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Wallbridge J. Powell,

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A REPUBLICAN RESUME OF THE LOUISIANA VOTE.

[From the Springfield Republican, Dec. 5.]
I. The count of the ballots. According to the Returning Board's own figures, the vote for the Tilden electors ranged from 51,959 to 52,326; and the vote for the Hayes electors from 77,023 down to 74,642—a majority of 4,938 for the lowest Tilden elector over the highest Hayes elector, and 7,684 for the highest Tilden elector over the lowest Hayes elector. Taking the highest vote on each side, and the total is 249,349, or 12,486 more than the 1874 vote. The Republicans having increased their vote from 71,962 to 77,023—a gain of 5,061—and the Democrats theirs from 74,901 to 82,326—a gain of 7,425—thus increasing by 2,364 the 9,933 majority which the Democrats gained in the election of 1874.

II. The presumption from the ballots. Given the fact that a State held an election in 1874 which, upon thorough investigation, was declared by high authority of the party against which that election went to have been "free peaceable and full" (as Republican Congress-man Foster has testified about the Democratic victory of 1874) given the further fact that at the election of 1876 the total vote was over 12,000 larger than the "full" one of 1874, of which gain one party secured three-fifths and the other two-fifths; and there can be no question in any candid mind but the presumption is exceedingly strong that the 1876 election was also a tolerably fair one and the Democratic victory to be accepted as equally legitimate with the Democratic victory in 1874. This presumption is strengthened by the fact that in 20 of the 57 parishes whose returns were promptly approved by the Returning Board, because there was no protest of "unfairness or violence" in any of them, the Democrats made a net gain of 1,017, while in two parishes the Republican losses were almost as striking as in any of the "bulldozed" ones.

III. The "bulldozed" parishes. As soon after election day as it appeared probable that the Democrats had carried the State, Gov. Kellogg and the lesser Republicans protested that they had only carried it by counting majorities in the five "bulldozed" parishes of East and West Feliciana, East Baton Rouge, Morehouse and Ouachita which they had secured by intimidation and violence. No charges of unfairness or intimidation were made as to any other parishes, and Gov. Kellogg summarized the situation on the Friday night after the election as follows: "The result will probably be close, counting the vote in the five 'bulldozed' parishes as the Democrats claim it; not counting these parishes, while the Republicans will be deprived of a legitimate majority of nearly four thousand, in no contingency can the Democrats have carried the State."

The returns in the five parishes when opened by the board showed a total vote of 12,463, against a total of 12,629 in 1874, but its division had greatly changed. Instead of 8,305, the Republicans polled but 3,980, while the Democrats had run up their vote from 4,324 to 8,473, showing the change of about 4,000 voters from the Republican to the Democratic party within the two years. Without these parishes, the State's vote stands 73,480 for the lowest Tilden elector, and 73,043 for the highest Hayes elector, showing a Democratic majority outside the "bulldozed" parishes.

IV. "Revising" the returns. The laws of Louisiana provide that, whenever the supervisor of Registration or the commissioner of election at any voting place protests that there was such intimidation, violence, bribery or corrupt influences as "prevented or tended to prevent a free and peaceable vote of all qualified electors entitled to vote at such voting place," the Returning Board shall investigate his charges, and, if they become convinced that such influences did materially interfere with the purity and freedom of the election at such voting place, or did prevent a sufficient number of the qualified electors from registering and voting to materially change the result of the election, they shall exclude the returns of such voting place from their final returns of the whole vote.

Upon this provision has rested the only hope of legally counting Louisiana's electoral vote for Hayes. The fact that the registration of negroes in the "bulldozed" parishes was some 2,000 larger than ever before, and that the total votes was practically the same as in 1874, of course proved that there could not have been qualified voters enough prevented from registering or voting to "materially change the result of the election." It is therefore upon the other clause of the law that the Returning Board must fall back, which authorizes their rejection of the vote at any poll, if they are satisfied that intimidation or corrupt influences "did materially interfere with the purity and freedom of the election."

To throw out the entire vote in these five parishes would not help the Republicans, for it would still leave Tilden a majority in the rest of the State. Moreover, allowing the Democrats only the same vote in the five parishes as they had in 1874, and throwing out every additional Democratic vote, would not help the matter either, for Tilden would then have 77,810 to 77,023 for Hayes. The only course left, therefore, is either to throw out about all the polls in these parishes which gave Democratic majorities, meanwhile counting all the Republican, or to fall back upon still other parishes for the Returning Board's revision.

V. The evidence before the Returning Board. This has been of two kinds, oral and written. The first has been comparatively brief, only about a dozen witnesses having testified; the other sort has been exceedingly voluminous, consisting of a great mass of affidavits, thousands in number, on each side. The oral evidence, besides being brief, has been disputed especially so as to the most notable case, the Pinkston one, which was brought before the Board. Another noteworthy fact is, that, though many officers of the highest character were stationed in these "bulldozed" parishes, only a single one was

summoned to support the charges of intimidation. Certainly no thorough investigation has been made in regard to a single parish; such evidence as has been given by Republican witnesses has been successfully disputed by Democratic witnesses as to weaken its force; while as to the great pile of affidavits it has been a physical impossibility for the Board to make the most cursory examination of them.

VI. The negro vote. This has been the turning-point in the whole dispute. The chief basis of the Republicans' claim that they would have carried the State in a fair election has been the fact that there are more negro voters in the State than white. The chief occasion for questioning the result in the "bulldozed" parishes has been the fact that the negro voters in them largely outnumber the whites. In brief, the Republican ground has been that the negro voter, left to himself, would vote the Republican ticket every time; and that, if the returns in any case show that he has not done so, the very fact affords a presumption that he was frightened into voting the other way.

As to this claim, two things are to be said: First, that the natural instinct of the negro must be toward the Republican party, as that which gave him his freedom, very much as the natural instinct of the Irishman is toward the Democratic party, because he sympathizes with its views on the liquor and other questions; to counteract this instinct, however, there comes into play the natural and strong power of their old white associates, their former masters and present employers, over them—a power which Northern people are slow to understand, but which unquestionably would have carried a large proportion of the negro vote to the Democratic party long before this, had not the Republica be successfully excited false fears that a Democratic victory meant the return of slavery. A most striking illustration of this fact is shown by the Congressional result in the "shoe-string" district of Mississippi, where the negroes, while giving a majority for Hayes, rejected a Republican of their own race as their representative at Washington, and preferred a white Democrat. This tendency was still further illustrated by the genuine negro vote that Wade Hampton fairly received in South Carolina.

Added to this was the argument of self-interest. No matter how ignorant the laboring man anywhere may be, he is always bright enough to appreciate the cutting down of his wages, and, if he sees in Louisiana that his wages are cut down because his employer suffers from "arbitrary and oppressive" taxation, as the New York Times correctly puts it he will be apt to ponder upon, and in many cases accept, his employer's argument that, if he wants better wages, he must help secure an administration which will stop this terrible drain of taxation.

VII. Should the result be overturned? Louisiana, in a vote over 12,000 larger than in 1874, has given a majority of from 5,000 to 8,000 for the Tilden electors. This majority has been through the aid of some thousands of negro voters. The question before the Returning Board and the country is, whether the Board is justified in throwing out enough Democratic votes to change this result, and giving the State to Hayes, because it is claimed that these negroes in a fair election would have voted differently from what they did.

To decide what would have been the result in Louisiana, if there had been an absolute fair election—no false appeals to negro fears on the one side or the other—would be a difficult matter, Mr. Whit of the New York Tribune represents the most intelligent Republicans in New Orleans as believing that such an election would be very close, if not, indeed, showing a Democratic majority. On the probability seems to be that such an election would be as likely to go one way as the other, but by a small majority in either case. Certainly it must be confessed by the most overwhelming evidence could justify the overthrowing of a majority for the Democrats, which has in its favor the presumption afforded by the increased vote and the fact that each party has gained since 1874.

The Returning Board has failed to show evidence of this character. That there has been intimidation is unquestionable; that a certain proportion of the negroes who voted for Tilden did so under duress, nobody can doubt. As to these wholesale charges of murder and violence during the last few months, however, it must strike the reader as singular that, though Louisiana has a tolerably enterprising press of both parties, these stories were not heard of till there was imperative Republican need of them to secure the State's vote; and most remarkable that, if the Kellogg Government, controlling all the local offices through the State has known of them, it has done nothing toward punishing the criminals—so remarkable that even the ignorant voter would seem tempted to "vote for a change," because none could possibly be for the worse. But there is the best evidence that the general policy of the Democrats during this campaign has been to secure negro votes by kindness and appeals to self-interest rather than by violence and intimidation. Moreover, the Returning Board approved the votes in at least two parishes, Point Coupee and Union, where the peaceable changes of negro voters were but little smaller or less striking than in any of the "bulldozed" parishes, while from various other parts of the South we have convincing proof that the day has passed, when the negro can be regarded as a Republican voting machine.

That there may have been polls where such intimidation was practiced as to justify the throwing out of their votes, may be admitted; but there certainly has been shown no justification for counting in favor of Hayes the vote of a State which, by the highest Republican authority, gave a 2,939 Democratic majority at a free, peaceable and full election in 1874, because the Democrats have now on an in-

creased vote for both parties increased their majority to from 7,000 to 8,000.

The Morton Scheme for Counting the Votes.
One scheme for the settlement of the questions involved in the presidential contest has been disposed of—Senator Edmunds' bill for making the supreme court a final returning board, with judicial power over the returns; the vote on it was decisive—14 yeas to 31 nays—a majority of the Republicans as well as of the Democrats voting against it. The proposition was substantially the one presented by ex-Senators Huxford and Schurz a few days ago.

The next proposition in order is the bill of Mr. Morrill, debated and passed by the senate last winter, but now pending on a motion to reconsider. It provides that the joint session to count the electoral votes shall meet in the hall of the house of representatives at one o'clock on the last Wednesday in January, instead of the second Wednesday in February. There are to be two tellers appointed by the house and one by the senate, to whom the certificates of the electoral votes are to be handed by the president of the senate after being opened. The tellers are to read them in the presence and hearing of the two houses, and then make a list of the votes as they shall appear upon the certificates. The tellers are to count the votes and deliver the result to the president of the senate, who shall announce it. If questions arise on the certificates, the two houses are to vote on them separately, and no electoral vote or votes from any state, to the counting of which objections have been made, shall be rejected except by the affirmative vote of the two houses. If more than one return from a state shall be received, all such returns shall be opened in the presence of the two houses, and that return from each state shall be counted, which the two houses acting separately shall decide to be the true and valid return.

It will be seen that this proposition makes no provision for a disagreement of the two houses over two returns from the same state. In case of such disagreement, as Senator Morrill declared last winter the electoral votes of such a state would be uncounted. This bill, as we have stated, was offered by Senator Morrill a year ago, and passed by the senate. It is a very reasonable one and fair in all its provisions. If the senate will pass it again the house would accept it, and thus a just method of counting the votes in the next joint session be secured.—[Republican.]

A new era in the Boot & Shoe business. DeWalt & Malcom are selling best brands of Brogans for \$1.50, per pair, men's boots \$2.00; best fine stock boots for \$2.50, and women's and children's shoes at main prices. Call and examine their stock before buying your winter supplies.

IMPROVEMENT OF PLEASURE GROUNDS.
In all suggestions for the improvement of grounds the subsequent cost of keeping in order should be studied well. This is the rock whereon so many strike. Walks and roads are particularly expensive to maintain and should never be made without there is an evident necessity for them. Shady grass walks, with masses of flowering shrubs on each side, and kept mown a few times a year, are as pleasurable parts of a pleasure ground as can well be provided, yet very seldom seen then employed. The great fault with our gardening is that we follow too much after foreign styles. In England, for instance, they have fine evergreens, but deciduous shrubs do not do well. They have, therefore, to make their places gay by bedding plants. Our country is the paradise of flowering shrubs, and foreigners, when they come here are amazed at their beauty. Most beautiful effects can be produced by massing them—beautiful effects that can succeed other iron Sping to Fall, and indeed continue to give interest throughout the year. But we blindly ignore our own advantages, and persist in following English styles of bedding. We cannot put out a flower till May. We have to water and water to make them grow. By August, when it is too hot to enjoy them, those which have fought their way through the summer heats are tolerable, and then the first September frost takes them off. We have their blackened leaves till Christmas, and bare ground the rest of the time. We are quite sure that much more satisfactory gardening than this can be made out of nice green grass and comfortable shade trees—clusters of oleander and other flowering vines that defy our heats, and masses and designs of shrubs and dwarf-colored-leaved plants with hardy, herbaceous plants, mixed. And then there is the great American idea underlying all this—most beautiful grounds maintained at little cost. It is a very good time to think of these things—Gardener's Monthly.

Clothing, Gents furnishing goods; Hats Caps, Trunks, Boots & Shoes, the largest stock between St. Louis and Springfield to be closed out without regard to cost, at Hellers.

WASHINGTON, Dec. 12.—It begins to be apparent that there is an important difference of opinion among Republican Senators in regard to the proper settlement of the Presidential question. One class, including probably a majority, hold that there is nothing further to do except to proceed to carry out the legal terms of counting the 185 electoral votes for Hayes and Wheeler, and inaugurate them without paying any attention to the protests, clamor or threats of the Democrats. The other class are disposed to offer what they regard as a reasonable compromise to the Democratic party. Senators of this way of thinking are inclined to recognize the honesty of the masses of their Democratic fellow-citizens in their belief that they fairly elected Gov. Tilden, and are therefore willing to take the question as far as possible out of the exciting arena of party politics and submit to the arbitration of a judicial tribunal.