POELIBRED VILMINGTON. N. C..

Jaws Late AFETTE \$1.50 a Year, in advance. THE AURESTING OF PORKIEN. BORN KLBOTORS.

The telegraphic dispatches that have appeared from time to time concerning the investigation before the Wallace Committee have not presented a correct impression of what was being done. The conclu sion might be, after reading the brief dispatches, that Johnny Davenpart, cheafthe most corrupt tools of a corrept party, was making excellent headway in the matter of exposing Democratic frauds and in justifying his own course in 1876. It will gery be remembered that in that year this superserviceable Radical tool, arrestupon fraudulent naturalization pa- traudulent papers. I attack the record upon the ground of fraud. pers. Mark that. He arrested the foreign-born Democrats to the number of thousands, first putting their in a huge iron cage and afterwards sending many of them to jul. The reason of this was that his masters at Washington had so instructed him. They said New York must be carried for the Radicals, and to do this at least 10,000 voters must be silenced. So the rascally Davenport went to work and arrested thousands of Democrats of foreign birth who had taken out naturalization papers in 1868, and for eight years had been voting upon them unchallenged.

But what became of all this scoundrehsm? What fate overtook the arrested and buildozed Democrats of foreign birth? We wish to show three things: first, that the naturalization papers were properly issued; second, that no Democrats were punished; third, that Davenport caught himself! As to the first point. A test case

was made as to the charge of fraud in the naturalization papers, and the New York Court held that they were regular. As to the second, the following from the Wallace Committee will show there were no convictions. Senator McDonald is questioning

'Q Who got the 2,800 Republican papers? A. I don't know. Q. They were got in the same manner as the rest? A. They were got in the Court of Common Pleas. "Q And you did not attack the Court of Common Pleas? A. No, sir; it was hon-

How many warrants did you issue in 1876 for those holding traudulent papers? A I think it was 3,106. "Q. How many were served? A. I don't

"Q How many were arrested? "Q. How many were taken before you !

Q. How many were held? A. All the grand jury. "Q. How many were indicted? A. In

dictments were ordered for about 40. "Q How many were found? A. About "Q. How many convictions? A. Idon't know of any; Idon't know that there was any

"Q You were Clerk of the Court? A

"Q Where are these indictments? A They are on file; I have no control over the bringing of men to trial."

This alone shows the villamy of the whole transaction. Thousands of Democratic voters of foreign birth are arrested for voting upon naturalization papers they had used for eight years without challenge, and which the Court held to be regular, and yet none is brought to trial, and this dirty tool of corrupt men whimpers -"I have no control over the bringing of men to trial." Davenport could obey swiftly the orders from his masters to arrest thousands of honest men to prevent them from exercising their rights under the Constitution and to vote for the men of their choice, but he was utterly powerless, he would have us believe, to have one of these greatly wronged Democratic voters brought to trial. Think of it, freemen of North Carolina! Think of it, men of other nationalities who are now naturalized citizens of the United States! Here are thousands of men who are arrested on the eve of the election upon trumped up charges of fraud, are crowded into iron cages, and some are even sent to the city prisons, robbed of their liberty and their civil rights, and not one of them is ever tried for the alleged crime. was any crime or fraud? It was a lie out of the whole cloth, and the infamous Davenport knew it, as his masters knew it. They were afraid of a trial. Davenport and his advisers and backers ought to be at Sing Sing this hour wearing striped

clothes and picking stone. But Davenport pretended before the Committee that he believed that the papers were fraudulent. The following from the examination will show how he fared in the hands of Senator McDonald and how he convicted himself:

"Q You maintain that you have the

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ing to vote on papers dated 1868, although these papers are legitimately made out? A. Certainly. If evidence is brought before me to show the fraudulent character of the papers I shall issue warrants to arrest the "Q. But if the papers are legitimate? A. I o not think that any of these 1868 papers

Q Do you say you have the right to hat under the statutes of the United States am required to rate the warrants.

"Q. 1 never heard of this statute.

Where can it be found? A. It will be found in the Revised Statutes under the a lof crimes Q What kind of a crime? A. For-

Q. Then these papers, you say, were torged? You must remember that we are not conversing about papers issued by the curt to persons who were entitled to them. on the charge that they were voting to arrest a man who tried to vote upon

> "Q. Frauds of the judges? A. Idid Now, as a lawyer, do you mean to my toat the judgment of one court can be attacked by another court upon the ground that the first judge acted fraudulently? A

I did not say so. "Q. Then what has your opinion of a fraug of that kind to do with the legality of the papers ? A. It may have something

"Q. Come, now; don't evade my questions. You are a lawyer. Can the judgment of one court be attacked by another court in the manner I have explained? "Mr. Davenport (greatly confused) -I-I -I-I have not yet determined upon my

Senator McDonald arose and said that the last answer was preposterous. 'Why, sir,' he said, 'you have taken hours and hours to present to us an elaborate argument upon this very question. Now you have no opinion at all.

This will do. No honest man can for a moment justify what Davenport did. No honest, intelligent man can believe that Davenport believed he was acting fairly and legally. Let it be romembered, that there were between two and three thousand Republican voters who came to the polls with alleged fraudulent papers and not one of them was molested in any way by Davenport or any one else. Louisville Courier-Journal throws further light upon the subject. It says:

"Davenport, to a sist him in his infa-

mous work, had, in 1878, thirteen hundred and fifty deputy marshals, and nine-tenths of these marshals were shoulder-hitters, thieves, burglars, ex-convicts and Republican bummers and gutter snipes. The operation cost \$60,000 | We are told by the Globe-Democrat that 'Davenport still holds the fort in New York.' He does, and with instructions from the administration to repeat the processes of 1876 and 1878. Every Republican politician knows perfectly well why the Federal election law was passed. Davenport reveals enough to show its nature in his admissions. The party in power is enabled to pay its campaign expenses out of the Treasury of the United States and to disfranchise the opposition in 'quantities to suit.' That law, we are told, is the 'bulwark of liberty and equal rights,' the 'prot ction of the ballot-box! Undoubtedly 'Davenport knows his tuiness,' for he is old in crime. His own confession shows that all he wanted was to keep Democrafs from voting. As to prosecuting and securing their conviction, he cared nothing about that. None of the parties have been convicted. It is needless to say that Davenport has defied the State Courts. He is authorized by the Administration to play the autocrat. He is a fitting representative of his swind ing and fraudu-

It is perhaps well to supplement the above with some additional testimony bearing upon the character of Davenport's deputy marshals. It was shown before the Wallace Committee that several of these tools were murderers, thieves, burglars and shoulder-hitters. Here is what one of the witnesses swore to:

"Q. How did these men discharge their duty? A. I know of a great deal of harm done by Marshals on election day. One man was arrested for doing exactly what Davenport told him to do. Francis Mc-Grath was naturalized in 1868. He received a notice from Mr. Davenport which said, 'Come and see me.' He did, and was advised to get out a new certificate. He got out a new one in 1878, and was arrested for attempting to vote on 1868 papers.

Q. What was the conduct of the Marshals? A. The behavior of the Marshale was such as to intimidate men and to make a sort of reign of terror. It was very hard for a man who was naturalized in 1868 to register or to vote. Many of them were afraid to go to the polls.

"Q. Do you know of cases of men naturalized legally in 1868? A. Yes, sir. Mr. Davenport's order was in answer to Judge Freedman's decision and to prevent people from voting who were citizens. 'Q Were their qualifications to vote submitted to the judges of the election? A. No, sir. They were arrested at once

Iron-cages, brow-beating, bulldozing, arresting without warrant of law-these are the instruments used so effectively by Davenpert; these are the agencies relied upon by the Republican party to keep its grip upon the people's purse-strings. In Who is fool enough to believe there | the name of civil liberty whither are we tending?

> We have read no political document for many years that has given Hancock accepting the nomination for the Presidency tendered him by

GEN. HANCOCK'S LETTER.

the Democratic party of the United | bering sectionalism. Our nominee States. In many respects it is a model. In compact form it embodies very many great, important, indispensable truths. It is from first in all parts of our common country to last all compact of truth, and alike. And every man who knows there are no political heresies or mon- his past life will believe that this will power to arrest men for voting or attempt- strosities or "glittering generalities." be done.

What he says is well said, and what e says is the truth. There is no atriot and a man of honor, who can tion of principle Gen. Hancock has hid down. It is a condensed system of truisms, not one of which can be dispensed with, and all of which are ssential. He restates the great funamental principles of our government as framed and expounded by and terseness of style, in elevation of sentiment, in fidelity to the Conattution and the Union, it is an admirable political document. Gen. Hancock plants himself

squarely upon the platform adopted by the Democratic party in Convendon at Cincinnati. He declares he will cherish and maintain the principles embodied in that platform. He declares, if elected, that he will uphold and enforce the whole Constitution, including the famous fourteenth and fifteenth amendments, as the supreme law of the land. He gives a most lucid, condensed and excellent description of the Constitution and the rights and authority of the General and State Governments that must be accepted by all who are not revolutionists or tainted with the heretical dogmas of absolutists and imperialists. He is for maintaining the Union-the Union and the Constitution "now and forever, one and inseparable." He insists that the administration of the government must be faithful and efficient if the rights of the people are duly protected. He shows the great danger of fraud and force and warns the people against them. Hear this illustrious soldier as he upholds honesty and liberty and a free ballot, and then say if you dare that his utterances are not those of a man who has studied the genius and spirit of the fundamental law of freedom and who has incorporated its teachings into the law of his own life. Hear

what the patriot-statesman says: "It is a vital principle in our system that neither hand nor force must be allowed to subvert the rights of the people. When fraud, violence or incompetence controls, the noblest constitutions and wisest laws are useless. The bayonet is not the fit instrument for collecting the votes of free men. It is only by a full vote, free ballot, and fair count, that the people can rule, in fact, as required by the theory of our government. Take this foundation away and the whole structure falls. Public office is a trust, not a bounty bestowed upon the holder. No incompetent or dishonest person should ever be entrusted or, if appointed, they should be promptly ejected. The basis of substantial practical civil service reform must first be established by the people in filling elective offices. If they fix a high standard of qualifications for office, and sternly reject he corrupt and incompetent, the result will be decisive in governing the action of the servants whom they entrust with the appointing power."

These be truths of most pregnant import. They are truths that should never be forgotten or set aside for a day by the free electors of this free country. In 1876 both force and fraud were used by the party in power, and for four years the American people have been without a President they had chosen. Fraud sits in the White House, placed there by force and villainy. That is the truth. THE BAYONET IS NOT THE FIT IN-STRUMENT FOR COLLECTING THE VOTES OF A FREE PROPLE." This is the utterance of a soldier. What civilian will dare doubt or gainsay it. Let that sentiment be blazoned upon banners and transparencies, and let it be written on our hearts and in our memories-"the bayonet is not the fit instrument for collecting the votes of a free people." Imperishable truth ! Let us adopt it, remember it, act upon it. The Republican party, in speech and act, in platforms and in Congressional votes and utterances, in vetoes and examples, have said again and again that the bayonet was necessary that the votes of freemen should be collected, and to this end they fabricated those tremendous engines of oppression, of fraud, of force, known as the election laws.

Gen. Hancock thinks it high time the people of the whole country were at peace, and that the war being over for fifteen years the substantial benefits of reconciliation should be enus so much unalloyed satisfaction as joyed by all. And so do all just, good the letter of General Winfield S. citizens think. It is only demagogues who would keep alive the hostile passions and rekindle the ashes of slumpledges himself to defend and protect the Union and to see that the laws are executed faithfully and equally

We have not followed our leader in the bristling points of his consumfair minded statesman, who is both a mate letter of acceptance. We have glanced only at some of them that take any exceptions to any declara- are in such striking contrast with those presented by the moribund party in their variegated platform that even Garfield, their candidate, refused to accept in its entirety. We shall refer to the letter of Mr. Enghish hereafter. It is of double the length of Gen. Hancock's, is less vigthe fathers. In brevity, in felicity crous, less terse, less striking, but is the production of one familiar with public life, with the political history of the country and with the imperative necessities of the hour. It is a sound exposition of political doctrine, and will be read with interest by the millions of American electors in

HANCOCK AND ENGEISH.

life and political death.

The Letters of Acceptance from the and Vice President of the United States-A Porcible Presentation of the Principles of the Party.

[By Telegraph to the Morning Star] NEW YORK, July 30 .- The following i Gen. Hancock's letter of acceptance, viz Governor's Island, New York City, July 29.—GENTLEMEN :- I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of July 13th, 1880, apprising me formally of my nomination to the office of President of the United States by the National Democratic Convention lately assembled in Cincinnati. I accept the nomination with grateful appreciation of the confidence reposed in me. The principles enunciated by the Convention are those I have cherished in the past and shall endeavor to maintain in the future. The thirteenth, fourteenth and fifteenth amendments to the constitution of the United States, embodying the results of the war for the Union, are inplable. If called to the Presidency should deem it my duty to resist with all of my power any attempt to impair or evade the full force and effect of the constitution, which in every article, section and amendment is the supreme law of the land. The constitution forms the basis of the government of the United States. The powers granted by it to the legislative, executive and judicial departments, define and limit the authority the general government. The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, belong to the States respectively, or to the people.

The General and State Governments, each acting in its own sphere, without touch ing upon the lawful jurisdiction of the other, constitute the Union. This Union, comprising a general government with general powers, and State governments with State powers for purposes local to the States, is a polity, the foundations of which were laid in the profoundest wisdom. This s the Union our fathers made and which has been so respected abroad and so beneficent at home. Tried by blood and fire, it stands to-day a model form of free, popular government; a political system which, rightly administered, has been, and will continue to be, the admiration of the world. May we not say, nearly in the words of Washington, "The unity of the government which constitutes us one people justly dear to us. It is the main pillar in the edifice of our real independence; the support of our peace, safety and prosperity, and of that liberty we so highly prize and intend at every hazard to preserve." But no form of government, however carefully devised; no principles, however sound, will protect the rights of the people unless their

dministration is faithful and efficient. It is a vital principle in our system that either fraud nor force must be allowed to subvert the rights of the people. When fraud, violence or incompetence controls, the noblest constitutions and wisest laws are useless. The bayonet is not the fit instrument for collecting the votes of free mea. It is only by a full vote, free ballot, and fair count, that the people can rule, in fact, as required by the theory of our government. Take this foundation away and the whole structure falls. Public office is a trust, not a bounty bestowed upon the holder. No incompetent or dishonest person should ever be entrusted with it, or if appointed, they should be promptly ejected. The basis of substantial ractical civil service reform must first be stablished by the people in filling elective ffices. If they fix a high standard of qualifications for office, and sternly reject the corrupt and incompetent, the result will be decisive in governing the action of the servants whom they entrust with the

The war for the Union was successfully closed more than fifteen years ago. All classes of our people must share alike in the blessings of the Union and are equally concerned in its perpetuity and in the proper administration of public affairs. are in a state of profound peace; henceforth, let it be our purpose to cultivate sentiments of friendship and no animosity against our fellow citizens. Our material interests, varied and progressive, demand our constant and united efforts. A sedulous and scrupulous care of public credit, together with a wise and economical management of our governmental expenditures, should be maintained, in order that abor may be lightly burdened, and that all persons may be protected in their rights to the fruits of their own industry. The time has come to enjoy the substantial benefits of reconciliation. As one people we have common interests; let us encourage our own industries which will revive our languishing merchant marine, extend our commerce with foreign countries, assist our merchants, manufacturers and pro-ducers to develop our vast natural resources, and increase the prosperity and

happiness of our people.

If elected I shall, with Divine favor, labor with what ability I possess to discharge my duties with fidelity, according to my convictions, and shall take care to defend and protect the Union, and to see that the laws be faithfully and equally executed in all parts of the country alike. I will assume the responsibilities, fully sensible of the fact that to administer rightly the functions of the government is to discharge the most sacred duty that can devolve upon an American citizen.

I am, very respectfully, Winfield S. Hancock.

To Hop. John W. Stevenson, President of the Convention, Hon. John P. Stockton, Chairman, and others of the Committee of the National Democratic Convention.

INDIANAPOLIS, July 30 .- Hon. Wm. H. English transmitted the following letter of eceptance of the nomination for Vice President to the Committee of notification

To Hon. John W. Stevenson, President of the Convention, Hon. John P. Stockton, Chairman, and others, members of the Committee of Notification

Gentlemen-I have now the honor to rely to your letter of the 13th inst., informing me that I was unanimously nominated for the office of Vice President of the United States by the late Democratic National Convention, which assembled at Cin-

As foreshadowed in the verbal remarks nade by me at the time of the delivery of your letter, I have now to say that I accept the high trust with a realizing sense of its responsibilities, and am profoundly grateful for the honor conferred. I accept the nomination upon the platform of principles adopted by the convention, which I candidly approve, and I accept it quite as much because of my faith in the wisdom and patriotism of the great statesman and soldier nominated on the same ticket for President of the United States. His eminent services whose hands are the issues of political to his country; his fidelity to the Constitution, Union and laws; his clear perception of correct principles of government as taught by Jefferson; his scrupulous care to keep the military in strict subordination to the civil authorities; his high regard for civil liberty, personal rights and the rights of property; his acknowledged ability in civil as well as military affairs, and his pure and blameless life; all point to him as a man worthy of the confidence of the people. Not only a brave soldier, a great commander, wise statesman and pure patriot, but a prudent, painstaking, practi-cal man of unquestioned honesty; trusted often with important public duties, faithful to every trust and in the full meridian of a ripe and vigorous manhood, he is, in my judgment, eminently fitted for the highest position and trust—the Presidency of the United States.

Not only is he the right man for the place, but the time has come when the best interests of the country require that the party which has monopolized the executive department of the general government for the last twenty years, should be retired. The continuance of that party in power four years longer would not be beneficial to the public, or in accordance with the spirit of our republican institutions. The laws of entail have not been favored in our system of government; the perpetuation of prop-erty or place in one family or set of men has never been encouraged in this country, and the great and good men who formed our republican government and its traditions wisey limited the tenure of office, and in man ways showed their disapproval of long terms of power. Twenty years of continuous power is long enough, and has already led to irregularities and corruptions which are not likely to be properly exposed under the same party that perpetrated them Besides, it should not be forgotten that the four last years of power held by that party were procured by discreditable means, and held in defiance of the wishes of the majority of the people. It was a grievous wrong to every voter and to our system of self-government which should never be forgotten or forgiven. Many of the men now in office were put there because of corrupt partisan services in thus defeating the fairly and legally expressed will of the majority, and the hypocrisy of the professions of that party in favor of civil service reform was shown by placing such men in office and turning the whole brood of Federal officeholders loose to influence

elections. The money of the people taken out of the public treasury by these men for services often poorly performed, or not performed at all, is being used in vast sums with the knowledge and presumed sanction of the administration, to contest elections, and even members of the Cabinet are strolling about the country making partisan speeches instead of being in their departments at Washington discharging the public duties for which they are paid by the people. But with all their cleverness and ability a discriminating public will no doubt read between the lines of their speeches that their paramount hope and aim is to keep themselves or their satellites four years longer in office. That perpetuating the power of chronic federal officeholders four years longer will not benefit the millions of men and women who hold no office, but earn their daily bread by honest industry, is what the same discerning public will no doubt fully understand, as they will also that it is because of their own industry and economy and God's bountiful harvests that the country is comparatively prosperous, and not because of anything done by these federal ofaceholders. The country is comparatively prosperous not because of them, but in spite of them

This contest is, in fact, between the people endeavoring to regain the political power which rightfully belongs to them, and to restore the pure, simple, economical, constitutional government of our fathers on one side, and a hundred thousand officeholders and their backers, pampered with place and power, and determined to retain them at all hazards, on the other. Hence, the constant assumption of new and dangerous powers by the general government under the rule of the Republican party; the effort to build up what they call a strong government; the interference with home rule and with the administration of justice in the courts of the several States; the interference with elections through the medium of paid partisan federal officeholders interested in keeping their party in power and caring more for that than for fairness in elections. In fact, the constant encroachments which have been made by that party upon the clearly reserved rights of the people and the States will, if not checked, subvert the liberties of the people and the government of limited powers created by the fathers, and end in a great consolidated central government; strong, indeed, but for

evil and the everthrow of republican The wise men who formed our constitution knew the evils of a strong government and a long continuance of political power in the same hands. They knew there was a tendency in this direction in all governments, and the consequent danger to retook pains to guard against chinery of a strong centralized general government can be used to perpetuate the same set of men in power from term to term until it cesses to be a republic, or is such only in name, and the tendency of the ness recently manifested by a large number of that party to elect fa President an unlimited number of terms must satisfy thinking people that the time has come when it will be safest and best for that party to be retired.

But in resisting the encroachments of the general government upon the reserved rights of the people and the States, I wish to be distinctly understood as favoring the under the constitution. Encroachments upon the constitutional rights of the general government, or interference with the prothe constitution must be maintained, and virtue of a commission only restricted by | coal.

it is well known that this has always been the position of both candidates on the Democratic Presidential ticket. It is scquiesced in everywhere now, and finally and forever settled as one of the results of

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It is certain beyond all question that the legitimate results of the war for the Union will not be overthrown or impaired should the Democratic ticket be elected. In that event, proper protection will be given in every legitimate way to every citizen, native or adopted, in every section of the Republic, in the enjoyment of all the rights quaranteed by the constitution and its amendments.

A sound currency of honest money, of value and purchasing power corresponding substantially with the standard recognized by the commercial world, and consisting of gold and silver and paper convertible into coin, will be maintained; layor, and the manufacturing, commercial and business interests of the country will be favored and enouraged in every legitimate way; the toiling millions of our own people will be protected from the destructive competition of the Chinese, and to that end their immigration to our shores will be properly restricted; the public credit will be scrupulously maintained and strengthened by rigid economy in the public expenditures, and the liberties of the people and the property of the people will be protected by a government of law and order, administered strictly in the interest of all the people, and not of corporations and privileged classes. I do not doubt the discriminating justice of the people and their capacity for intelligent self-government, and, therefore, do not doubt the success of the Democratic ticket. Its success would bury beyond resurrection, sectional jealousies and hatreds which have so long been the chief stock in trade of pestiferous demagogues, and in no other way can this be so effectually accomplished. It would restore harmony and good feeling between all sections, and make us in fact, as well as in name, one people. The only rivalry then would be in the development of the material prosperity, the elevation of labor, enlargement of human rights, promotion of education, morality, religion, liberty, order and all that would tend to make us the foremost nation of the earth in the grand march of human progress. I am, with great respect,

Very truly yours, Wm. H. English. WINFIELD S. HANCOCK

HIS LETTER TO GEN. SHERMAN ON THE PRESIDENTIAL QUESTION OF 1876-NO MILITARY INTERFERENCE-THE POWERS AND DUTY OF THE ARMY-THE CAROLINA MATTER, &c. &c.

NEW YORK, July 31 .- The World tomorrow will publish the following : This letter was written in reply to two letters on the situation received from Gen.

St. Louis, Dec. 27, 1876.—Dear, General :-Your favor of the 4th inst. reached me in New York on the fifth day before I left for the west. I intended to reply to it before leaving, but the cares incident to my departure interfered. Again, since my arrival here, I have been so occupied with personal affairs of a business nature, that I have deferred writing from day to day until this moment, and now I find myself in debt to you another letter, in acknowledgement of your favor of the 17th, received a few days since.

I have concluded to leave here on the 29th (to-morrow), so that I may be expected in New York on the 31st inst. It has been cold and dreary since my arrival here. I have worked "like a Turk"-I presume that means hard work-in the country, in making fences, cutting down trees, repairing buildings, &c., &c., and am at least able to say that St. Louis is the hottest place in summer of any that I have encountered in a temperate zone. I have known St. Louis in December to have genial weather throughout the month; this December has been frigid, and the river known it. When I heard a rumor that I was ordered to the Pacific coast, I though it probably true. The probabilities seemed to me to point that way, and 'had it been tiue I should of course have presented no complaint nor resistance of any kind. would have gone quickly, if not prepared to go promptly. I certainly would have been relieved from the responsibilities and anxieties concerning Presidential matters which may fall to those near the throne or in authority within the next four months as well as from incidents or matters which I could not control and act on, and concerning which I might not approve. I was not exactly prepared to go to the Pacific, however, and I therefore felt relieved when I received your note informing me that there was no truth in the rumor. Then I did not wish to appear to be escaping from the responsibilities and possible dangers which may cluster around the military command, especially in the critical period fast approaching.

"Alls well that ends well." The whole matter of the Presidency seems to me to be simple, to admit of a peaceful solution. The machinery for such a contingency as threatens to present itself has been carefully prepared; it only requires lubrication owing to disuse. The army should have nothing to do with the election or inauguration of Presidents. The people elect the President, and Congress declares in joint session who he is. We of the army have only to obey his mandates, and are protected in so doing only so far as they may be lawful. Our commissions express that. I like Jefferson's way of inauguration. It suits our system. He rode alone on horseback to the Capitol (I fear it was the old Capitol), tied his horse to a rail fence, entered and was duly sworn; then rode to the Executive Mansion and took possession. He inaugurated himself simply by taking the oath of office. There is no other legal inauguration in

our system. The people or politicians may institute parades in honor of the event, and public officials may add to the pageant by ssembling troops and banners, but all that only comes properly after the inauguration, not before, and is not a part of it. Our system does not provide that one President should inaugurate another; there might publican institutions from that cause, and | be danger in that, and it was studioulsy left f the charter. But you are placed in an exceptionally important position in connection with coming events. The Capital is within my jurisdiction, but I am subordinate, and not on the spot, and if I were, so also would be my superior in party now in power in that direction, as authority, for there is the station of the shown in various ways, besides the willing- General-in-Chief. On the principle that a regularly elected President's term of office expires with the 3rd of March (of which I have not the slightest doubt), and which the laws bearing on the subject uniformly recognize, and in consideration of the possibility that the lawfully elected President may not appear until the 5th of March; a great deal of responsibility may necessarily fall upon you. You hold over; you will have power proper exercise by the general government and prestige to support you. The Secre-of the powers rightfully belonging to it tary of War, too, probably holds over; but if no President appears he may not be able to exercise the functions in the name of the President, for his proper acts are those per exercise of its powers, must be carefully of a known superior, a lawful President. avoided. The union of the States under | You act on your own responsibility and by a was found by a colored man in a load of

mouth-piece of a President; you are not, If neither candidate has a constitutional majority of the Electoral College, or the Senate and House on the occasion of the count do not unite in declaring some person legally elected by the people, there is a lawful machinery already provided to meet that contingency and decide the quesused-no occasion presenting incif-but our forefathers provided it. It has been exercised and has been recogn zed and submitted to as lawful on every hand. That machinery would probably ricct Mr. Tilden President and Mr. Wheeler Vice President. and that would be right enough, for the law provides that in a failure to elect duly by the people, the House shall immediately elect the President and the Senate the V.ce President. Some tribunal must decide whether the people have duly eleced a President. I presume, of cours; that it is in the joint affirmative action of the Stunte and House, or why are they present to witness the count, if not to see that it is thir and just? If a failure to agree arises between the two bodies there can be no awful affirmative decision that the people have elected a President, and the two Houses must then proceed to elect-not the Senate; the Senate elects the Vice President, not the President. Doubtless, in case f a failure by the House to elect a President by the 4th of March, the President of the Senate (if there be one) would be the legitimate person to exercise the Presidendal authority for the time being, or until the appearance of a lawful President, or for the time laid down in the Constitution. Such courses would be peaceful, and, I have a firm belief, lawfal.

the law. The Secretary of War is the

I have no doubt that Gov. Hayes would make an excellent President. I have met im and know of him. For a brief period he served under my command; but as the matter stands I cannot see any likelihood of his being duly declared elected by the people, unless the Senate and House come o be in accord as to that fact, and the House would of course not otherwise elect

What people want is a peaceful determination of this matter, as fair a determination as possible and a lawful one. No other determination could stand the test The country, if not plunged into a revolu tion, would become poorer day by day, business would languish, and our bonds would come home to find a depreciated market. I was not in favor of the military action

n South Carolina recently, and if General

Ruger had telegraphed to me or asked for

advice I would have advised him not, under

the circumstances, to allow himself or his troops to determine who were the lawful members of a State Legislature. I could not have given him better advice than to refer him to the special message of the President in the case of Louisiana, some time before. But in South Carolina he had the question settled by a decision of the Supreme Court of the State, the highest tribunal which had acted on the question, so that his line of duty seemed even to be clearer than in the action in the Louisiana case. If a Federal court had interfered and overruled the decision of the State Court there must have been a doubt certainly, but the Federal Court only interfered Any how, it is no business of the army to enter upon such questions, and even if it might be so, in any event, if the civil authoritiy is supreme, as the Constitution declares it to be, the South Carolina case was one in which the army had a plain duty. Had Gen. Ruger asked me for advice, and I had given it, I should of course have notified you of my action immediately, so that it could have been promptly overruled if it should have been deemed advisable by you or others superior in authority. Gen. Ruger had not asked my advice, and I inferred from that and other facts that he did not desire it, or that being in direct communication with my military superiors at the seat of government who were nearer to bim in time and distance than I was, he deemed it unnecessary. As Gen. Ruger had the responsibility of action, and had really the greater danger to confront in the final action in the matter, I did not venture to embarrass him by suggestions. He was department commander, and the lawful head of the military administration within the limits of the department. But besides, I knew that he had been called to Washington for consultation before taking command, and was probably aware of the views of the administration as to affairs in his command. I knew that he was in direct communication with my superiors in authority in reference to the delicate subects presented for his consideration, or had ideas of his own which he believed to be sufficiently in accord with the views of our common superiors to enable him to act intelligently, according to his judgment, and without suggestions from those not on the spot, and not as fully acquainted with the facts as he himself. He desired, too, to be free to act, as he had the eventual greater responsibility. And so the matter was governed as between him and myself. As I have been writing thus freely to you may still further unbosom myself by stating that I had not held it lawful or wise to use Federal troops in such matters as have transpired east of the Mississippi within the last few months, save so far as they may be brought into action under the article of the Constitution which contem-

ner it is a state of war, NOT peace. The army is laboring under disadvantages, and has been used unlawfully at times in the judgment of the people (certainly in mine)and we have lost a great deal of the kindly feeling which the community at large felt for us. "It is time to stop and unload." Officers in command of troops often find it difficult to act wisely and safely when superiors in authority have different views of law from theirs, and when legislation has sanctioned action seemingly in conflict with the fundamental law, and they generally defer to the known judgment of their superior officers. They are so regarded in such great crises, and are held to such responsibility, especially those at or near the head of it, that it is necessary on such momentous occasions, to dare to determine for themselves what is lawful and what is not lawful, under our system, if the mililary authorities should be invoked, as might possibly be the case in such exceptional times. Where there has existed divergent views to a correct result the army will suffer from its past action, if it has acted wrongfully. Our regular army has little hold upon the affections of the people of to-day, and its superior officers should certainly, as far as lies in their power, legally and with righteous intent, aim to defend the right, which to us is the law and the institutions which they represent. It is a well meaning institution, and it would be well if it should have an opportunity to be recognized as a bulwark in support of the right of the people and of the law.

plates meeting armed resistance or invasion

of a State more than the State authorities

can subdue by ordinary processes, and then

only when requested by the Legislature, or

if it could not be convened in session by

the Governor. And when the President

of the United States intervenes in that man-

I am, truly yours, WINFIELD S. HANCOCK, To General W. 1. Sherman, Commanding Army of the United States.

A Badge of Honor. Mr. A. G. Hawkins, of this city, has a silver badge which was evidently the property at one time of a soldier in the Mexican war. It bears the representation of a palmetto tree, with the inscription, "To the Palmetto Regiment," and the names of certain battles, such as "Vers Cruz, Coptreras, Churubusco, Chapultepec," etc. It also bears the name of "James Goff" on a scroll. The badge, which is a little larger

and heavier than the standard silver dollar.