

# Randolph Regulator.

GOVERNMENT WAS INSTITUTED FOR THE GOOD OF THE GOVERNED.

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### FACTS

FOR INDEPENDENT VOTERS.

#### A REFORM PLEDGE.

FROM THE ADDRESS ADOPTED BY THE REFORM CONFERENCE AT NEW YORK, ON THE 16TH OF MAY, 1876.

"The settlements of the civil war as constitutionally fixed, must be conscientiously maintained, and at the same time the government strengthened in general confidence by the strict observance of constitutional principles, and the old brotherhood of the people revived by a policy of mutual justice and conciliation."

"Our solemn and oft repeated pledge faithfully to discharge all national obligations must be fulfilled, not only by the payment of the principal and interest of our bonded debt when due, but also the removal, not later than the time provided by the existing law, of the curse of our redundant, irredeemable paper currency, which not only impedes the return of true prosperity, but has also largely contributed to the existing demoralization."

"These are grave questions, and there are more we might touch were it our purpose to lay down a complete political platform."

"But grave as they are, still in our present situation we must, as American citizens, recognize it as our most pressing duty to re-establish the moral character of our Government, and to elevate the tone of our political life. Honest government is the first condition of enduring national prosperity, power and freedom. Without the elementary virtues of political as well as social life, decay will outstrip our progress. Our discussions and struggles about other great questions and principles will appear like mockery and farce, if we permit our public concerns to drift into that ruinous anarchy which corruption must necessarily bring in its train, because it destroys the confidence of the people in their self-government—the greatest calamity that can befall the republic. It is a simple question of life or death."

"In view of the grave circumstances at present surrounding us, we declare the country cannot now afford to have any man elected to the presidency whose very name is not conclusive evidence of the most uncompromising determination of the American people to make this a pure government once more."

"Our duty in this respect is plain and imperative. It suffers no trifling or equivocation. The worn-out clap-trap of fair promises in party platforms will not satisfy it; neither will mere fine professions on the part of candidates. Not mere words are needed, but acts; not mere platform, but men."

"We shall support no candidate who, however favorably judged by his nearest friends, is not publicly known to possess those qualities of mind and character which the stern task of genuine reform requires, for the American people cannot now afford to risk the future of the Republic in experiments on merely supposed virtue or rumored ability to be trusted on the strength of private recommendation."

"This is no time for so-called availability springing from distinction gained on fields of action foreign to the duties of government, nor for that far more dangerous sort of availability

which consists in this, that a candidate be neither so bad as to repel good citizens nor so good as to discourage bad one. Passive virtue in the highest place has too often been known to permit the growth of active vice below."

"A MAN TO BE ENTRUSTED WITH THE PRESIDENCY THIS YEAR MUST HAVE DESERVED NOT ONLY THE CONFIDENCE OF HONEST MEN, BUT ALSO THE FEAR AND HATRED OF THIEVES. HE WHO MANAGES TO CONCILIATE THIEVES CANNOT BE THE CANDIDATE FOR HONEST MEN."

"Every American citizen who has the future of the Republic and national honor sincerely at heart, should solemnly resolve that THE COUNTRY MUST NOW HAVE A PRESIDENT WHOSE NAME IS ALREADY A WATCHWORD OF REFORM; WHOSE CAPACITY AND COURAGE FOR WORK ARE MATTERS OF RECORD RATHER THAN OF PROMISE; who will restore the simplicity, independence and rectitude of the early administrations, and whose life will be a guaranty of his fidelity and fitness; A MAN AT THE MERE SOUND OF WHOSE NAME EVEN THE MOST DISHEARTENED WILL TAKE NEW COURAGE, and all mankind will say, 'Americans are indeed in earnest to restore the ancient purity of their government.'"

"Our generation has to open the second century of our national life as our fathers opened the first. Theirs was the work of independence; ours is the work of reformation. One is as vital now as the other was then. Now, as then, every true man must have the courage of his duty."

[Signed by CARL SCHURZ, PARKE GODWIN, and others].

THE REPUBLICAN CANDIDATES CONDEMNED BY THE ADDRESS.

[From the Springfield (Mass.) Republican (Independent).]

Messrs. Hayes and Wheeler are included for their good fortune—if it is good fortune—to two things. Personally all that is upright and amiable, they have not made themselves offensive to the honest men of the country; and THEY HAVE DONE NOTHING TO EARN THE HILL WILL AND DREAD OF THE THIEVES.

THE DEMOCRATIC CANDIDATES—THE RINGBREAKER OF NEW YORK WILL PROVE THE RINGBREAKER OF THE NATION.

ROSLYN, L. I. June 29, 1876.

To Samuel J. Tilden:

The man is the platform. And the Ringbreaker of New York will prove the Ringbreaker of the Nation. All who really desire honest money, diminished taxes, pure administration, unfettered trade, and the restoration of a true national feeling in the place of a wretched sectionalism, will rally to his support.

PARKE GODWIN.

STATEMENT BY CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS.

With Mr. Tilden and this platform, the Democratic party stands better morally, before the people, than does the Republican party. Hayes is nothing; respectable, no doubt, who without any record as a reformer, Tilden is in himself a platform. He has made his record. Of the two I would infinitely prefer to see Mr. Tilden in the executive chair. Governor Tilden will secure the support of the opponents of corruption who desire to see the real work accomplished. The Republican platform is weak, especially in the financial plank. This was an endeavor to catch the "soft" and "hard" money men. The issue of the campaign with Tilden at the head of the Democratic party, is made very doubtful.—It will be a hard fight. Tilden's record is a good one. He is all right there. As President, Mr. Tilden would sweep away corrupt men and abuses.

A PROMINENT GERMAN REPUBLICAN FOR TILDEN.—EXTRACT FROM A LETTER OF J. B. STALLO OF OHIO.

[From the Cincinnati (Ohio) Commercial.

Geantler: I have come to say

that I hope this Fall to assist, by my vote at least, in electing Samuel J. Tilden as President of the United States, and in enforcing the doctrines of his platform as I understood them. I shall find occasion, no doubt, at some time during the canvass, to state at length the reasons for my support of Governor Tilden upon the platform, the adoption of which preceded his nomination at St. Louis. To-night, when I am merely an intruder among the speakers whose counsel you naturally value more than mine, I must content myself with a very few simple suggestions.

Mr. Tilden has been nominated as the representative of reform. I am sure I am not behind any one in recognizing the necessity of reform, and I believe that Governor Tilden truly and worthily represents it. I believe this, not by reason of anything that he has said, or that has been said for him, but by reason of what he has done and is doing now. But the reform of our public life is a task to which the power of any one man is unequal. If we are to have reform it must come, not from one single individual, nor from one party, but from our whole people, or at least from the whole body of voters.—And one of the first conditions of that reform, is that each vote which is cast at a Presidential or other election, as nearly as may be, effectually represents an honest conviction and an undisguised, definite purpose. The worst calamity of our political life for many years has been, not that our Government has fallen into the hands of knaves and corruptionists, of thieves who have plundered the Treasury, of vagabonds who have openly sold their influence or their votes for money or for an office, of scamps who have bartered the rights, the liberties, and the possessions of the people for their private advantage; but our greatest misfortune has been that the destinies of the republic for more than a decade, have been controlled by astute schemers who have so arranged parties and their platforms as to frustrate your aims and thwart your endeavor; which constrained the honest men of both parties, in spite of their purposes and beliefs, whatever they did or attempted to do, to become the accessories and accomplices of scoundrels and thieves, unwittingly to aid and abet them in the perpetration of their iniquities, and permit the noblest aspirations and most patriotic impulses to be utilized as driving forces of machines which crushed the liberties of the people, and converted the labors of the many into the possessions of the few.

DECLARATION OF ANOTHER PROMINENT GERMAN REPUBLICAN.—EXTRACT FROM THE SPEECH OF E. F. HASSAUREK, AT CINCINNATI, OHIO.

The Republican party drives its ring-breakers out of the Cabinet, and defeats them in its Conventions, but you have had the good sense and the pluck to nominate your ring-breaker for the Presidency. If Mr. Tilden will do in the government of the United States what he has done as Governor of New York, I solemnly undertake to say that the people will never enter into a metaphysical investigation whether his motive was simply, purely, and exclusively the promotion of the public welfare, or whether he also had in view the fame, reputation, and glory of Samuel J. Tilden. If what he has done was done for effect merely, let us have the man who will do these things for effect. It is the very kind of man we want in the Presidential Chair. Mr. Tilden's services as a public man and statesman were not confined to functions as Governor of New York. He has done more. He has taken hold of his own party and lifted it out of the slough of despond and indifference, and put it on the track of future usefulness and efficiency. His powerful grasp has rescued it from impending dissolution, and restored it to vitality and the hope and prospect of efficiency. He brought it back to the ideas and principles which had always been sealed by the approval of the American people whenever its judgment upon them was properly invoked. He has changed the political situation as with an enchanter's wand. Jeffersonian Democracy had slept, like Barbarossa in the Koffhauser mountain,

but Tilden's bugle blast has broken the spell of its enchanted sleep. Once more the Hamiltonian theory of government will be ablate. Once more we shall discuss the true purposes and limits of government and taxation. Once more the question will be tested whether governments are made for the benefit of man, or for the benefit of those who govern him. Once more we shall appeal to the people whether the many shall be taxed for the benefit of the few. Those who think on these questions as I do have at last found a home. On the slavery question and all questions affecting the Union and equal rights, I was a Republican. But these questions being permanently settled and disposed of, I stand where I stood long before there was a Republican party,—on the fundamental principles laid down by the author of the Declaration of Independence. I carry no man's vote in my pocket but my own. But that individual vote shall be cast in undying opposition to the paternal or interference theory of government and, consequently, at the approaching election it shall be cast for individual liberty, unfettered industry, unshackled commerce, free trade, hard money, and SAMUEL J. TILDEN.

CHARLES SUMNER'S FRIEND, THE FOUNDER OF THE REPUBLICAN PARTY, ENDORSES THE ST. LOUIS NOMINATIONS.

The following is an extract from the letter of F. A. Bird, dated July 12, 1876, and read at the Tilden and Hendricks ratification meeting in Boston:

I do not see how any sincere and earnest friend of reform can hesitate between the candidates presented by the two parties, especially when the party supporting each is considered. I am sure I do not look at the question as a partisan. In May last a meeting of notables was held at the Fifth Avenue Hotel, in New York, to consider the duties of American citizens in the ensuing campaign. They were gentlemen of the highest character of the most unselfish motives. As to their practical wisdom of affairs, there may be some difference in public opinion; but there is no difference upon this point, that they were capable of forming the highest ideal of a President, and capable of clearly describing that ideal. This they certainly did in their address to the country. After describing the condition of public affairs to which Republican misrule had brought us, they describe the "candidate needed." "Our duty in this respect is plain and imperative; it suffers not trifling or equivocation; the worn-out clap-trap affair of promises in party platforms will not satisfy it. Neither will mere fine professions on the part of candidates; not mere words are needed, but acts; not mere platforms, but men." These would well describe Bristow or Tilden; does Hayes meet their requirements?—Again, they say, "We shall support no candidate who, however favorably judged by his nearest friends, is not publicly known to possess those qualities of mind and character which the stern task of genuine reform requires, &c." It is this was not designed as a sketch of Mr. Hayes, it surely describes him in his position.

Again, they ask, "Can he (the candidate) with certainty be depended on to possess the moral courage and steady resolution to grapple with abuses which have acquired the strength of established custom, and to this end firmly resist the pressure even of his party friends?" This means Bristow or Tilden: They repudiate the availability which consists in this: "That the candidate be neither so bad as to repel good citizens, nor so good as to discourage the bad ones." Mr. Tilden's nomination discourages the Tammany and Canal Rings. We do not learn that Mr. Hayes's nomination discourages any of the rings which have made this Administration infamous. They clinch their whole argument with the following: "The man to be entrusted with the Presidency this year, must have deserved not only the confidence of honest men, but also the fear and hatred of thieves. He who manages to cultivate the thieves can

not be the candidate for honest men. Every American citizen who has the future of the Republic and the national honor seriously at heart, should solemnly resolve that the country must now have a President whose name is already a watchword of reform; whose capacity and courage for the work are matters of record rather than of promise, &c. This perfectly fits Mr. Tilden."

HOW THE FIFTH AVENUE ADDRESS IS CONSTRUED BY ANOTHER REFORMER.

The Hon. Gustav Koerner, ex-Governor of Illinois, publishes in *Storn des Westens* of Belleville, a letter of which the following is a translation:

The moment has arrived for the Liberal Republicans to come to a decision in regard to the Presidential election. Let us assume that they are directly or indirectly identified with the proceedings of the so-called New York Conference, under the direction of Carl Schurz, William Curtis, William C. Bryant, Charles Francis Adams, Jr., and other eminent persons. The invitation, which was addressed to a large number of prominent persons, to whom independence enough was ascribed to break asunder party bonds if necessary, laid particular stress upon the circumstance that rigid party spirit, through a comparatively well organized minority, which makes a business of politics, is likely to nullify the patriotic impulses of the people.

To avoid the necessity this time of making a choice between two evils and to secure the election of men to the highest offices of the republic whose characters and capacities are adapted to the crisis and who will protect the honor of the American name, the subscribers to the address called the invited persons to a conference at New York.

When this address was made public the whole country said: "It means Bristow or Tilden." In the conference itself Adams declared himself first in favor of Bristow, then in favor of Tilden, and his words in the conference were received with great applause.

True to these articles of faith, and not accustomed to depart from a course once adopted (without bitterness toward those who have made a different choice), we place on our standard the name of Tilden, the watchword of Reform, who, as the conference says, "deserves not only the confidence of honest men, but also the fear and hatred of thieves."

WITHDRAWAL OF A PROMINENT GERMAN FROM THE REPUBLICAN ORGANIZATION.

The following extracts are from the letter of the Hon. Charles Goepf, Judge of the Marine Court of New York, dated July 1, 1876:

A. J. Dittenhofer, President of the German-Republican Central Committee of New York:

DEAR SIR—Please accept my resignation as member of the German-Republican Central Committee of New York. I am convinced that the welfare of the Union requires the election of Mr. Tilden to the highest official position, the foundation of which I assisted to lay with honest although weak hands. Through the favor of this organization, in 1875, I obtained an office of distinction, but already in 1876 I publicly and solemnly declared that, as soon as it became as corrupt as the Democratic party was at that time, I would fight against it with the same energy with which I fought its opponents.

I will support no candidate (no matter how favorably his associates may speak of him) of whom the public is in such ignorance as to be unable to decide whether or not he possesses those qualities of mind and character which the rough work of reform requires.—The American people can no longer leave the interests of the Republic to the results of experiments which have their basis on virtues that are assumed and capacities that are taken for granted in the absence of all information. The man to elect for the presidential office must not only have deserved the good will of honest people, but the fear and hatred of thieves.—We need a reformer whose courage and ability are not a matter of mere rumor but of experience.

Such a man has been found. He has not only begun two Heronian con-

tests, but has conducted them through triumphantly. To oppose him in opening a third battle would, in my opinion, be criminal; not to support him would be cowardice.

LETTER FROM JAMES M. SCOVILL IN REPLY TO ETHAN ALLEN.

CAMDEN, N. J., Aug. 1st, 1876. ETHAN ALLEN, Chairman Liberal National Committee:

DEAR SIR—You ask me in your letter 21st ult. to "lift up your (my) voice and rejoice like a strong man for Hayes and Wheeler."

I cannot do it, and I will tell you why:

In 1872, we fought that good fight together, in which I was proud of your companionship. We, then, supported Horace Greeley for President—a pure man, a good man, a statesman and a patriot. The Democracy at Baltimore, forgetting their animosities, joined us in endeavoring to restore and rebuild, upon the foundation of the amendments to the constitution, which then promised, and yet promise, are growth of constitutional liberty, through which pure law shall be the measure of perfect freedom. Gov. Austin Blair (a man respected and revered by Mr. Greeley), says of Mr. Tilden, the head of the ticket—"He makes no compromises with corruption, and never seeks to avoid the equity of the rings. As a practical reformer he has led the way to the restoration of honest and economical government, in the only possible way, by a vigorous assault upon the powerful combinations of political speculators, who have possessed themselves of the reins of government."

But you say "Mr. Tilden is honest from calculation and not from nature."

To use a homely proverb, why do you "look a gift horse in the mouth?" What right have we to go into the motive of a statesman who has imprisoned or driven into exile, gigantic municipal robbers, and then trampled in the dust the powerful and defiant Canal Ring of the State of New York?

While we have been talking reform Gov. Tilden has been ACTING REFORM.

The people cried aloud for a change of measures and men. Massachusetts, with added thousands in every State, hungering and thirsting for honest government, asked for Bristow for President. We were told that he would apostatize and Johnsonize the Republican party, and Morton and Conkling and Logan, cunning in their extremity, dodging the real issue, have given us Rutherford B. Hayes, unknown to the nation save that he has been three times Governor of Ohio. We have nothing to say against him; but does he fill the bill? The stream cannot rise higher than the fountain. The fountain is corrupt.—The slow poison of this administration—alas! not slow enough—has penetrated the great cohorts of office-holding Republicanism, from the cabinet to the customhouse. Will Mr. Hayes be stronger than the convention which cried *To Triumph* to Grant's administration when the people had repudiated it with a unanimity unparalleled in history?

It seems to me, "no!" The campaign of 1872 was based on generous sentiment and sound policy. In supporting Hayes you go back. I go forward! We are at last a homogeneous people. There is no North, no South; but the machinery of Republican politics waves over us at once a truncheon and a "bloody shirt" (as if the war had not ended eleven years ago); and seeks to kindle old animosities while inaugurating a policy of passion.

To this policy, which Hayes must be powerless to resist, I have never given—and I never can give—my assent.

The people care little for the money question. That has no business in this campaign. Tilden and Hendricks (the latter a well-beloved statesman of Indiana, fully abreast of the advanced sentiment of the country), stand today where you and I stood at the Cincinnati Convention of 1872. We believed them sincere then, when, conquering prejudices, they joined hands with us in fighting a corrupt administration.

And I believe them sincere now when they promise the people an honest administration. Such a platform would satisfy Lincoln, or Chase, or Greeley, or Sumner. But Republicanism, now means Conkling, and Morton, and Sargent, and Logan as the power behind the throne—it means the continued domination of an arrogant and unscrupulous aristocracy of office-holders; it means power without conscience, and it mistakes audacity for statesmanship.—Politics is not a profession; it is a duty; and because I believe it my duty, I shall advocate the election of "TILDEN and HENDRICKS."

Sincerely yours, JAMES M. SCOVILL.