

# Beaver Radical



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READ BY EVERYBODY, THE BEAVER RADICAL.

### Railroads.

**PITTSBURGH, FT. WAYNE AND CHICAGO RAILWAY.**—On and after Dec. 23d, 1872, trains will leave stations as follows:

TRAINS GOING WEST.			
STATIONS.	EXPR'S.	MAIL.	EXPR'S.
Pittsburgh	1:45AM	7:10AM	9:10AM
Rochester	2:45	8:40	10:35
Alliance	5:15	11:45	1:30PM
Orville	6:51	1:45M	3:07
Mansfield	8:55	4:32	5:09
Lincoln	9:30	5:05	5:46
Crestline	9:40	6:10AM	6:00
Forest	11:05	7:55	7:55
Fort Wayne	12:05PM	9:05	9:15
Plymouth	4:45	2:25PM	2:55
Chicago	5:50	6:50	8:50PM

TRAINS GOING EAST.			
STATIONS.	EXPR'S.	MAIL.	EXPR'S.
Chicago	5:15AM	9:30AM	5:30PM
Plymouth	9:15	12:02PM	8:55
Fort Wayne	12:20PM	2:30	11:30
Lincoln	12:45	4:07	1:15M
Forest	4:00	5:08	2:47
Crestline	5:35	6:20	4:05
Mansfield	6:30	6:50	4:15
Orville	7:13	9:30	6:37
Alliance	8:20	11:00	8:25
Rochester	8:47	1:12PM	8:55
Pittsburgh	8:10	2:30	11:45M

F. R. MYERS, General Passenger and Ticket Agent.

### CLEVELAND & PITTSBURGH R. R.

On and after Dec. 23d, 1872, trains will leave stations daily, (Sundays excepted) as follows:

GOING SOUTH—MAIN LINE.			
STATIONS.	EXPR'S.	MAIL.	EXPR'S.
Cleveland	8:30AM	1:55PM	4:00PM
Hudson	9:43	3:02	5:18
Ravenna	10:15	3:33	5:48
Alliance	11:10	4:13	6:35
Bayard	11:44	4:44	
Wellsville	1:10PM	6:00	
Pittsburgh	3:40	8:20	

GOING NORTH—MAIN LINE.			
STATIONS.	EXPR'S.	MAIL.	EXPR'S.
Pittsburgh	6:30AM	1:15PM	
Wellsville	8:55	3:15	
Bayard	10:30	4:30	
Alliance	11:25	5:10	
Ravenna	12:12PM	5:48	
Hudson	12:45	6:14	
Cleveland	1:55	7:15	

GOING EAST—RIVER DIVISION.			
STATIONS.	EXPR'S.	MAIL.	EXPR'S.
Bellair	5:45AM	10:50AM	3:35PM
Bridgeport	5:55	11:00	3:45
Stenboville	6:37	12:12PM	4:45
Wellsville	8:15	1:35	6:20
Rochester	9:30	2:35	7:15
Pittsburgh	10:40	3:40	8:20

GOING WEST—RIVER DIVISION.			
STATIONS.	EXPR'S.	MAIL.	EXPR'S.
Pittsburgh	6:30AM	1:15PM	
Rochester	8:45	3:30	
Wellsville	9:50	4:30	
Stenboville	11:00	5:40	
Bridgeport	11:10	6:25	
Bellair	11:30	7:40	

### TUSCARAWAS BRANCH

Leaves N. Phila. 6:40 a. m. 1:00 p. m. | Arrives Bayard, 11:40 a. m. 5:00 p. m. | N. Phila. 3:00 a. m. 7:30 p. m.

F. R. MYERS, General Passenger and Ticket Agent.

### PENNSYLVANIA R. R.

After December 23d, 1872, Trains will arrive and depart as follows:

EASTWARD.		WESTWARD.	
Through Trains.	Union Depot.	Through Trains.	Union Depot.
Pacific Expr's 2:50 a. m.	Mail Train, 1:05 a. m.	Mail Train, 1:05 a. m.	Mail Train, 1:05 a. m.
Chicago Ex. 12:30 p. m.			
Cincinnati Ex. 1:10 p. m.			
Philadelphia Ex. 5:20 p. m.			
Fast Line, 8:50 p. m.	Way Passengers, 9:50 p. m.	Way Passengers, 9:50 p. m.	Way Passengers, 9:50 p. m.

LOCAL.		LOCAL.	
Walls No. 1.	Walls No. 1.	Walls No. 1.	Walls No. 1.
Wilkinsburg Ac. 7:05 a. m.	Brinton Ac. No. 1, 7:30 a. m.	Wilkinsburg Ac. 7:05 a. m.	Brinton Ac. No. 1, 7:30 a. m.
Walls No. 2, 10:20 a. m.	Walls No. 2, 10:20 a. m.	Walls No. 2, 10:20 a. m.	Walls No. 2, 10:20 a. m.
Walls No. 3, 11:45 a. m.	Walls No. 3, 11:45 a. m.	Walls No. 3, 11:45 a. m.	Walls No. 3, 11:45 a. m.
Walls No. 4, 3:20 p. m.	Walls No. 4, 3:20 p. m.	Walls No. 4, 3:20 p. m.	Walls No. 4, 3:20 p. m.
Johnstown Ac. 4:00 p. m.	Walls No. 4, 3:20 p. m.	Johnstown Ac. 4:00 p. m.	Walls No. 4, 3:20 p. m.

Chicago Express, Cincinnati Express, Fast Line, and Brinton Ac. No. 3 leave daily.

Pacific Express, except Monday, leaves Pittsburgh at 11:40 a. m.; Philadelphia 3:30 p. m.; Baltimore 5:00 p. m.; Washington 5:40 p. m.; New York 6:34 p. m.

Chicago Express leaves Pittsburgh at 12:30 p. m.; arrives Harrisburg 10:30 p. m.; Philadelphia 2:30 a. m.; New York 6:10 a. m.

Cincinnati Express leaves Pittsburgh at 1:10 p. m.; arrives at Harrisburg 10:45 a. m.; Philadelphia 3:50 a. m.; Washington 5:00 a. m.; New York 6:10 a. m.

Philadelphia Express leaves Pittsburgh at 5:20 p. m.; arrives at Harrisburg 2:55 a. m.; Philadelphia 6:55 a. m.; Baltimore 8:00 a. m.; Washington 11:30 a. m.; New York 12:24 p. m.

The Church Trains leave Wall's Station every Sunday at 9:10 a. m., reaching Pittsburgh at 10:00 a. m. and arrive at Pittsburgh at 12:30 p. m., and arrive at Wall's Station at 1:50 p. m. Leave Pittsburgh 9:30 p. m. arrive Brinton's 10:30 p. m.

CITY TICKET OFFICE.—For the convenience of the citizens of Pittsburgh the Pennsylvania Railroad Company have opened a city ticket office at No. 78 Fifth Avenue corner of Smithfield street, where Through Tickets, Commutation Tickets and Local Tickets to principal stations can be purchased at any hour of the day or evening at the same rates as are charged at the depot.

Baggage will be checked through to destination from hotels and residences by Excelsior Baggage Express Co. on orders left at the office.

For further information apply to J. J. CASSATT, General Manager. D. M. BOYD, JR., Gen. Pass. Agent.

### ALLEGHENY VALLEY RAILROAD

On and after Monday, July 15th, 1872, Three Through Trains daily, except Sunday, will leave and arrive at Pittsburgh, city time, for Franklin, Oil City, Buffalo and all points in the Oil Regions, and Western and Central New York.

Leave.	Arrive.
Day Express, 7:10 a. m.	8:35 p. m.
Night Express, 10:40 p. m.	6:15 a. m.
Mail Train, 10:50 a. m.	4:45 a. m.
1st Hulton Ac., 6:40 a. m.	6:30 a. m.
1st Soda Works Ac., 9:30 a. m.	8:05 a. m.
Parsons Ac., 11:40 a. m.	2:10 p. m.
Brady & Bond Ac., 8:25 p. m.	10:30 a. m.
2d Hulton Ac., 5:00 p. m.	8:55 a. m.
3d Soda Works Ac., 8:00 p. m.	5:45 p. m.
3d Hulton Ac., 8:50 p. m.	7:30 p. m.

A Special Sunday train leaves Pittsburgh every Sunday at 7:10 a. m., arriving at Parker at 11:25 a. m., returning leaves Parker at 4:40 p. m., and arrives at Pittsburgh at 8:25 p. m.

### REMARKS OF HON. JAMES S. RUTAN, In the Senate, January 30, 1873.

On joint resolution No. 54, entitled Joint resolution instructing our Senators and requesting our Representatives in Congress to vote against any bill authorizing the National Government to assume control of the telegraphic lines of the country, or empowering the Government to construct telegraphic lines.

Mr. Speaker, the Postmaster General, in his late annual report, recommended the passage of a bill authorizing the Government to assume control of the telegraphic lines of the country, connecting the same with the Postoffice Department, to be controlled and operated as part of our postal system. This proposition did not originate with the present head of the Postoffice Department, but was agitated years ago when Hon. Cave Johnson was Postmaster General. He reported against it, and the scheme was revived again during the administration of President Lincoln, when the Hon. William Dennison, Postmaster General, again reported against giving the Government control in any way of the telegraphic business of the country.

Within the last five years this question has been much agitated in and out of Congress, but public sentiment seemed to be so strongly against the scheme that it was not pressed with much earnestness until the last session of Congress, when bills were introduced in both houses and an evident determination manifested on the part of the friends of the measure to force it through in some shape. The friends of postal telegraphy differ as to the kind of control the Government should have and exercise. The Postmaster General, in his report, recommends that the Government assume entire control of all the telegraphic lines, paying therefor their appraised value. This is the most popular plan and the one most likely to be adopted in case Congress should act.

The other plan simply proposes that Congress shall charter a new company, take stock in and control the same. This would bring the Government into competition with the rival lines, and in the end result either in crushing out competition or in great loss to the Treasury. At the opening of Congress it was stated that there was a majority in both houses in favor of the two plans, and if they could unite upon either, a bill would be passed during the session. It is evident the final struggle between the friends and the opponents of postal telegraphy is at hand, and those who desire to be heard must not delay long in expressing their views. Entertaining strong convictions upon this subject, and believing that any scheme which authorizes the Government to control and operate the telegraphic lines is unwise and dangerous in policy, I offered this resolution immediately after our organization, not only for the purpose of expressing my own views, but to call out such an expression from others, as might in some degree influence our Senators and Representatives in Congress. Resolutions of this character are not uncommon, as some suppose who criticized my action in introducing the resolution I have voted. At every session since I became a member of the Legislature we have passed similar resolutions relating to questions before Congress. But a few days since we passed a joint resolution instructing our Senators and Representatives in Congress in reference to the soldiers' homestead bill, and our action was commended by some friends of postal telegraphy who criticized me for meddling with a question that did not concern the Legislature. It has been the custom in every State in the Union, since the adoption of the Federal Constitution, for the Legislatures to instruct their Senators in Congress on questions of national importance, and, in my judgment, there never was an occasion when it was more clearly in order or more demanded than at present. Both branches of the Legislature are controlled by the party to which our Senators both owe allegiance, the party that controls Congress. The voice of the Legislature then should and will be respected.

In introducing and supporting this resolution I believe I am simply discharging my legitimate duty, and I propose now to give the reasons that induce me to oppose the whole scheme of postal telegraphy.

And first, I believe the policy to be unwise. It will require an immediate outlay of from forty to sixty millions of dollars to purchase the different lines in the country, and may require even a much larger sum. England had to pay about three times the first estimated value of the lines in that country when the pur-

chase had actually been made, and the experience may be repeated in the Western Union company, which has cost forty-one millions of dollars to purchase at about twenty millions in all sixty-one years. Three millions are spent annually by the company in extending and operating their lines. Under Government control the telegraph is to be broadened and improved, and quadrupled annually. The receipts of the telegraph lines amount to about \$10,000,000, and the expenses are \$12,000,000. Extend the lines and the expenses would be \$15,000,000, while the receipts, for at least, would not increase correspondingly. It is fair to presume that Government control of the telegraph would not fall short of twenty-five millions annually. The receipts would not amount to more than fifteen millions, and the expense of ten millions annually. The National Treasury is not an inviting prospect to be burdened with debt and interest. To show that this estimate is not exaggerated it is only necessary to look at the countries where the telegraph is controlled by the Government.

In England the telegraph in fourteen months, during which an estimate was made, ending in 1871, was two million nine hundred and ninety-two thousand dollars. Germany and France the loss averaged about eight per cent annually. In countries where labor is from five to fifty per cent cheaper than in this country. As there are about three times as many miles of line in the country and three times the number of lines as there are in England, it is not difficult to calculate what our loss would be if we were to take the difference in the rate of wages, it is clear that the loss of three millions in Great Britain in fourteen months would indicate at least a loss of ten millions in the same time to our country. Then we have not taken into the calculation the fact that Europe is much more densely populated, and that each telegraph office represents on an average twenty thousand inhabitants, while in this country each office represents six thousand inhabitants. While a line between New York and Philadelphia is certain to pay largely, a line between either of these points and Indianapolis, Davenport, Minneapolis, Omaha and San Francisco will not pay so well, if at all. In Europe all the lines are stretched between points like New York and Philadelphia, and there are none extending thousands of miles into interior and thinly populated districts.

Looking then at this question in its economic business point of view, there is every reason against Government purchase and control, at least until the country has paid its debts, and largely reduced taxation. It is not right to compel the many who do not use the telegraph, to assume their share of this additional burden for the benefit of the few. It is estimated that at the lowest rates proposed, not more than one thirty-second part of the population will use the telegraph. Why should the thirty-one inhabitants out of every thirty-two in the country be taxed largely that one may be enabled to send his private or business messages at a lower rate? And who are complaining of the present rates? There is certainly no general outcry among the business men of the country against the present management. I have never heard of any serious complaints, and so far as I know there is no general desire among even those who use the wires as a means of rapid communication, for the interference of the government, while there would certainly be a strong opposition to it from the large body of the people who do not use it if they once understood the question. Business men regard the Western Union and other companies with much favor. The management is good and the companies are liable in damages for negligence. The rates of transmission have been reduced more than one-third in six years, and the lines are being extended as rapidly as there is a prospect of business to justify the extension. Why then should business men complain? But they do not, and the motive of this effort may be traced to other causes. It originated in the brains of the speculator, and while many honest, patriotic men favor it from the best of motives, it was intended to be and is a huge job, by means of which men who are not seeking the good of their country expect to grow rich. It is or should be the settled policy of the country that the government should

not do for citizens or individuals what they can do well or better themselves, and it has been demonstrated that individuals can manage and control corporations of this character better and more economically than the Government can. Competition regulates prices, but once in the hands of the Government there is an end of competition, and prices will be regulated by the party in power.

The Government always pays thirty-three per cent more for labor and material, in the general average, than individuals, and what is a well managed and paying business in the hands of private citizens becomes a badly managed and losing concern in the hands of the Government. There are now ten thousand persons employed by the telegraph companies of the country. Under Government control, with the lines extended as proposed, this number will be increased to twenty thousand. The administration will thus be given a large standing army in addition to the one hundred and fifty thousand office holders and soldiers under their command. As a large number of those additional office holders will be receiving agents, defalcations and losses to the Government will multiply, and I for one am in favor of curtailing rather than increasing the number of Federal appointments, because I believe the present and future good of the country requires it.

For the reasons given, then, I believe the policy uncalled for and unwise, promising only an increase of the public debt, increased expenses without corresponding benefits to the masses. The strongest reason against the passage of the law, however, is that it is an assumption of power on the part of the General Government not warranted in the Constitution. It ignores the rights of States altogether and invests the administration with greatly increased power, which may grow under such legislation as this until it may be used to overthrow our liberties. If the Government has the right to build and own telegraphs it has the same right to build, own and control railroads, to run steamboats and monopolize the entire carrying trade of the country. Once admit the right, and it follows that the Government whenever it chooses may assume the entire carrying trade of the country and, to all intents and purposes, control all our business interests. It is proposed in England already to give the Government control of the railroads, and when once we have placed the telegraph in the hands of the Administration at Washington, it will not be long until the same reasons will place the railroads under the same control. The Constitution of the United States vests certain powers in the Federal Government, and declares that what is not expressly granted is reserved to the States and to the people. The right to build, own and control telegraphs and railroads has no more warrant in the Constitution than the right to build and control cotton manufactories, furnaces and grist mills. If the carrying trade is to be taken out of the hands of the citizen, so may all the manufacturing interests of the country, and every one be made dependent upon the government.

Happily for us, this question of power engaged the attention of the framers of the Constitution, and although its earliest expounders were somewhat divided, the most liberal constructionists never dreamed of such an interpretation of our organic law. Madison, in the *Federalist*, contends that the Constitution does not confer new power, but only invigorated the powers of the confederacy, and under the articles of the confederation the States were supreme upon all questions of this character. To prevent any misunderstanding, an amendment to the Constitution was proposed at the first session of Congress, after the adoption of the Constitution, declaring, in the language quoted, that powers not expressly granted in the Constitution were reserved to States respectively, and to the people. President Monroe, in his veto of the Cumberland road supplement, May 4th, 1822, reviews the whole question, and his exhaustive argument against the power of the Government to appropriate even money for internal improvements of this character seems to me to be unanswerable. He held that the power was not conferred by the Constitution, and that even the consent of the States through which the improvements were projected would not warrant its exercise. In this position he was sustained by Madison, who was the father of the Constitution, and by Jefferson, its most wise and trusted expounder. I do not desire to appear as the advocate of State rights as understood in these latter days, because nothing is further from my intention.

to what extremes the advocates of a theory sound and patriotic may be carried. When Jefferson and Madison penned the Virginia and Kentucky resolutions of 1798, they were actuated by a laudable desire to preserve the liberties of the country by protecting the States against Federal encroachment. Hamilton was a liberal constructionist, and although he agreed with Madison before the adoption of the Constitution, no sooner was it adopted than he contended for a far different and more liberal construction of that instrument. This gave rise to two parties—one being known as liberal and the other as strict constructionists. The first was held by Hamilton and Adams, the other by Jefferson and Madison. Hamilton and his party favored a national bank, internal improvements and a consolidated government, while Jefferson and Madison contended that the Constitution virtually prohibited the general government from exercising control over such questions. They believed, as Madison stated in the *Federalist*, that the constitution only invigorated the powers conferred in the articles of confederation, but granted nothing additional. The party of Jefferson triumphed within a few years after the adoption of the Constitution, and for half a century controlled the administration and shaped the policy of the country. The result was the principles they enunciated were carried to extremes, and the party they created for patriotic purposes became in our day the advocate and defender of treason.

The resolutions of '98 were interpreted to mean State independence, to authorize the nullification of national laws and secession. The whole Democratic party, North and South, being controlled in the interest of human slavery, when that interest was endangered, the party South went openly into rebellion, and a large portion of the party in the North sympathized with the traitors. State rights was the cloak used to hide or excuse this treason, and Jefferson and Madison were quoted as sustaining the traitors in the position. Gen. Lee resigned his position in the army of the United States to take command of the troops of his own State, declaring that his allegiance to his State was paramount to that he owed to the United States, and every traitor offered the same excuse. A terrible civil war followed, and the result was adverse to the advocates of States rights. The interpretation of Jefferson and Madison gave place to that of Hamilton and Adams, and the resolutions of 1798 are as odious almost as the State rights party of the South is to a very large majority of the citizens of the North. In escaping from the dangerous extreme of States rights, is there not danger of flying to another extreme equally dangerous? The government was compelled to assume large and dangerous powers during the war, and the disposition seems to be not only to claim and retain them, but to grasp more power in order to perpetrate party ascendancy. Montesquieu asserts that it is a lasting experience that neither men nor parties relinquish power once possessed. The power is used and abused until a limit is found. I regret to say there is some evidence of the truth of this position in the history of this country since the war. The party in power shows less disposition to relinquish the exercise of what is generally known as the war powers than was expected, and the people show an indifference that is remarkable. Before the war, even in the days of Hamilton, if the Administration had interfered in the domestic affairs of any of the States, as has recently been done in Louisiana, and in fact all of the Southern States, there would have been revolution. Now the administration is not only indorsed but forced into these measures by Congress and the country. So great is the fear of the loyal masses of State rights and all who believed in that heresy, that any measure which weakens the heresy and its believers is indorsed and approved. It is only necessary to refer to the war and to those who sought our country's overthrow to insure the passage of any bill through Congress for the future subjection of traitors.

As a result, nearly every Southern State is in a condition of anarchy. The State Governments are almost wiped out entirely, and the Federal Government is supreme. This being the spirit that prevails and controls the country, is it not high time we sought to check it before it plunges the country into disasters as serious as those just escaped? The tendency is toward a strong consolidated government, and a wiping out of State rights altogether. We are vesting the administration yearly with increased power, and the day may come when America may have a Louis Napoleon. CONTINUED ON EIGHTH PAGE.