

The Columbian.

GEORGE H. MOORE, EDITOR. BLOOMSBURG, SATURDAY, JULY 21, 1866.

THE MODEL LETTER.

ASSASSIN'S OFFICE, U. S. INTERNAL REVENUE, THIRTIETH DISTRICT OFFICE, STATE OF PA.

From A. H. Bondell, President of the National Union Club, Washington, D. C. SIR—I enclose you a copy of my issue of this week. I have likewise addressed a copy to the President. You will see that the charge that I am opposing him is false.

IF I AM SUSTAINED BY YOURSELF AND THE PRESIDENT, if the patronage is not taken from us and given to those who oppose us, we shall be able to make our vigorous Union organization a unit, and TRIUMPHANTLY SUSTAIN THE ADMINISTRATION. Respectfully, PALEMON JOHN, Assessor Thirtieth District, Pa.

A PUBLIC LETTER.

OFFICE OF THE REPUBLICAN, BLOOMSBURG, PA., July 17, 1866.

From A. H. Bondell, President of the National Union Club, Washington, D. C.

SIR—I have just received, under the frank of the chattel Senator Edgar Cowan, a call issued by you and other members of your "Bread and Butter Brigade," for a Convention in Philadelphia on the fourteenth of August. I return it to you, as it does not "meet my approbation."

In times past I entertained a high personal respect for you. When we met at the Baltimore Convention you were among the most radical of the Radicals. We both supported Andrew Johnson. I acted in good faith. I never dreamed that he would prove recreant and false, much less that you would "fall from your high estate" to follow his leadership, aye, and aid him in his persistent determination to break up the organization that placed him in power, and for the success of which you and I have spent the best years of our lives. I scorn to do so base a thing. You insult honest Republicans by sending them your address; and to Republicans of Pennsylvania it is a greater insult to send it under the frank of a Senator who has treated their generous confidence with so much perfidy and treachery.

Governor Randall, it is a strange crowd you are now training in. The great and generous party of your gallant State—a party that has bestowed so many honors on you—have an account to settle with you for your recreancy. And they will do it. You seem to have forgotten the tragic fate of Judas. Go your way. Having sold yourself to do the work of shame required at your hands you shall have your reward. You and those acting with you will find yourselves eventually swallowed up by the Democratic boa constrictor which is quietly waiting for just such provender. PALEMON JOHN.

"THAT CONFIRMATION."

The Republican of last week, under the caption of "The Assessor's," discloses as follows:

About nine months ago we were appointed Assessor of Internal Revenue. It was asked for by a majority of the leading active and influential Republicans in the District, and endorsed by the entire Republican press. Of course this appointment did not please the incurable egotism here, who for the past ten years have adopted the policy of waiting until they fall to rule. Powerless of themselves to do serious harm, or to accomplish their purposes, they appealed to Mr. Buckalew. After various interviews, and after their solemnly accepting his conditions, Mr. Buckalew espoused their cause, not because of any love for them, but because he thought he saw in it a chance to disorganize our party and aid the Democracy. Their part of the contract is now well understood in the COLUMBIAN enterprise, and the attempt to organize a "Johnson party" here.

Mr. Buckalew at once commenced active operations. He interested the renegade Cowan, and having ascertained at an early day the determination of the President to betray the great party that elected him, they soon boasted that they had him "all right." He refused to send our name to the Senate for confirmation because we "stood by Congress," and soon after the name of Robert Clark was sent in because he "stood by the President" and endorsed his policy.

Months passed and the Senate did not meet. Mr. Clark had made several visits to Washington, but found it necessary to go once more. He solemnly assured Senators that he was not connected with nor interested in the COLUMBIAN, and that he did not and would not oppose Congress. Senators were likewise assured that our own name would not be sent in by the President, and that at the close of the session there would be a vacancy; and finally Mr. Buckalew, who is personally popular with Senators, appealed to them as a special favor to confirm Mr. Clark, who was his townsmen and friend. It was done. Mr. Clark has got an office at last! But the price he has paid for it is fearful.

For ourselves, having long since adopted the policy of taking things coolly—we confess that we feel relieved. Strange as it may sound, it is nevertheless true, the emoluments of the office never compensated for all of its annoyances. Too often cases occurred where seemingly well-meaning people could not understand why it was that an officer could not faithfully perform his duty and yet favor them on the score of personal friendship. In our official position we could know no man—could favor none. Our duty was clear and plain. We retire from office feeling that we conscientiously performed that duty. And it is a gratification to know that we have retained the respect, the confidence, and endorsement of the great mass of the Republicans of the entire District.

Having some comments to make on the above article, we deem it but fair to our readers to publish it in full. We begin by observing that it is substantially false; wholly false when it reiterates the charge, heretofore repeat-

edly made by the Republican, that the COLUMBIAN was started by its proprietors under an agreement with Mr. Buckalew that Mr. Clark should be made Assessor of this district. The arrangement for the publication of this journal, as is well known to every gentleman interested in it, was perfected before the name of Mr. Clark was thought of in connection with the Assessorship, and before its proprietors had hoped to be able to oust the late Assessor. We may further add that its publication was designed before there had been any breach whatever between the President and Congress. It may be well to state here that Mr. Clark never was an applicant to the President for the office of Assessor or any other office within his gift, and that his name was used without his consent. His first knowledge that it had been used in that connection was when President Johnson announced to him his determination to bestow the office upon him. This is a fact susceptible of proof, and well known to the gentlemen who introduced his name to the President.

The above article is not only essentially but emphatically false, in the statement "that he [Mr. Clark] assured Senators that he was not connected with nor interested in the COLUMBIAN, and that he did not and would not oppose Congress." No such statement was ever made by him to Senators, or anybody else, and no man of truth will assert that it was. Mr. Clark made two visits to Washington, and he found on his second and last visit that an attempt was being made by Congressman Mercer and others of his kind, in Washington and at home, to array Senators against him by false statements, consistent only with an utter recklessness of truth, the chief of which was that he had started a paper to oppose Congress. Now as Mr. Clark had no pecuniary interest whatever in this paper, and as he had never written for it or any other paper a line about Congress, good or bad, the truth of the charge made was denied. There was no denial or concealment of the fact that he took great interest in the success of this paper; that he canvassed for subscribers; that it had his advertising patronage; and that its proprietors were his friends, and opposed to the editor of the Republican. And that there might be no mistake that his disclaimer of any interest in or connection with the COLUMBIAN was only the disclaimer of a pecuniary interest, a day or two after his return from Washington, and before his case came up in the Senate, he addressed to a distinguished Republican Senator a letter of that purport.

That Mr. Clark's confirmation was due in a good degree to the high regard entertained by Senators of every shade of political faith for Mr. Buckalew as a gentleman of integrity and rare ability, we know to be true, and this is about the only truth contained in the Republican article; unless it be, indeed, when the editor states that he feels relieved at having lost the office. This everybody who knows him knows is a direct and positive—truth.

But is it not time for the late Assessor to be honest? He is removed, and no amount of prevarication on his part, and no heaping of slanderous abuse upon his successful rival, can reinstate him; and that patronage for which he whined so piteously is gone, not to return, at least during this Administration. Why not then deal honestly with his readers, and make a public confession of what he must know to be the fact, if his truthful friend Mercer has advised him truthfully, to wit: that Senators turned from him with scorn after reading his letter of the second of March to Secretary McCulloch. And the more radical the Senator the more thorough his contempt for the writer of "that letter." It need not surprise anybody, therefore, that the Senate in this instance gave a unanimous vote to confirm, after the struggle had been protracted long enough to develop the whole case to Senators. How could it be otherwise?

The offer of the late Assessor to sell not only himself but the entire Republican party of the county to the President, without any other condition than his retention in office, was dictated and approved by Mercer, was very generally believed by Senators; and when, therefore, they saw that this bitter and malignant fight against Mr. Clark was led by those two worthies, with such feeble support as some stammerers could give, no wonder Senators concluded to treat them with the contempt they deserved, and honorable men everywhere will so treat them.

MILITARY.

We still have another gun which the editor of the Republican ought to spike while in that business. If not spiked it may be discharged. We refer to that interesting letter of the Assessor to Secretary McCulloch, dated February twenty-seventh, 1866, five days after the President's speech on the twenty-second. If we are compelled to discharge this gun, its stunning effect will equal that of the tremendous bombshell which the military man of the Republican has been accustomed from time to time to explode in the camps of his enemies. We give one elegant extract from the letter: "The charge that I am opposing the President is unfounded and false." This is very strong, very clear, and very much to the point, and any one except a most uncompromising friend of the President would have been content to let matters remain as they stood at that writing. Not so with our Assessor. In the three days between the twenty-seventh of February and the second of March, the Republican press assailed the President with great violence. The editor of the Republican saw the necessity, as he thought, of defining his position anew, and pledging not only his own unqualified support, but the support of the entire Republican party of this county. We are, however, in error in saying unqualified, but were unconsciously led into the error by the trivialness of the qualification, which was that the President must allow the Assessor to retain his office.

COMMUNICATION.

BLOOMSBURG, July 19, 1866.

To the Editor of the Columbian:

I observe by the last Columbia County Republican that Dr. John has published a letter purporting to have been written by me of the date of the tenth of January, 1865, recommending him for the office of Revenue Assessor. I suppose the letter is genuine, although I have no copy, and therefore cannot speak positively. It is sufficiently humiliating, however, to me to have to confess that in an unguarded moment I did write a letter of recommendation for him.

To my friends I owe an apology. It has been observed by an eminent writer, and one of the best of men, "that no man has ever lived who upon a review of his life could not revert to some one act of which he was not most heartily ashamed." In looking at the letter referred to I confess I feel the truth of the above observation with great force. To have been seduced into recommending this man for any office, knowing him as I should have known him, is evidence, to use the mildest terms, of weakness, well calculated to alarm one's friends, and I can only promise that this offense or folly will never be repeated.

The Doctor says "this letter is strong, but it was given up voluntarily." This statement of his is impudently untrue. Let me state the facts. The letter referred to was written in Philadelphia, and mailed to the Doctor, under the following circumstances. He represented to me that not only his friend Mercer but the Commissioner of Internal Revenue had determined upon the removal of Major Monroe, and that it was simply a question if whether he (the Doctor) or some other Republican should supply his place. He wrote me at Philadelphia, where I spent the most of that winter, begging for a letter, and sending me a copy of one written in his behalf by Thomas J. Ingham, Esq., of Sullivan, with a suggestion that I might adopt it as my own. To be rid of the annoyances of this "important" man, and confiding in his statement that the Revenue Department, which statement was of course false, had concluded on Major Monroe's removal, I wrote what I did. His allegation that about this time I gave a similar letter to Major Monroe is untrue. Subsequently to the tenth of January, 1865, suspecting that I had been cheated and deceived by this man, I wrote to Mercer, and among other things inquired whether or not it was proposed to remove Major Monroe on charges, and thereupon I received a letter from that distinguished member of Congress expressing his surprise at my opposition to his friend, the Doctor, and informing me that he had committed himself in favor of his appointment, one of his main inducements being my letter to the Commissioner of Internal Revenue. Satisfied as I was then that I had been duped and deceived by the Doctor's false representations, Mercer's declaration that he had recommended John to the office at my instance would have added greatly to my mortification had I for a moment suspected that he (Mercer) told the truth. I had no such suspicion. I had come to understand him, and gave to what he said the same weight that the Senate of the United States gave to his attack recently made upon me.

The editor of the Republican refers to what he is pleased to term my "erratic course" as a politician. For my past political action I have no apology to make. Heretofore I have always voted for the candidate who suited me best, and I will continue so to do regardless of threats and denunciations of parties or individuals. Yours truly, ROBERT F. CLARK.

WASHINGTON LETTER.

WASHINGTON, D. C., July 18, 1866.

DEAR CAPTAIN,—Pope says "the proper study of mankind is man," and as your correspondent desires to be placed on the record of observers of human nature, he will call attention to a case wherein a great amount of that rare virtue, disinterestedness, is exhibited by one of the editorial fraternity. You were made acquainted, through the medium of my two former letters, with the history of the confirmation of Mr. Clark as Assessor of your district, and the discomfiture of Palemon John and his Congressional Representative. But your correspondent, in putting the facts of this case upon record, was quite unprepared for the gratifying exhibition of Christian resignation, under severe affliction, which was to be shown by the person supplanted in consequence of the new appointment, and which appears in P. John's paper of July twelfth, which you sent me. How grateful it is to every patriotic heart to see an unselfish citizen seeking the advancement of the public welfare regardless of his own interests; and who is able to say that "the emoluments of the office never compensated for all of its annoyances." (When the fox could not reach the grapes he said they were sour.) And this gratification is increased by considering the sound discretion which was shown by the ex-official in the appointment of his deputies and subordinates, and that deep grief over the depravity of human nature which formerly agitated his heart, because "seemingly well-meaning people could not understand why it was that an officer could not faithfully perform his duty and yet favor them on the score of personal friendship." It is too bad that such pure men as the ex-Assessor should be troubled by the impertinence of friends for low assessments of their property, and other favors, at the public expense. It would seem that the Radical friends of a public officer will be watching, and we cannot too much admire that stern sense of duty which, according to his own showing, must have actuated P. John in performing his official duties.

Being assured, then, that this disinterested patriot had nothing but public and pure objects in view, can we wonder that following the generous impulses of his soul, and desiring his country's welfare to the total exclusion of self-interest, he wrote that expository and remarkable letter to the Secretary of the Treasury in March last? He was willing to sacrifice himself to the public service, although "the emoluments of the office [only eight or ten dollars per day] never compensated for all of its annoyances?"

Being actuated by such purely honorable motives we must set down his petty misrepresentations of Mr. Clark's course and declarations in Washington and elsewhere as simply an effervescence of public zeal not in the last degree caused by a spirit of low jealousy or malicious spite; for of such baseness P. John must be held incapable after his own clear declarations concerning his disinterestedness and patriotism in the premises. But enough concerning this remarkable patriot. Let us leave him to the sleep of the just, sweetened by an innate consciousness of merit, and unembittered by the stings of a reproaching conscience. If sterling integrity, strict veracity, sound and discriminating judgment, and a truly Christian spirit of resignation, can secure contentment of mind in this life, happy indeed will be the remaining days of the extinguished Assessor of the Thirtieth Revenue District of Pennsylvania.

I have some other matters in mind which might be written about, but it would be in bad taste to come down from the contemplation of a high and noble subject of reflection to the ordinary occurrences and events of the time. A. M.

GENERAL PRESS DISPATCHES.

From Washington.

A BILL in behalf of the Portland sufferers was introduced by Mr. Fessenden and passed. It authorizes the Commissioner of Internal Revenue in the district affected by the fire not to press for payment of Government claims until the fourth of March next.

Hon. Lewis D. Campbell has had one or two interviews with Secretary Seward in relation to the Mexican mission since his arrival in the city, but has had no instructions given him, nor any intimation as to when they would be forthcoming.

At the United States District Land Office at Eau Claire, in the month of June, five thousand nine hundred and eighty-one acres were disposed of, the greater portion for agricultural college scrip, and the residue for bounty land warrants, selections with agricultural college scrip, and by cash sales.

The nomination of A. W. Randall to be Postmaster-General has been referred to the Senate Post Office Committee, as is usual in such cases. The speeches made on Saturday, when Mr. Dennison parted with the officers and clerks of the Department, show that the personal relations between the gentleman designated to succeed him and himself are of the most friendly character, and that each concedes to the other a large degree of private worth and official ability.

A strong effort is being made here by Colonel Stokes and other radical members from Tennessee to have Congress admit the Congressional delegation from that State before its adjournment, whether the Constitutional Amendment be adopted or not. They assert that the Tennessee Legislature is certain to adopt the amendment, and probably within two or three days, and submit that in view of this Congress ought to admit the delegation at once. It is shrewdly suspected, however, that if the delegation were once admitted there would be no unnecessary haste in pressing the amendment.

The President on Friday having signed the Internal Revenue Bill, the Internal Revenue Bureau at once commenced complying with the laws of which it is amendatory, and the preparation of instructions and regulations under the same.

Notwithstanding the Republican caucus, by twenty majority, expressed their desire for an adjournment sine die on tomorrow (Monday) week, and will exert themselves to that end, it is not certain it will take place on the twenty-third, as a number of the working men in both Houses, connected with important committees, do not think so early a day practicable, but rather about ten days from this time.

A letter from Puebla, dated June twenty-seventh, just received, says: "The last tax imposed by Maximilian on real estate is exorbitant. It amounts to one seventeenth per cent. on the proceeds, with other very onerous duties. We have been favored with some very queer local regulations, which leave us much liberty as the Turks have. We must keep our houses open and lighted until ten P.M. A keeper of a boarding-house must watch closely over his guests, exclude any suspicious persons, and report all callers; otherwise he is subject to fine. The police were to superintend the domestic arrangements."

The reception and treatment by Congress on Monday of the message of the President accompanying his veto of the House Freedmen's Bureau Bill was eminently characteristic of that historic body. The private secretary of the President appeared at the bar of the House soon after two o'clock, and was permitted to remain standing there some length of time before it was convenient for Mr. Speaker Colfax to recognize him. At last the Speaker finished his little telegraphic with a member, and could listen to the announcement of a message from the President. The message was received, and very properly, according to custom, laid aside until the floor was vacant, when a member moved to order it printed without reading, and that it be made the special order for tomorrow, after the morning hour. Several Radical members objected to giving it even this consideration, and demanded that the House proceed with its regular business. On this Mr. Le Blond demanded, in a towering way, why the majority did not at once dispose of the veto. Instantly the House was a scene of the wildest confusion; members sprung to their feet on all sides, and de-

manded immediate action. "Vote on the bill," "Never mind the message," "Previous question," and a general chorus of similar suggestions and moves. Finally order was sufficiently restored for the Speaker to be heard, when a motion was made that the message be at once read, and the bill put upon its passage, which was carried under spur of the previous question. The message was then read. On the conclusion of the reading the previous question was again sprung upon the passage of the bill. Another scene of confusion ensued, members calling to one another across the Hall, or gathering in knots and engaging in loud conversation; messengers flying in all directions after absentees; the Speaker pounding his desk for order; the Clerk calling the roll; loud bursts of laughter; and a small-sized Bedlam prevailing generally. Senators came flocking into the House to see the fun, and watch that their members voted right. Trumbull looked as pleased as if it were his own bill. Chandler tried to hug three Michigan members at once, in his anxiety to keep them from dodging. Everybody was jolly, and so the call went on. At its conclusion the hubbub ceased, but the result might be heard—one hundred and three yeas, thirty-three nays. The bill had passed the House, the veto of President to the contrary notwithstanding. Instantly a burst of applause broke forth from the Radical side of the House. Such stamping and clapping of hands was there that one would have thought there were four times the number of feet and hands at work. Singularly enough the gallery failed to respond to the applause. It was hinted that there had been no time to pack these benches. Mr. Le Blond claims that he challenged immediate action in order to prevent this little piece of business, so often resorted to heretofore to manufacture political thunder. As was expected, the message and bill were hurried over to the Senate, where they arrived at four o'clock, interrupting a long-winded discussion of the Northern Pacific Railroad Bill. Senator Wilson could scarcely contain himself until Senator Fessenden concluded a very long and very dry speech to which nobody was listening. At last Wilson got the floor, and moved that the bill be at once taken up. Mr. Johnson objected, and moved that it lay on the table, the message be printed, and the whole subject be made the special order for to-morrow. Mr. Trumbull desired to know if Mr. Johnson objected to having the message read. Mr. Johnson would be pleased to have it read. So the reading was proceeded with. At its conclusion Mr. Wilson moved that the bill be put immediately upon its passage. Mr. Johnson proposed as a substitute that the message be printed, and the whole subject laid over until to-morrow. On this the yeas and nays were demanded, resulting, yeas 13, nays 31; so it was clear that there was a two-thirds vote present in favor of the passage of the bill, and it was put on its passage. Mr. Hendricks made a powerful speech against it, followed by Mr. Saulsbury, after which, at six o'clock, the bill was passed, the Radicals of the Lower House appearing in time to join in the applause, and participate in the exultation that one veto message had not even been dignified with an official publication, preparatory to action upon it.

The Courts, both State and Federal, are in full, complete, and successful operation, and through them every person, regardless of race or color, is entitled to and can be heard. The protection granted to the white citizen is already conferred by law upon the Freedmen. Strong and stringent guards, by way of penalties and punishments, are thrown around his person and property, and it is believed that ample protection will be afforded him by due process of law, without resort to the dangerous expedient of military tribunals. Now that the war has been brought to a close, the necessity no longer existing for such tribunals as had their origin in the war, grave objections to their continuance must present themselves to the minds of all reflecting and dispassionate. Independently of the danger in representative Republics of conferring upon the military in time of peace extraordinary powers, so carefully guarded against by the patriots and statesmen of the earlier days of the Republic, so frequently the ruin of governments founded upon the same free principles, and subversive of the rights and liberties of the citizen, the question of practical economy earnestly commends itself to the consideration of the law-making power. With an immense debt already burdening the energies of the industrial and laboring classes, a due regard for their interests, so inseparably connected with the welfare of the country, should prompt us to rigid economy and retrenchment, and influence us to abstain from all legislation that would unnecessarily increase the public indebtedness. Tested by this rule of sound political wisdom, I can see no reason for the establishment of the military jurisdiction conferred upon the officials of the Bureau by the fourth section of the bill. By the laws of the United States and of the different States competent courts, Federal and State, have been established, and are now in full practical operation. By means of these civil tribunals ample redress is afforded for all private wrongs, whether to the person or the property of the citizen, without denial or unnecessary delay. They are open to all without regard to color or race. I feel well assured that it will be better to trust the rights, privileges, and immunities of the citizens to tribunals thus established and presided over by competent and impartial judges, bound by fixed rules of law and evidence, and when the right of trial by jury is guaranteed and secured, than to the caprice or judgment of an officer of the Bureau, who it is possible may be entirely ignorant of the principles that underlie the just administration of the law. There is danger, too, that conflict of jurisdiction will frequently arise between the civil courts and these military tribunals, each having concurrent jurisdiction over the person and cause of action; the one jurisdiction administered and controlled by civil law, the other by military. How is the conflict to be settled, and who is to determine between the two tribunals, when it arises? In my opinion it is wise to guard against such conflict by leaving to the courts and juries the protection of all civil rights and the redress of all civil grievances. The fact cannot be denied that since the actual cessation of hostilities many acts of violence, such, perhaps, as had never been witnessed in their previous history, have occurred in the States involved in the recent Rebellion. I believe, however, that public sentiment will sustain me in the assertion that such deeds of wrong are not confined to any particular State or section, but are manifested over the entire country, demonstrating that the cause that produced them does not depend upon any particular locality, but is the result of the agitation and derangement incident to a long and bloody war. While the prevalence of such disorders must be greatly deplored, their occasional and temporary recurrence would seem to furnish no necessity for the extension of the Bureau beyond the period fixed in the original act. Besides the objections I have thus briefly stated, I may urge upon your consideration the additional reason that recent developments in regard to the practical operations of the Bureau in many of the States show that in numerous instances it is used by its agents as a means of promoting their individual advantage, and that the Freedmen are employed for the advancement of the personal ends of the officers instead of their own improvement and welfare; thus confirming the fears originally entertained by many that the continuation of such a Bureau for any immediate length of time would inevitably result in fraud, corruption, and oppression. It is proper to state that in cases of this character investigations have been promptly ordered, and the offender punished whenever his guilt has been satisfactorily established.

As another reason against the necessity of the legislation contemplated by this measure, reference may be had to the Civil Rights Bill, now a law of the land, and which will be faithfully executed so long as it shall remain unreppealed, and not be declared unconstitutional by Courts of competent jurisdiction. By that act it is enacted, "That all persons born in the United States, and not subject to any foreign Power, excluding Indians not taxed, are hereby declared to be citizens of the United States; and such citizens of every race and color, without any regard to any previous condition of slavery or involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime, whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall have the same right in every State and Territory in the United States, to make and enforce contracts, to sue, be parties and give evidence, to inherit, purchase, lease, sell, hold, and convey real and personal property, and to full and equal benefit of all laws and proceedings for the security of person and property as is enjoyed by the white citizens, and shall be subject to like punishments, pains, and penalties, and none other, any law, statute, ordinance, regulation, or custom to the contrary notwithstanding." By

the provisions of the act full protection is afforded through the District Courts of the United States to all persons injured, and whose privileges as thus declared are in any way impaired, and very heavy penalties are denounced against the person who willfully violates the law. I need not state that that law did not receive my approval, yet its remedies are far more preferable than those proposed in the present bill, the one being civil and the other military.

By the sixth section of the bill, herewith returned, certain proceedings by which the lands in the Parishes of St. Helena and St. Luke, South Carolina, were sold and bid in, and afterward disposed of by the Tax Commissioners, are confirmed and ratified. By the 7th, 8th, 9th, 10th, and 11th sections provisions are made by law for the disposal of the lands thus acquired to a particular class of citizens.

While the granting of titles is deemed very important and desirable, the discrimination made in the bill seems objectionable, as does also the attempt to confer upon the Commissioners judicial powers by which citizens of the United States are to be deprived of their property in a mode contrary to that provision of the Constitution which declares that no person shall be deprived of life, liberty, or property without due process of law. As a general principle such legislation is unsafe, unwise, partial, and unconstitutional. It may deprive persons of property who are equally deserving objects of the nation's bounty as those whom by this legislation Congress seeks to benefit. The title to the land thus to be proportioned out to a favored class of citizens must depend upon the regularity of the tax sales under the law as it existed at the time of the sale, and no subsequent legislation can give validity to the rights thus acquired as against the original claimant. The attention of Congress is therefore invited to a more mature consideration of the measures proposed in these sections of the bill.

In conclusion I again urge upon Congress the danger of class legislation, so well calculated to keep the public mind in a state of uncertain expectation, dispute, and restlessness, and to encourage interested hopes and fears that the National Government will continue to furnish to classes of citizens in the several States means for support and maintenance regardless as to whether they pursue a life of indolence or of labor, and regardless also of the constitutional limitations of the national authority in times of peace and tranquility.

The bill is herewith returned to the House of Representatives, in which it originated, for its final action. ANDREW JOHNSON, WASHINGTON, D. C., July 16, 1866.

THE ALABAMA CLAIMS.

To the Editor London Daily News.

Sir,—I am afraid I shall seem to be forever recurring to a worn-out and distasteful theme; but the change of feeling toward America which the conduct of the American Government in the matter of Fenianism has produced encourages me once more to mention in your columns the case of the Alabama. It is late, no doubt, but I trust not too late to pluck out of the bosom of the American nation this thorn, which will otherwise, I fear, long rankle there, and render impossible a cordial union between the two great communities of our race.

In his dispatch on the subject of the ravages committed by the Shenandoah, Mr. Seward, under the influence of a not un pardonable irritation, allowed himself to use language which could not be defended, and which lowered his own position. But, with this single exception, the American Government has done nothing to render difficult to us the path of international justice. On the contrary, it has done everything to render that path easy. It has disarmed unconditionally; and now, in spite of all that has been endured both in the way of loss and insult at our hands, it performs its international obligations to us, under trying circumstances, with a fidelity which all acknowledge.

What the Americans demand in the matter of the Alabama is a fair inquiry into a case in which they believe themselves to have suffered wrong, such an inquiry as honor need not refuse, as the most punctilious honor, on the contrary, would court for its own vindication. That there is a case for inquiry we can hardly deny. The illness of the Queen's advocate is pleaded by our Government as an excuse for its tardiness; and of course the excuse admits the fact.

The law officers of the crown would probably renew their objections. But the law officers of the crown have done their duty in advising the Government on the legal question. They ought not to put a legal veto on the promptings of national honor. Already the conduct of our Government in these matters has been guided too much by the technical arguments of lawyers, and too little by the wisdom of statesmen.

Recent events in the diplomatic world have taught England her real weakness. Let them also teach her real strength. The military despot of Europe, among whom we stand as a free nation almost untrifled, have their alliances, the artificial creatures of a selfish diplomacy, dark, hollow, and perfidious. We also, if we will only clear our hearts of baseness and unworthy prejudices, may have an alliance neither dark, nor perfidious, the bond of nature, not of diplomacy, with the great commonwealth of our race. To repress her rising and expanding greatness, the aim of a shallow and malignant party, is not in our power; it is in our power to share it, if we will only cultivate the affection which we have labored, but not yet with complete success, to kindle in the hearts of our kinsmen. A fatal malady paralyzed the reconciling hand of Chatham. But what Chatham left undone true statesmen even now may do. The confederation of the Anglo-Saxon races is an object hard of achievement, no doubt, and there are some interests and passions among us which stand very much in its way; but, nevertheless, it is no dream. I am, &c., GOLDWIN SMITH.

ed. The Courts, both State and Federal, are in full, complete, and successful operation, and through them every person, regardless of race or color, is entitled to and can be heard. The protection granted to the white citizen is already conferred by law upon the Freedmen. Strong and stringent guards, by way of penalties and punishments, are thrown around his person and property, and it is believed that ample protection will be afforded him by due process of law, without resort to the dangerous expedient of military tribunals. Now that the war has been brought to a close, the necessity no longer existing for such tribunals as had their origin in the war, grave objections to their continuance must present themselves to the minds of all reflecting and dispassionate. Independently of the danger in representative Republics of conferring upon the military in time of peace extraordinary powers, so carefully guarded against by the patriots and statesmen of the earlier days of the Republic, so frequently the ruin of governments founded upon the same free principles, and subversive of the rights and liberties of the citizen, the question of practical economy earnestly commends itself to the consideration of the law-making power. With an immense debt already burdening the energies of the industrial and laboring classes, a due regard for their interests, so inseparably connected with the welfare of the country, should prompt us to rigid economy and retrenchment, and influence us to abstain from all legislation that would unnecessarily increase the public indebtedness. Tested by this rule of sound political wisdom, I can see no reason for the establishment of the military jurisdiction conferred upon the officials of the Bureau by the fourth section of the bill. By the laws of the United States and of the different States competent courts, Federal and State, have been established, and are now in full practical operation. By means of these civil tribunals ample redress is afforded for all private wrongs, whether to the person or the property of the citizen, without denial or unnecessary delay. They are open to all without regard to color or race. I feel well assured that it will be better to trust the rights, privileges, and immunities of the citizens to tribunals thus established and presided over by competent and impartial judges, bound by fixed rules of law and evidence, and when the right of trial by jury is guaranteed and secured, than to the caprice or judgment of an officer of the Bureau, who it is possible may be entirely ignorant of the principles that underlie the just administration of the law. There is danger, too, that conflict of jurisdiction will frequently arise between the civil courts and these military tribunals, each having concurrent jurisdiction over the person and cause of action; the one jurisdiction administered and controlled by civil law, the other by military. How is the conflict to be settled, and who is to determine between the two tribunals, when it arises? In my opinion it is wise to guard against such conflict by leaving to the courts and juries the protection of all civil rights and the redress of all civil grievances. The fact cannot be denied that since the actual cessation of hostilities many acts of violence, such, perhaps, as had never been witnessed in their previous history, have occurred in the States involved in the recent Rebellion. I believe, however, that public sentiment will sustain me in the assertion that such deeds of wrong are not confined to any particular State or section, but are manifested over the entire country, demonstrating that the cause that produced them does not depend upon any particular locality, but is the result of the agitation and derangement incident to a long and bloody war. While the prevalence of such disorders must be greatly deplored, their occasional and temporary recurrence would seem to furnish no necessity for the extension of the Bureau beyond the period fixed in the original act. Besides the objections I have thus briefly stated, I may urge upon your consideration the additional reason that recent developments in regard to the practical operations of the Bureau in many of the States show that in numerous instances it is used by its agents as a means of promoting their individual advantage, and that the Freedmen are employed for the advancement of the personal ends of the officers instead of their own improvement and welfare; thus confirming the fears originally entertained by many that the continuation of such a Bureau for any immediate length of time would inevitably result in fraud, corruption, and oppression. It is proper to state that in cases of this character investigations have been promptly ordered, and the offender punished whenever his guilt has been satisfactorily established.

As another reason against the necessity of the legislation contemplated by this measure, reference may be had to the Civil Rights Bill, now a law of the land, and which will be faithfully executed so long as it shall remain unreppealed, and not be declared unconstitutional by Courts of competent jurisdiction. By that act it is enacted, "That all persons born in the United States, and not subject to any foreign Power, excluding Indians not taxed, are hereby declared to be citizens of the United States; and such citizens of every race and color, without any regard to any previous condition of slavery or involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime, whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall have the same right in every State and Territory in the United States, to make and enforce contracts, to sue, be parties and give evidence, to inherit, purchase, lease, sell, hold, and convey real and personal property, and to full and equal benefit of all laws and proceedings for the security of person and property as is enjoyed by the white citizens, and shall be subject to like punishments, pains, and penalties, and none other, any law, statute, ordinance, regulation, or custom to the contrary notwithstanding." By

the provisions of the act full protection is afforded through the District Courts of the United States to all persons injured, and whose privileges as thus declared are in any way impaired, and very heavy penalties are denounced against the person who willfully violates the law. I need not state that that law did not receive my approval, yet its remedies are far more preferable than those proposed in the present bill, the one being civil and the other military.

By the sixth section of the bill, herewith returned, certain proceedings by which the lands in the Parishes of St. Helena and St. Luke, South Carolina, were sold and bid in, and afterward disposed of by the Tax Commissioners, are confirmed and ratified. By the 7th, 8th, 9th, 10th, and 11th sections provisions are made by law for the disposal of the lands thus acquired to a particular class of citizens.

While the granting of titles is deemed very important and desirable, the discrimination made in the bill seems objectionable, as does also the attempt to confer upon the Commissioners judicial powers by which citizens of the United States are to be deprived of their property in a mode contrary to that provision of the Constitution which declares that no person shall be deprived of life, liberty, or property without due process of law. As a general principle such legislation is unsafe, unwise, partial, and unconstitutional. It may deprive persons of property who are equally deserving objects of the nation's bounty as those whom by this legislation Congress seeks to benefit. The title to the land thus to be proportioned out to a favored class of citizens must depend upon the regularity of the tax sales under the law as it existed at the time of the sale, and no subsequent legislation can give validity to the rights thus acquired as against the original claimant. The attention of Congress is therefore invited to a more mature consideration of the measures proposed in these sections of the bill.

In conclusion I again urge upon Congress the danger of class legislation, so well calculated to keep the public mind in a state of uncertain expectation, dispute, and restlessness, and to encourage interested hopes and fears that the National Government will continue to furnish to classes of citizens in the several States means for support and maintenance regardless as to whether they pursue a life of indolence or of labor, and regardless also of the constitutional limitations of the national authority in times of peace and tranquility.

The bill is herewith returned to the House of Representatives, in which it originated, for its final action. ANDREW JOHNSON, WASHINGTON, D. C., July 16, 1866.

THE ALABAMA CLAIMS.

To the Editor London Daily News.

Sir,—I am afraid I shall seem to be forever recurring to a worn-out and distasteful theme; but the change of feeling toward America which the conduct of the American Government in the matter of Fenianism has produced encourages me once more to mention in your columns the case of the Alabama. It is late, no doubt, but I trust not too late to pluck out of the bosom of the American nation this thorn, which will otherwise, I fear, long rankle there, and render impossible a cordial union between the two great communities of our race.

In his dispatch on the subject of the ravages committed by the Shenandoah, Mr. Seward, under the influence of a not un pardonable irritation, allowed himself to use language which could not be defended, and which lowered his own position. But, with this single exception, the American Government has done nothing to render difficult to