwest to northwest gales, with partly cloudy and cold weather, freezing followed by rising barometer.

SATURDAY.....DECEMBER 16, 1876.

Gen. Grant at the Helm.

Yesterday was the New York *Herald's* Tilden day, and it indulged in an abusive article on President Grant, which was characterized by injustice and a great deal of nonsense. The tenor of the article was to the effect that Gen. Grant is weak and wavering, and is losing the confidence of the people in the grave crisis which now threatens constitutional liberty and the Republic itself. Never was there a time in the history of this great soldier and patriot when the loyal masses rallied to his support as they are rallying to-day. Go where you will, throughout the length and breadth of the nation, and you will hear the people crying, in the fullness of their hearts, "Thank God! the man who saved the nation stands watching at the helm." Never before has there been such deep-wrought consciousness among the masses of the integrity, the bravery and honest purpose of Gen. Grant. They have unbounded faith in his ability to maintain throughout this contest the rights of freemen won at the ballot-box. They feel deep down in their hearts that the popular will of the people, constitutionally expressed, will prevail under the guidance of this master mind. General Grant comprehends the duty of the hour better than any living statesman, and as far as he is concerned the American people may rest assured that duty will be scrupulously performed. When the time comes to act in the interests of peace and our country against the plottings of political demagogues and scheming conspirators, General Grant will stand by the people in the securement of their constitutional rights. The people do not feel misgivings when they hear the name of Grant. It is a tower of strength to them in a time like this, when it seems as though political demagogues were measuring arms to tear the bowels of the country out and lay her prostrate at the feet of anarchy and chaos. The Opposition press in its bitter and vilifying assaults upon the Teron who led us through four years of fratricidal war into a season of prosperity and peace does not echo the sentiments of the men who followed his victorious lead in the great American conflict. While this Opposition press hate and slander the soldier President, a stronger sympathy goes out from the people, and the memory of his patriot deeds, and his honest and open-hearted life, become enshrined in their hearts forever. The *Herald* says that he wavers in this hour of peril. The truth is that at no time in his long and brilliant career has he exhibited greater firmness and more of the grand qualities which have endeared him to the American people as a patriot and a statesman. No, the people are not disappointed at the action of their President. On the other hand, in every home where loyalty dwells there is no doubtings, while there is intense satisfaction and gladness that he is at the helm in this important juncture in the history of the Republic.

An American Protectorate for Mexico.

The ever-tottering fabric of Mexican Government is rapidly crumbling away. With all her bounteous endowments, her delicious climate, her luxuriant forests and long reaches of fertile plains, with a soil of unsurpassed fertility and a wealth of fruit and agricultural productions, with mines of fabulous and inexhaustible treasure, with wooded dells and towering mountains, and sylvan lakes, with all these to bless and make her great, Mexico is still a wretched and unhappy country. This condition arises from the instability of her Government, and the restless and ungovernable temper of her people. From Sonora to Tamaulipas a military banditti rove, sacking, pillaging, robbing and desolating the land. Where might be business, thrift and industry railroads and telegraphs, woolen mills and iron manufactories, there is nothing but prostration, indolence and poverty, discord and bloodshed. What Mexico wants, and what she must have if she would remain on the face of the earth as an independent nation, is a stable Government that will protect and encourage peace, industry and enterprise, and make of her, in material wealth and prosperity, the marvel of the Western world. With the present temper of the people nothing can be accomplished in this direction except through the benign influence of some great and powerful Government, and there is no nation so happily situated as is the United States to aid in delivering this unhappy people from the plundering banditti which are fleecing her of a rich heritage. An American protectorate for Mexico will suppress internal discord, establish law and order and build up the waste places of the country into a prosperous and peaceful State. It is the duty of the American Government to establish this protectorate, and should it perform that duty, the oppressed and despairing people of that distracted country will gladly submit.

Gold and Silver as a Legal Tender.

The possibility of creating corners in our currency is undoubtedly the most damaging feature, and one to which the attention of our legislators should be drawn. If gold is the only legal tender, and as all debts are the same thing as selling gold short, then gold is the worst basis for a currency simply because the volume of gold in the world is always so limited as to be liable to a sudden corner. Mr. A. J. Finch, writing to the Chicago *Inter-Ocean*, says: "If we produce the base and make both gold and silver a full legal tender, then both gold and silver must be cornered, at the same time in order to corner the money market; for if gold alone is then cornered as soon as its price starts up people pay silver and the corner immediately breaks." He further claims that if Congress would give the country the double standard of gold and silver, as a full legal tender, we might be able to withstand the ruinous effects of forced resumption, but to compel people to pay gold when the gold market is cornered, Congress would simply legislate both the country and people into national bankruptcy by permitting an alien money lender to take all kinds of property without let or hindrance and with no regard to equity or decency. To make gold the only legal means of payment, when the nation and nearly every individual in the nation has sold gold short, and thereby turn the country over to the tender mercies of foreign Shylocks, is something more than ordinary villainy, although it may be done in the name of honesty. Not a single one of the fraudulent gold acts has a particle of moral force, because they would all fall under the statutes of frauds had they been committed as private acts.

Where are the Votes to Come From?

In his last and most absurd proclamation (excepting, perhaps, the one put forth in New York charging the Republicans with the preparation of a confession for Boss Tweed) Mr. Chairman Hewitt says, without qualification, that Tilden is elected, but fails to tell a curious public by what process such conclusion is reached. It is currently reported that Mr. Hewitt was eager to issue a much longer pronunciamento, but was peremptorily snubbed by his associates of the Democratic National Committee. If it were his purpose to show where Mr. Tilden obtained the votes necessary to his success, then the committee made a serious mistake in putting the breaks upon their ambitious chairman. It is certainly a great oversight to leave the American people in the dark in a point of so much importance. Inasmuch as, according to all the forms of law in South Carolina, Florida and Louisiana, Mr. Hayes has received the electoral votes, Mr. Tilden can expect nothing from those States. Again, as the Governor of Oregon has openly violated the law, his attempt to thwart the will of the sovereign people of that State can amount to nothing. How, then, does Mr. Chairman Hewitt get the votes with which he elects Mr. Tilden? Will the honorable chairman enlighten us?

A Warning to the Insurrectionists.

In the "Revised Statutes of the United States," under the head of "Crimes Against the Existence of the Government," the law says:

"Every person who incites, sets on foot, assists or engages in any rebellion or insurrection against the authority of the United States or the laws thereof, or gives aid or comfort thereto, shall be punished by imprisonment not more than ten years, or by a fine of no more than ten thousand dollars, or by both of such punishments; and shall moreover be incapable of holding any office under the United States."

We call the attention of the chairman of the Democratic National Committee to this law and its provisions. Civil strife and discord can be kindled by such revolutionary manifestoes as was recently issued from the Democratic council chambers. Its temper and import means opposition to the decision constitutionally rendered at the ballot-box. In other words, it means Tilden or armed resistance to Hayes. It means open insurrection, and open insurrection is a crime against the existence of the Government. The way to crush this is to nip it in the bud. The men who have power on their side will have peace. Be patient, for when the budding comes the nipping will follow quickly.

The Gamblers Yield.

It is gratifying to announce to the public this morning that our war against the gamblers and their mysterious backers has been crowned, at least temporarily, with success. Every gambling house in Washington was closed tight last evening, and the click of the ivory chip was heard nowhere within the purlieus of "Rum Row." We are informed that the men whom we have thus routed after but two discharges from our Hoe press assert confidently that the suspension of their thieving operations is but temporary; that THE REPUBLICAN's moral spurt will shortly cease, and that everything will be lovely again in a week or ten days. We can assure the swindlers that they are in error. They must expect no "let up" from this quarter. The war will be carried into Africa, and if these infamous "hells" survive this last blow it will not be for lack of an efficient and vigorous prosecution of the campaign on our part. And with the support of the public, which we unqualifiedly possess, we have no fears of the result. It must be well understood, however, that the gamblers are a powerful class. We are not quite ready, but when we shall fully reveal, at no distant day, the extent of their ramifications, the wheels within wheels that form a part of the intricate machinery of this nefarious business, the dullest mind will then comprehend how it is that gambling has been carried on so boldly and defiantly. We are not through with our task by any means.

Dana, the Moral Murderer.

Charles A. Dana, the editor of the New York *Sun*, and the notorious moral assassin, is once more pilloried as a scoundrel and a villain on the docket of a Criminal Court. The grand jury of the District of Columbia have indicted him for attempting the moral murder of a woman. The circumstances of this foul deed are stated at length in another column. No word of ours can add to the indignation that the reader must experience at the perusal of these details. Shameful enough it is that this monster has been permitted for so long to traduce and vilify the best and purest men of this country. But that he should be allowed to fasten his venomous fangs upon a pure, chaste and defenseless woman, without being visited with the severest punishment of the law assigned to the offense, is a sad commentary upon American manhood. Charles A. Dana is already a social outlaw. He has sunk to the lowest depths of depravity and wickedness. Compared to him the highway robber is a man of honor, the miserable wanton a virtuous woman. It is impossible to make him more infamous than he has made himself, but it is possible to check his career of moral assassination.

EVERY INTELLIGENT man in the country knows full well that the last *pronunciamento* issued by the National Democratic committee is not supported by the fact, the equity or the law of the case, and Mr. Hewitt knows that no such conclusion will be accepted by the great Republican party. If, therefore, the object of these men is to play a game of bluff, to foment civil discord and strife all over the land; if it be the purpose of the desperate Bourbon Northmen to force an issue which can only be decided by crossing swords, they may as well understand in the outset that the Republicans will be prepared for the worst; that there will be no soft play this time; that the men who have power on their side will have peace, and that the disturbers of the public tranquillity will be dealt with in a manner to teach them that this country has yet a great and grand mission on the face of the earth.

PRESIDENT ORTON, of the Western Union Company, appeals to the country to sustain him in his refusal to surrender the private telegrams of individuals to the Louisiana investigating committee of the House. This is as it should be. A telegram is as sacred and should be held as inviolate as a letter. And Congress has as much right to demand the production of private telegrams as it has to order the Postmaster General to surrender the letters that are deposited in the mails.

SURELY "there are giants in our days," we involuntarily exclaimed as we saw Abram S. Hewitt yesterday in the House march boldly across to where Samuel Cox was hurling his bitter epithets at Mr. Hale, and, patting him on the back, cry: "Give him h—ell, Samuel, and give him enough while you're giving!" Giants of brass, we mean, who are growing bald-headed from partisan bitterness.

WADE HAMPTON is making herculean efforts to again reduce the South Carolina negroes to a condition of vassalage. To accomplish his ends he even threatens lawlessness and disorder. President Grant will see to it that this adventurer does not consummate his wicked designs. Let Governor Chamberlain proceed against the usurper as he would against any other South Carolina criminal.

THE arithmetic man of the Burlington *Hawkeye* has solved the problem at last. Here it is: "Class in proportion.—Teacher. 'As Hayes 185 is to Tilden 184, so is Success to what?' Class, in chorus. 'Defeat!' Teacher. 'Correct. You can all go up to the head.'" It will be observed that this destroys the Democracy's hope of "Addition, division and silence."

THE papers are still circulating the rumor that Sheridan has been ordered to New York and Hancock to San Francisco. It is unfounded. There may arise a contingency, however, when such a move would be the best one to make.

DEMOCRATIC papers are constructing Cabinets for President Hayes in one column and crying "Tilden or blood!" in the next. We thank them for their kind consideration in the first instance, and smile at their sanguinary doltishness in the last.

THERE is a rare flower near Palermo, a rose of English variety, owned by Signor Leone. This expensive floricultural specimen is Mr. Rose, a wealthy banker of Palermo, who is a captive in the hands of Signor Leone, the notorious brigand.

IN THIS morning's issue we begin to publish the shipping news of Washington and Georgetown for the benefit of merchants and captains of vessels. Arrangements have been made so that the news presented every morning will be complete and reliable.

MR. HEWITT ought to have the epidermis of an Esau and the muscular development of a Samson to execute the contract he has taken of electing Mr. Tilden President.

SOMEBODY is trying to blackmail the gamblers. Alas! the path of virtue is ever strewn with thorns!

THE republic of Mexico, rent as it is with civil feuds and drenched in fraternal blood, would probably just as soon Diaz not.

FORTY-FOURTH CONGRESS.

SECOND SESSION.

FRIDAY, December 15, 1876.

Senate.

The Senate was called to order at 12 m. by President *pro tempore* FERRY, and prayer was offered by the Chaplain.

BILLS AND PETITIONS

Communications, bills and petitions were presented and referred as follows:

By Mr. CHAFFEE: Bill to authorize the citizens of Colorado and Nevada to fell and remove timber on the public reservations for mining purposes. To Committee on Public Lands.

By Mr. KERNAN: Petition and bill from the heirs of H. Van Rensellear, for the extension of a patent on power looms. To Committee on Patents.

Mr. THURMAN asked and obtained leave to have Senate bill 984, to amend the Pacific railroad act, set down for consideration on the third Tuesday of January, 1877.

EXPENSES OF ELECTORAL MESSENGER.

Mr. WINDOM, from Committee on Appropriations, reported House bill 4,197, to pay electoral messengers. It provides for payment of twenty-five cents per mile for one way.

Mr. BOUTWELL moved to amend by making it twenty-five cents per mile for each way.

Mr. ALCORN said the system of paying by the mile in these days of railroads was a very unequal way of compensating persons employed by the Government. A messenger from the Pacific coast would make about two thousand dollars by his two weeks' work in coming here, while those from Virginia and Maryland would hardly receive enough to pay their hotel bills.

Mr. BOUTWELL said he had offered the amendment to make the bill conform to existing law, which was now on the statute books.

Mr. ALCORN thought this was not the way to do it, to pass an appropriation bill changing the law in a single instance and leave the law still on the statute books.

Mr. EDMUNDS said he should stick to what he had avowed as good principle at every session of Congress. He did not approve of tinkering the law every time an appropriation bill came in here, and would oppose the amendment. This was a good time to do it, for the messengers were so equally divided in politics that there was no politics in it.

Mr. HAMLIN defended the amendment, and said the original law read twenty-five cents per mile for each way, and the committee to revise the Statutes changed it surreptitiously, and the amendment only proposed to restore the law to its original language.

Mr. CONKLING said he sat with some impatience and heard every little while some criticism upon the action of the

COMMITTEE TO REVISE THE LAWS.

He spoke of the disadvantages and labor under which that committee performed their duty, and the phrase "and return" was unintentionally omitted in the revision in regard to this particular law. Most of the errors discovered in the revision were very similar.

Mr. THURMAN said that Gov. Chase once revised the laws of Ohio, when he was a young man, and after forty-five years of use not an error had been discovered. Mr. Swan did the same thing at a later day, and now, after thirty years' use, they were found without error.

Mr. CONKLING said he now understood why the President went to Ohio for his Attorney-General, and why he went from that State. It was because all the citizens were well qualified for that service, and the other States were left out.

Mr. THURMAN said he would not undertake for a moment to say that every Republican appointed by the President to office was not qualified for any duty.

The question was taken on the amendment by yeas and nays, and it was lost—yeas, 18; nays, 31.

Mr. WINDOM said the bill as reported conformed to the law, as the committee understood it, and as the Treasury officials understood it.

Mr. EDMUNDS moved to strike out everything in the bill changing existing law, which motion was lost.

The bill as reported provided for paying twenty-five cents per mile one way was lost.

The morning hour having expired, the CHAIR announced the regular order as Mr. MITCHELL's resolution in regard to the Oregon election.

Mr. DAWES asked that it be laid aside temporarily to take up the resolution providing for the pay of witnesses attending investigations.

Mr. EDMUNDS said he had notice yesterday that he should call up yesterday the resolution offered by Mr. MONTON last March, to provide for and regulate the counting of the electoral votes. He did not call it up yesterday, but thought it ought to be taken up at once.

WITNESS FEES.

By consent the witness fee bill was taken up, and Mr. MITCHELL moved to amend by adding at the end of the resolution: "*Provided*, That witnesses residing west of the 100th meridian be allowed seven cents per mile each way, instead of five cents per mile each way." The amendment was adopted and the bill passed.

Mr. MITCHELL took the floor, but yielded to Mr. ANTHONY to offer the following resolution:

COVERING THE STEPS.

Resolved, That the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds be authorized to place proper planks upon the west steps to the Capitol.

He said that that the present covering to those steps was an old tumble down rickety set of steps that had been put up there each winter for four or five years, and were really indecent, and such that no farmer in Vermont or Rhode Island would put up to a cow crib or a barn.

Mr. HAMLIN wanted to amend by adding that the steps themselves should be kept in proper order and free from ice. It could be done with little or no expense and without trouble.

Mr. ANTHONY said it seemed to be a conflict of authority between the Sergeant-at-Arms, the Architect of the Capitol and the Commissioner of Public Buildings as to whose duty it was to do this work. He, himself, had once found a cow grazing on the terrace, and no one of these officials attended to having her driven off on the principle that if the Legislative Department was in charge it was the duty of one man to lay the wood and another one to light the fire. So the Senator himself went and drove her off.

Mr. THURMAN. I demand the regular order.

Mr. ANTHONY. I want the resolution passed.

Mr. THURMAN. I don't think it can be done without consent of long speeches, and I demand the regular order.

Mr. ANTHONY. I don't think I or the Senator from Maine occupy so much time here as to justify the Senator from Ohio in snubbing us in this manner.

Mr. THURMAN. I don't propose to sit here and hear the Senator give us his biography in the time of cow driving.

Mr. HAMLIN. I occupy so much *more* time on this floor than the Senator from Ohio does, that of course I will not say another word.

The vote was taken, and the resolution was adopted.

OREGON ELECTOR.

Mr. MITCHELL resumed the floor, and yielded to Mr. THURMAN, who proceeded to discuss the Oregon resolution, and said Gov. Grover had decided no question that he was not absolutely bound to decide. He showed that Mr. Watts was not eligible to be appointed an elector of that State. He read from the 134th section of the Revised Statute, Act of 1845, showing the law in relation to filling the vacancies in case of failure to elect.

He claimed that Watts' ineligibility placed this case in the category of a failure to elect, and that it became the duty of Governor Grover to fill the vacancy according to the act of the Oregon Legislature. Governor Grover sought information from every source, and heard arguments on both sides, to govern him in his action.

He sent up to be read by the Clerk an opinion from Judge Hoadley, of Ohio, to Governor Grover, sustaining Governor Grover in the action he had taken.

A PALPABLE LIE.

During the reading an allusion was made in the opinion to Senator Sherman as one who was to be elected President of the Senate, and who would be the one to open the electoral votes, &c.

Mr. SHERMAN rose and said that allusion to him was taken from a roorback in the New York *World*, which was a palpable lie, without a particle of foundation.

The opinion was quite elaborate, and was read from a newspaper slip several columns in length, occupying one hour. After the reading

Mr. WALLACE took the floor, but yielded to

Mr. WRIGHT, to move that when the Senate adjourns to-day it be to Monday next; which was adopted.

Mr. WALLACE, resuming, said that Gov. Grover had complied with the Constitution and laws of the United States and of the State of Oregon, and who complains? Why, a postmaster, who had sworn to obey the same laws and the same Constitution. Without going into the merits of the case, he wanted to show if there were not decisions

JUSTIFYING THE ACTION OF GOV. GROVER,

who was acting in a ministerial capacity of the United States for his own State. This was a question of United States law, and the question was whether the votes cast for Watts were valid or not. It is a question of the Federal law and Federal Constitution morethan one of State law. He said he was inclined to believe that there were but two lawful electors appointed in Oregon. He read what he considered as the law of vacancy, and claimed that there was no vacancy. Then it must be a failure to elect, and that does not create a vacancy; it is simply a void election. Section 134 of the Revised Statutes prescribes the manner in which vacancies shall be filled, and the steps to be taken by the Legislature in case of a failure to elect. The Legislature of Oregon having failed to provide for the failure to elect, the State has but two electors. If Cronin was not elected, and Watts was not elected, then

ONLY TWO ELECTORS WERE APPOINTED,

and there is a failure to elect, and there are only two electors in the State.

Mr. MITCHELL denounced the act of Gov. Grover as a usurpation of law, and said no Senator dare defend his action, and he was not surprised that the Senator from Ohio should shield himself behind the opinion of a lawyer in Cincinnati. He asserted that the Governor had no right to adjudicate upon the question whatever, or to decide who was elected, or to fill the vacancy, or to appoint any other person than Mr. Watts.

Mr. MITCHELL yielded for Mr. CLAYTON to introduce a bill for the relief of John Jackson. Committee on Claims.

Also to Mr. WINDOM to take up House resolution providing for the appropriation of an amount to pay the

EXPENSES OF INVESTIGATING COMMITTEES.

The House amended the bill so as to make the amount $30,000 for the House committees instead of $21,000, and for $30,000 for the Senate committees instead of $50,000.

Mr. WINDOM moved that the Senate do not concur in the amendments, which was agreed to. He also moved a

COMMITTEE OF CONFERENCE,

which was ordered, and Messrs. WINDOM, LOGAN and DAVIS were appointed on the part of the Senate.

Mr. EDMUNDS introduced a resolution to provide for a committee of seven to join a similar committee that may be appointed by the House to adjust the difference that may arise between the two Houses in counting the electoral vote. Ordered to be printed and lie on the table.

A resolution from the House of a similar nature in regard to Presidential electors was read and laid upon the table.

Mr. MITCHELL resumed and concluded at 5 o'clock, when, on motion of Mr. HARVEY, the Senate proceeded to executive session, and at 5:15 o'clock adjourned till Monday.

House of Representatives.

Mr. SWANN, of Maryland, from the Committee on Foreign Affairs, submitted a resolution acknowledging the receipt from the Republic of Peetona, in South Africa, of a letter congratulatory of the United States on its Centennial, and directing the Secretary of State to tender the acknowledgment of the United States. Adopted.

A like resolution was also reported, acknowledging a similar compliment from the Argentine Republic, and it was also adopted.

Mr. ROBERTS, of Maryland, introduced a bill for the relief of Wm. Bowen, of the District of Columbia. District Committee.

Mr. BUCKNER, of Mo., introduced a bill to amend the charter of the

MUTUAL FIRE INSURANCE COMPANY

of the District of Columbia. District Committee.

Bills were passed for the removal of the political disabilities of Wm. Sharp, Lloyd J. Beall and Francis Sheppard, all of Virginia.

Mr. HOLMAN, of Ind., from Committee on Appropriations, reported back the Senate amendments to the bill making appropriations to pay the

EXPENSES OF SPECIAL COMMITTEES APPOINTED

to investigate the recent elections. The House bill recently appropriated $21,000 for the expenses of the House committees. The Senate amended it by putting on $50,000 to meet the expenses of Senate investigating committees. Since then the House has authorized another committee to visit New York and Brooklyn. The appropriation for the House is therefore increased to $30,000, and the committee recommend that the Senate appropriation be reduced to $30,000, which the committee deems sufficient.

Mr. HALE, of Me., opposed the proposed reduction of the Senate appropriation. The Senate, as it had an undoubted right to do, has ordered investigations, and it best knows its needs. The Senate has already summoned witnesses from Oregon and other distant places, and they will require a large amount of money. There were some things that the American people desired more than saving $20,000, and that was the ascertainment of the facts connected with the late elections. There was a condition of affairs in the State of Louisiana and in South Carolina which should be investigated. In order that all the facts might be known, he would be willing to double the appropriation for the House committees, and he did not care how those committees were constituted or how many Democrats were on them.

Mr. HOLMAN said that none would go farther than he would to investigate affairs in the South or in any other State where fraud was alleged, but he wanted to call attention to the fact that many of the political friends of Mr. HALE had voted in opposition to these investigations by the House. There was a tendency to run into a large expenditure in these investigations, and it was the duty of the House to guard against these extravagant expenditures.

Mr. COX, of N. Y., wanted the country to understand that the Democratic party was not responsible for the expense of the committee to attend the investigation of the registration in New York and other Northern cities. The proposition for that investigation first came from the other side, and the Democrats would not place themselves in the attitude of opposing any investigation.

NO MAN IN THE CITIES OF NEW YORK,

Brooklyn and Jersey City had ever questioned the manner in which the elections were conducted in those cities in the last election. But at the citizens there had been impugned he, (Mr. Cox,) as a Representative in part of New York, thought it was their duty to investigate to the bare facts. As to Philadelphia it was proper to say that that city was inserted at the request of Mr. RANDALL himself, because the original resolution as offered by Mr. MACDONALD was understood to be for the purpose of inquiring particularly into the manner in which the election was conducted in the SPEAKER's district. He was glad to hear the gentleman from Maine say that he was now starving for an investigation. That gentleman should have been here on the first day of the session, and persuaded his friends to agree to the investigations. Now, why should not the gentleman take his place as a leader of his party, and compel his friends in New Orleans to produce the papers required by the Congressional committee, so that Congress could have an opportunity of settling this matter as speedily and as intelligently as possible.

Mr. HALE denied that Governor Wells and his colleagues had refused any information to the Congressional committee. They had agreed to furnish, as soon as they could, copies of all the papers that were asked for.

Mr. COX said the gentleman knew, as well as

HE KNEW THAT GOD LIVES,

that the frauds do not appear in the copies. The frauds appear in the originals, and it is the originals that the committee and the country want.

Mr. HALE said the originals were given freely to the Republicans as well as the Republicans visiting committees during the count, and they were examined item by item.

Mr. COX said the pet Governor of the Republicans would not give the papers to the committee on the excuse that they had to be returned to the Legislature. You should be ashamed that your pet Governor has so acted.

Mr. TOWNSEND, of N. Y. The shame is mutual. [Laughter.]

Mr. COX was glad of that acknowledgment. He was glad that the acknowledgment was put upon the record. If the shame is mutual it must be borne by the gentleman from New York [Mr. TOWNSEND] and the gentleman from Maine [Mr. HALE.]

THE DEMOCRATS HAVE NO SHAME.

[Laughter on the Republican side, and cries of "That's so."] We have no cause for shame. Why should the Democrats be ashamed of any form of investigation? The Republican Returning Board in Louisiana sat in secret session.

Mr. HALE said it had not done so, and he was called to order for the interruption.

Mr. COX inquired why the Republicans had not put a Democrat on the Returning Board? Were the Republicans ashamed to sit with a Democrat? Were they afraid he could see their fraud? He would ask Mr. HALE if the board did not sit the last two days in secret session?

Mr. HALE said they did not deny the actual case. They were open in all their proceedings, except when they had occasion to retire for deliberation and consultation.

Mr. COX said that was another confession that they were in secret. They were judging and trying in secret. In consultation about what? What were they doing in that secret session? That is just what the Congressional committee want to find out.

Mr. HALE said they were making up their judgments.

Mr. COX said the committee wanted to ascertain all about that. He then referred to the

REPORT MADE BY MR. TRUMBULL

and others of the Democratic visiting committee, and said that report confirmed the statement that the board was in secret session. Why do not the gentleman and his friends desire a full investigation? There was never a time or an occasion when there should be less secrecy. The object of the Congressional investigation is not to take merely what is on the surface. Any body can get up a prima *facie* case, but the Democrats wanted to go below a mere superficial certification and get at the truth, and thus and there only can the great question of the Presidency be settled. The only way in which peace could be brought to the country, and he therefore welcomed the patriotic assertion made by the gentleman from Maine that he wanted the fullest investigation.

Mr. COX then proposed to have printed as a part of his remarks the report signed by Trumbull and others, but Mr. CONGER and others insisted upon its being read. Otherwise it could not go on the record.

Mr. HALE congratulated the other side of the House on their

NEW BORN ZEAL FOR OPEN INVESTIGATION,

especially when he remembered that at the last session of Congress the committees of this House had upon the equal of members and with closed doors. It was a marvel to him that any one should declare in the face of the facts that the proceedings of the Louisiana Returning Board were not open and fair. He was in New Orleans, and he knew that he was asking about the most very report just read shows that the sessions were open and fair. The committees of each side were present; whenever they chose to be. There never was a time when both sides were not invited to be present. It was open and free as daylight, and there was not the least occasion for secrecy, because the Republicans knew that they had a good and unanswerable case.

He of course could not know what the report of the Louisiana committee would be, but he would not hesitate to predict that the report of the majority of that committee, when it was presented to the House, would be like that of Mr. Trumbull and his associates, taken up almost entirely with technicalities, and would not go down to the real questions involved. There would not be a finger's length of the real issue. With regard to the assertion that no Democrat was on the board, Mr. HAYES had invited a number of Democrats to be present and participate in the proceedings, and they had declined.

Mr. COX said the gentleman was mistaken. He would like to give the names of the Democrats who had declined.

Mr. HALE said he could not now give the names.

Mr. GIBSON, of La., denied that any Democrat had been offered the position and had declined it.

Mr. HALE said that the Democratic committee of Louisiana had selected a member, and the Board declined to receive him, because it was an attempt to force a particular individual upon them. He wanted a thorough investigation if it would bring out the bottom facts. He was, therefore, in favor of voting the money asked for by the Senate. An investigation would disclose such a state of affairs as would horrify the country with the atrocities perpetrated. He could tell the gentlemen that there were more atrocities perpetrated in single parishes in Louisiana, one half of which occurring in England would have

REVOLUTIONIZED THE BRITISH EMPIRE

at any time during the last one hundred years.

Mr. HOAR, of Mass., said that the paper just read contained allusion to a report which a committee headed by himself had made in 1874, and it was difficult to believe that Mr. Trumbull and the other gentlemen who had signed that paper could have read the report signed by himself, Mr. WHEELER and others in 1874.

The Trumbull report utterly misstates the facts in his (Mr. HOAR's) report, and tries to make it appear that the Returning Board was then condemned generally. All that the report says of the Returning Board is that it erred in one particular in the construction of its legal powers, and that in doing so it had only followed the illegal example set it by the Returning Board of 1872, which was Democratic. They had said further in that report that if the Democratic party of the North had fully understood the whole matter they would have no further affiliation with the party of murder in Louisiana. The question to be determined now is, what is the true status of the voters of Louisiana. Is it true that there are parishes in Louisiana where men cannot cast their votes as they desire to, because of the intimidation exercised toward them? If it is not true the whole country will be glad to know that fact. They will be

GLAD TO HAVE MR. TILDEN ELECTED

if it can be shown that there was a fair and peaceful election.

Mr. SPENCER, of La., said that the people of Louisiana desired the fullest and most complete investigation, and when it is made it will be shown that the State was carried by the Democratic party in the last election. The cry that comes up now is the same old cry of murder and outrage that came from Louisiana in 1874. Now, as then, it is all an invention, and the committee sent to Louisiana in 1874 shows that there was no attempt at intimidation by the whites upon the blacks, but that the black Republicans exercised intimidation over the black Democrats. The people of Louisiana are not only not afraid of investigation, but they court it and want the bottom facts. As to the charge of intimidation of the blacks by the whites, he desired to say that in the parishes in which the troops were stationed there were more black Republicans who voted with the Democrats than in any other parishes. If troops had been stationed in his own parish of Concordia, where there was a large black vote, there would have been a thousand more votes for Tilden, and he thinks than there were given. Colored men in Concordia parish had come to him (Mr. SPENCER) and told him that they would like to vote for him, but their lives would be in danger if they did so. He could assert, without fear of successful contradiction, that in no State of the Union was there a more free election last fall, or one less devoid of intimidation by the whites than in the State of Louisiana.

Mr. COX, referring again to the statement that the Returning Board had offered to give copies of papers to the Congressional committee, said that copies did not answer the demand except in cases where the originals had been destroyed. It was the original paper that would convey the truth. Referring to the statement that the Republicans should be ashamed of themselves, Mr. Cox read the meaning of the word as defined by Webster, and said he had never felt it.

Mr. KELLEY. I say you are

ABSOLUTELY SHAMELESS.

Mr. COX then read an extract from the report made by Mr. HOAR on Louisiana affairs in 1874, in which the Returning Board was denounced.

Mr. HOAR said he was misrepresented in what the gentleman read. He had read from the report of the sub-committee, and his (Mr. HOAR's) name was only appended to it because he had presented it to the House.

Mr. COX said it showed that the Returning Board was covered all over with fraud, and such a board as that should not prevent a free investigation.

The vote was then taken, and the report of the Committee on Appropriations was adopted, the House by a vote of 140 to 83 refusing to restore the appropriation for the Senate to $50,000.

The House then went into Committee of the Whole on the

POST OFFICE APPROPRIATION BILL.

An effort was made to increase the appropriation for compensation to railway post office clerks, but it was defeated.

The bill was completed in Committee of the Whole and reported to the House.

Mr. HOLMAN moved to reject the amendment increasing the appropriation for the "star" service.

Pending a vote on the question, the House, at 4:35 p. m., adjourned.

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THE CONTRIBUTORS' CLUB,

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