FELICIANA SENTINEL.

2. ST. FRANCISVILLE, LA., DECEMBER 22, 1877. NO. 26

SS,
orney at Law,
Clinton, Louisiana.

RDEE,
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Clinton, Louisiana.

S J. KERNAN,
& COUNSELOR AT LAW,
hnton, Louisiana.
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Clinton, Louisiana.
ice in the Courts of the 5th
strict. Aug.2'76.—1y

OWELL,
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rancisville, Louisiana.
ice in the Parishes of West
liciana, and Pointe Coupee.

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ctice in the Parishes of West
liciana, and Pointe Coupee.

ONES,
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Clinton, Louisiana.
the North side of the public

HE JR. JOS. I. GOLSAN.
& GOLSAN,
TORNEYS AT LAW
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d Pointe Coupee.

FFE. C. L. FISHER
FFE & FISHER,
torneys at Law,
St. Francisville, La.
ctice in the Courts of West
Feliciana, Pointe Coupee and
Parishes.

BALL,
ICIAN AND SURGEON,
Bayou Sara, Louisiana,
residence

STRY.
Dr. E. Green Davis offers
his services to the people of
this and adjoining Parishes.
addressed to him, at his resi-
receive prompt attention.

TRY! DENTISTRY!!
I will attend all calls on
the Coast, from Natchez to
New Orleans; also the back
hen accessable with a buggy.
wishing my services, can pro-
me by addressing me, at my
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St. Francisville, La

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New Orleans, La.
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ROPRIETORS.
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day.

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BAYOU SARA, LA.
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ed with the very best fare the
ffords. Elegant and well fur-
ms. Accommodating servants
y in attendance. Patronage so-
d satisfaction guaranteed.

EWMAN,
TAILOR,
e Sentinel office,
St. Francisville La.,

H. ARNAUD'S
BARBER SHOP AND HAIR
DRESSING SALOON.
e M. & A. Fischer, Front Levee
ara, Louisiana. Sept. 1, '77

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[At L. Vresinsky's old stand,]
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FASHIONABLE BOOT & SHOE MAKER
Respectfully solicits a share of the public patronage and guarantees satisfaction.

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Will give prompt attention to all business in his line in this and adjoining Parishes. june 28 '76.—1

TO THE PUBLIC.
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Sept. 22' 77. 1y.

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GEN. CHAS. E. SMEDES Pro.
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Terms Only $2 50 per Day!
The undersigned having purchased the unexpired lease of Messrs. R. E. Rivers & Co., in the above hotel, is now in possession of the same, and has the pleasure of announcing to his friends and the public that it will be kept open the entire summer for regular and transient guests and day boarders on
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CHAS. E. SMEDES,
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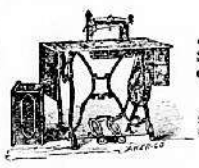
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Leaves Bayou Sara every Monday after the arrival of the cars from Woodville, and every Thursday at 7 p. m. Returning, leaves New Orleans every Wednesday and Saturday at 5 p. m.
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FELICIANA SENTINEL.
A DEMOCRATIC PAPER.
OFFICIAL JOURNAL OF WEST FELICIANA
OFFICIAL JOURNAL CITY OF BAYOU SARA
PUBLISHED EVERY SATURDAY.
S. LAMBERT...PROPRIETOR
JNO. D. AUSTEN.....Editor.
S. O. KHEA.....Publisher.
St Francisville, Dec. 22 77

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THE ELECTORAL FRAUD.

JUDGE BLACK' REPLY TO MR. E. W STOUGHTON.

The Stoughton Article in the North American Review for October Plainly Dealt With.

(CONTINUED FROM LAST ISSUE.)

SHERMAN'S VISITING COMMITTEE.

You are naturally offended by my reference to the conduct of Mr. Sherman's visiting committee, of which you were one. You call it an attack; but I meant it for the best defense I was able to furnish; and I will not now be provoked to utter one harsh word about them. I am willing to admit that when I said they "aided and abetted, *by every means in their power*, the perpetration of the Great Fraud." I used too strong an expression.

Their case is too serious to be dealt with lightly. So far as depends on me, I will not suffer them to be prejudiced by your blundering advocacy. But they have hurt *themselves* very much by declaring insincerely and untruly that they went to Louisiana only to *witness* the count of the electoral vote by the Returning Board. Nobody believes that they would drop their affairs at home, start immediately after the election, travel all the way to Louisiana, and stay there at great expense for a month, merely that they might be present as *spectators*, when Wells, Anderson and the two mulattoes would cipher up the returns. No; they meant business of some kind, good or evil, and evil is always suspected of that which covers itself under a sham. Another pretense of theirs fails to bear examination. They said they could not advise an honest count or reprobate a false one without fear of offense to the returning officers. This extreme delicacy is all simulated. Nothing could be more ridiculous than the idea that the committee was restrained by politeness from interfering to stop the fraud, if they wanted it stopped. They *could* have crushed it with a word. If they had simply said that an honett count must be made, of all the legal votes actually cast, and that no man should, with their consent, be recognized, protected or rewarded for falsifying or fraudulent altering returns, the conspiracy would have dissolved that instant. Their refusal to do this or something equivalent, when pressed and solicited by the Democratic committee, needs to be vindicated by some better reason than any that has yet been given.

They not only did not prevent the great fraud when they might have done it so easily, but they encouraged it, intentionally, or unintentionally by telling the conspirators that power to disfranchise the citizens of the State might constitutionally be exercised by the Returning Board, and to give this plausibility they cited a void statute and a decision of the Supreme Court which had never been made. By reasoning wholly unsound they made the conspirators believe that if they put their fraud into the "forms of law" it could never be questioned.

Moreover, after the fraudulent alteration of the vote had been made, they pronounced it a righteous thing. How far they were conscientious in this I do not pretend to say. But if a man approves of a consummated crime, it does not require much faith in human weakness to believe that he might have helped it along while it was yet *in fieri*.

Again, the chairman of that visiting committee has since become Secretary of the Treasury, and controls the appointment and removal of Custom-House officers at New Orleans, as well as elsewhere. Wells is Surveyor of the port and Anderson is Deputy Collector. Are these offices the consideration, in whole or in part, of their corrupt service in the Returning Board? What other claims to those lucrative and highly responsible offices could be preferred by this brace of detected criminals?

Though these facts make an impression very unfavorable to the committee, they are but moral circumstances. The public is *not yet* in possession of any direct evidence which shows either of them to have actually participated in concocting perjured affidavits, bargained for falsified records, or made special promises of reward for corrupt services. All of them are men of good general reputation; most of them stand so high that a charge against them of willful dishonesty unless, supported by overwhelming proof, must be tejected as incredible. Some, perhaps were tied to the tail of the committee who had not knowledge enough of the subject to make them fairly responsible for what they said or did. You yourself are in no danger if you get proper credit for your mental imbecility; at least I think it can be easily shown that great allowance ought to be made for you on that score.

THE BUCHANAN ADMINISTRATION.

I come now to your abuse of the Buchanan Administration. It is as difficult to analyze as the scolding of a fish woman But out of your reckless and half crazy circumlocution I am able to extract the following charges:

1. That the President and other members of the Administration were in favor of the secession movement, and desired its success.

2. That to make it successful they, and particularly the President himself, behaved treacherously and unfaithfully to the Federal Government.

3. That the President combined with secessionists in the reasonable plot to break up the Union, establish an independent Southern Confederacy, and cause it to be recognized as a separate ination by foregn governments.

4. That in pursuance of this plot, and to carry it out, the President not only abandoned but denied the right of the government to preserve itself or to maintain its authority, or to execute its laws or to put down resistance by force.

5. That as a consequence of these and other evil deeds, the Buchanan Administration became accursed, as the cause of the civil war, with all its loss of blood and treasure.

I will not now write an essay on the history of that period, or go into a general explanation of the events which took place on the eve of the war. I am wholly on the defensive, and my present duty is merely to state certain facts already well known, and which show that your charges are false and groundless.

Mr. Buchanan's regular message of December, 1860, addressed to a Congress in which all the Northern and Southern States were represented, is an unanswerable argument against the right of separation, and the most powerful appeal for union and harmonious obedience to law that ever was made to the American people, excepting, perhaps, Washington's Farewell Address and Jackson's Proclamation. No one can read it now without feeling that if his wise counsels had been heeded, the unity of the Republic would have been preserved in the bonds of a lasting peace.

Only those who know, of their own knowledge, what relations actually existed between the Administration and the leading advocates of separation, can see how preposterous is the charge of conspiracy between them. For many Southern gentlemen the President, no doubt, had a warm affection which it was not easy to tear from his heart; and their attachment to him had been long and faithful. But the moment he assumed his public attitude of opposition to their movement, they fell away from him in a body, and became his unanimous enemies as far as they could be so consistently with their respect for his acknowledged personal virtues. Even the Southern members of his Cabinet could not reconcile it with their principles to hold office under him. The great gulf, soon to be filled with blood and fire, was already opened. The Administration was on one side of it and all secessionists on the other. Does that look like a combination to effect a common purpose by concert of action?

A SLANDER REFUTED.

Not less absurdly false is the charge that the Administration denied the power of the Federal government to maintain its just supremacy by force.

We held not only that no right of separation existed, and, as a logical consequence, that all State ordinances of secession were mere nullities, but we claimed for the government of the Union the right to save its perfect integrity by the use of all the physical force which might be found necessary. This power was given by the constitution itself, according to our exposition of it, thus:

To take or retake and keep possession of all forts, arsenals, dockyards, custom-houses, post-offices, land, and other public property of the United States; to collect the duties, imposts, and taxes wherever due; to execute the laws by enforcing the judgments of the Federal courts and the legal orders of all Federal officers, and to do this by military power wherever the civil authority is not strong enough these are the coercive powers bestowed on the general government for its own preservation, and these, instead of being abandoned by the Buchanan Administration, were most distinctly asserted.

What we did deny was, the right of the United States to make war upon *a State as a State*, declare all the inhabitants beyond the protection of law, and put them all to the sword as public enemies, for theoretical heresies expressed by a few of them in the form of void ordinances. We thought as Washington, Madison and Jackson thought and said on similar occasions, that the force which supported the law ought to be directed against the individuals who opposed it, and not against innocent persons who happened to live in the same State.

The United States, being (within certain limits) a sovereign government, to which obedience was due directly from the people, it took no notice of State lines, and could not make war upon a State any more than a State could make war upon a county. The opposite doctrine, which would interpose the State between the people and the Federal government, was the doctrine of the secessionists, which we rejected as unsound and heretical.

If the executive had at that time opened an indiscriminate and aggressive war it would not only have been lawless murder, but it would, as every one now can see, have ended in complete disaster, and the cause of the Union must have utterly perished.

The Executive function is confined by the statute book as well as the constitution. The President could not, and he said plainly that he would not, violate his oath of office by usurping powers which the law withheld from him. But Congress could give him all that was needed, It did not do so. On the 9th of January he sent in a special message describing the dangers to which the Union was exposed by the inaction of Congress, and showing the inadequacy of his means to control the rising revolution, Congress would not vote a man or a dollar, nor in any way strengthen the Executive hand.

That these views of legal and constitutional duty were true and right is not open to the slightest doubt. Except the Southern members who retired, all the Cabinet fully and heartily concurred in them Gen. Cass, Gen. Dix, Mr. Holt, Mr. Stanton, Mr. Toucey and Mr. King were as true to them as I was, and of course supported them with much greater ability. We differed several times with one another and with the President on points of policy; but on the law we were of one mind and one heart. Our exposition of it was not, to my knowledge, thought or said to be erroneous by any member of that Congress. Our successors, of the Lincoln Administration, adopted it in all its length and breadth. To this day no lawyer of average ability has ever fairly considered it and then candidly put in a dissent. It is so manifestly correct—so simply just and right—that all men agree to it.

ONE WAY TO EARN A FOREIGN MISSION.

Such being the true state of the case, as the record shows, you assail the Buchanan Administration with filthy abuse, and charge Mr. Buchanan himself, not only with entertaining opinions totally different from those he actually held and expressed, but with criminal acts of the darkest dye.

Apart from the palpable falsehood of these accusations, your attempt to criticise a man like Mr. Buchanan is unpardonably presumptuous. Your judgment upon his character or conduct, even if honestly expressed, is not worth a straw. Doubtless he had his share of imperfections; but how could you tell his faults from his virtues? You believe that the fraudulent alteration of election returns is "the exercise of a wise discretion;" you believe the Louisiana Returning law to be just and constitutional; you believe it right to quote a judicial decision for a principle which the case does not contain; how, then, can any moral standard of yours be applied to a statesman whose life was upright, pure, and patriotic? Your faith in, and affection for, the carpet-bag knaves make it a necessity of your nature to vilify Buchanan, who was in all things their opposite. His intellectual as well as his moral superiority puts you so widely apart that you can never know anything whatever about him. I do not wish to exaggerate his magnitude or your littleness; and I could not if I would try, for no comparison of mine can describe the difference between you. Hyperion and a satyr; the towering eagle and the mousing owl: the King of the Titans and the dwarf at his feet; the builder of the solemn temple and the fly on one of its columns—none of these trite similes gives an idea of the immeasurable distance which separates you from him. Nobody expects the scurvy politician who busies himself with fixing up false election returns to understand the thoughts, motives or acts of the incorruptible magistrate whose walk is on the mountain ranges of the law.

Let us look for a moment at your method of supporting the charges you make, and see how worthy it is of you and your carpet-bag associates. In substance, your accusations are that he and his Administration, being in complicity with treason, favored the right of the States to separate from the Union at pleasure, and, in the interest of the seceding States, denied the power of the general government to maintain its authority by force. The message honestly quoted proves exactly the reverse. But you suppress all that it contains upon those subjects, and quote certain sentences relating to a totally different matter, namely; the right of the general government to make aggressive war upon a State, and all the people thereof, without regard to their personal guilt or innocence. Because the shows that the constitution has wisely withheld *this* power from both the President and Congress, you say that he abandoned and denied the other powers which, in fact, he asserted and claimed in that same message.

I do not ask if this be a fair way to defame a man whom death has disarmed of the power of self defense, for I suppose that, in your eyes, it is eminently proper. You have no doubt that it is "a wise discretion," like that of Wells and Anderson when they transposed the figures on the return from Vernon parish. The trick, to be sure, is perfectly transparent, but your mental calibre is just small enough to let you think that even a detected falsehood is better than none.

Nor would I advise you to cease your vituperation of the dead President. His memory is intensely hated by many powerful persons to whom his dignified and virtuous life was a constant reproach. To slander him is the surest way to curry favor with them, and they can assist you to get a foreign mission or some other office for which you are equally unfit. Lose no opportunity, then, of being super serviceable. Take every occasion to load up as much dirt as your little cart can carry; and, however far it takes you out of your way, drive around and dump it on the grave of Buchanan. It will not disturb his repose, and no doubt it will increase your chances of promotion very much.

PERSONAL.

It is always more or less awkward to speak of one's self. But you have dragged my individual life into this discussion, and falsely accused me of gross misbehavior. I shall make my defense with as little *egotism* as the nature of this case will permit.

You have positively averred, published and proclaimed that I adopted the views of the secessionists and entered into a "devilish cunning" conspiracy with them to destroy the Union; that I brought the "accursed Administration" into this traitorous combination, expressed the opinion that each State had a right to separate from the Union at pleasure, and declared the government destitute of all power to preserve itself by compelling obedience to its laws, with much more to the same effect.

To this I oppose my explicit denial. I declare that all you say about me in this connection is perfectly and entirely false, not only in its genereral tenor, but in every detail. No act that I ever did, no line that I ever wrote, no word that I ever spoke can give the slightest support to any one of your charges. On the contrary, all my utterances, public and private, are diametrically the reverse of this.

Up to this point I have been willing to excuse you on the score of incapacity. You could not be expected to see the unconstitutionality of the Returning Board law, or the legal right of the people to choose their own electors, or the dishonesty of altering election returns, or the rule that fraud makes void whatever it taints by its touch. In quoting the Louisiana court to prove a principle which it did not mention, perhaps you only repeated like a parrot what others said before, without knowing what it meant. When you asserted the conclusiveness of the Returning Board's action on the authority of the statute and a judicial decision, you may have omitted the words "prima facie" from your rendering of both, because you thought that *conclusive* and prima facie were synonymous terms. You probably did not write that part of your article which most falsely accuses me of admitting and justifying the murder of innocent and helpless people by thousands. All your misstatements upon the Florida case could be accounted for by your lack of legal knowledge. Even your misrepresentation of Mr. Buchanan might be considered the unavoidable blunder of a narrow mind struggling with a subject beyond its comprehension. But this slander of me is a different thing. Giving you credit for as much ignorence as you can possibly plead, and making all allowance for the curious moral *strabismus* with which you are afflicted, still judgment must go against you, that *here* you have *wilfully* broken the ninth commandment.

MORE GARBLING.

Manifestly, you sought most diligently for evidence to show that I had been opposed to the Union, favored secession, and advised against the right of the government to execute its

[Continued on fourth page.]