Bancuster Intelligencer.

WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 21, 1866.

"The printing presses shall be free to every person who undertakes to examine the proceedings of the legislature, or any branch of government; and no law shall ever be made to restrain the right thereof. The free communication of thought and opinions is one of the invaluable rights of men; and every citizen may freely speak, write and print on any subject; being responsible for the abuse of that liberty. In prosecutions for the publication of papers investigating the official conduct of officers, or men in public capacities, or where the matter published is proper for public information, the truth thereof may be given in evience."

To the Democracy of the City and County of Lancaster.

In pursuance of authority given the un dersigned at a meeting of the County Committee, held on Monday the 29th inst., you are requested to assemble in the several wards of the city, and boroughs, and in the townships of the county, on Saturday, the 24th day of February, 1866, to elect not les than three nor more than five delegates, to represent such district in a general County Convention to be held on Wednesday, the 28th day of February, at 11 o'clock A. M. at Fulton Hall, in the city of Lancaster, for the purpose of electing six delegates to represent the Democracy of the County of caster in the coming State Conventio to be held at Harrisburg on Monday the

5th day of March next. By the usage of the party the several Dis tricts will each nominate one person to serve as a member of the County Committee for the ensuing political year, and also nomi nate ward, borough and township committees, being particular to designate their names in their respective credentials to the ensuing County Convention.

A. J. STEINMAN, Chairman. H. T. SHULTZ. Secretary. The Veto Message.

The message of President Johnson vetoing the Freedmen's Bureau Bill which we publish to-day, will be read with interest by all. We believed from the moment of its passage that the President would promptly veto it. He has done so, giving at the same time his reasons for so doing, in a message which will be approved and endorsed by every right-thinking man in the nation. Th radicals, when they passed the bill, thought they had set a trap for Andrew Johnson from which he could not escape. We can imagine their intense mortification when they find that he has cut their cuningly-devised net into fragments with the trenchant sword of political truth. He has completely demolished the whole structure which they have been endeavoring to build up. His veto message sweeps away their crude theories like chaff driven before the wind. The radical platform is torn in pieces, and such men a Stevens and Summer are left without

a single plank to stand upon. As the masses of the people, both North and South, read the calm and statesman**=**ke message of Andrew Johnson, a thrill of joy will animate every heart; and a glad shout will go up all over the land. The President's wise words will be like oil poured on troubled waters. The people of the different sections, as they read them, will feel a thrill of the old emotion of pride and pleasure, which moved every American heart in the days when we all gloried in being brethren-children of a common country. This message will do more to unite the dissevered States, and to bring about harmony of feeling, and unity of action, than anything which has yet transpired.

While the message is full of wisdom, it is firm as adamant. It shows that the chief ruler of this nation is not only a far-seeing statesman, but a man of iron will. The radicals are at the end of the The fiat which must speedily consign them to merited oblivion has gone forth. Their policy cannot prevail while Andrew Johnson lives. He has announced another and entirely different course of action as the one to be pursued. The people are with him; werwhelmingly with him; with him in the North and in the South; and with his assistance they will speedily drive from power the miserable set of fanatics, who are doing their best to disgrace the nation and to degrade their

own race.

The Democracy Jubilant. The glorious triumph of the Democ racy at the municipal election in this city, on the 6th inst., has infused new life into our friends everywhere throughout the State, and our exchanges come to hand jubilant over the result. It was a great fight and a still greater victory, and, being the first gun for 1866, is looked upon as foreshadowing a still more extended and significant achievement in October next. The political sky is beginning to brighten. The dark cloud of radical Abolitionism, which for more than four years has rested like a funeral pall over the horizon is being lifted up, and the election in this city—the home of Thaddeus Stevens-is the first gleam of a bright and brilliant day for our beloved country. Well may the Democracy of old Lancaster be proud of their victory, for it is one whose influence is felt in every nook and corner of the Commonwealth. All honor, therefore, to the indomitable and true hearted men, who so gallantly met the enemies of the Constitution and Union on Tuesday week, and gave them a Waterloo defeat. The negro-suffrageites put their best foot foremost, selected by odds the most popular man they had in their party as their standard bearer, spent money like water, and resorted to every foul means to accomplish their purpose and get an endorsement for Mr. Stevens at his own home; but it all would not do. They were routed "horse, foot and dragoons," and their party has gone to the dogs. Sic transit gloria mundi. The negropholists, like the know-nothings, went up like a rocket and have com-

down like a stick.

Hiester Clymer's Speech. We publish to-day the great speech of Hon. Hiester Clymer, recently delivered in our State Senate during the discourse of the question of negro suffrage. Its length necessarily excludes much other matter from our columns.— We are sure. however, that all our readers will be glad to hear what such a man as Mr. Clymer has to say on one of the most engrossing questions of the day. His speech is one of the most able and exhaustive arguments we have ever read. We commend the speech to our readers as worthy of a careful perusal.

Important Case. The Supreme Court hasheard the open ing of a very important case—a test one -involving very closely the relations of States to the general government on matters of revenue. It appears that in Massachusetts the State laws prohibit the sale of liquor, and of course refuse a license therefor. Licenses are obtained. however, under the United States Internal Revenue law, and parties proceed to sell under them. Several hundred persons have therefore been arrested and fined, and in some cases imprisoned by the State authorities. The test case does not come up on an appeal, but reaches the Supreme Court under an old law passed twenty-five years ago, to meet a case in which South Carolina was interested. Caleb Cushing appeared for the plaintiff and Attorney-General Reed for his own State.

IT is reported that some of the diplomatic corps at Washington are angry at the strictures made in Mr. Bancroft's oration upon the course of their governments during the war, and that the Austrian Minister has gone so far as to complain to the Secretary of State.

Forewarned is Forearmed. Not less than thirty amendments to

he Constitution of the United States have been offered since the present Conress has been in session. Even radical Republican newspapers are becoming alarmed at the folly of their friends. One of them says that the amendments already proposed, if estimated together, would of themselves be about twice the size of the original instrument. That we have no doubt is a very moderate calculation. And every one of these amendments has some especial or remote relation to the negro. There is not one of the whole batch, which has not been gotten up for the benefit of Sambo, in some one shape or another. If one half of them should be adopted, the Constitution of the United States would be little else than a string of enactments, discriminating against the white man and in favor of the negro. We have confidence in the people, and are sure that every one of these amendments will be carefully scrutinized and that they will be repudiated.

The people of Pennsylvania must not forget that in the election for members of the Legislature next fall, this whole question will come up for decision.-The Senate of this State has shown it self to be ready to endorse the doctrine of negro suffrage. Let them equivocate as they may, they cannot get rid of the record they have already made. Enough of the present members will hold over to prevent a change in that body. The white men of the State have one chance left, and only one. They must see to it that the House is purged of negro suffrageites. If the radicals be not signaltheir majority in that branch of the Legislature, we may expect to see every amendment adopted by Congress endorsed by our Legislature. Forewarned is forearmed.

The White House Robbery. We have heard it stated more than once that the Presidential Mansion was robbed before the family of Mr. Lincoln left it, but the matter has always been glossed over, so that the public got very little information about it. The fact came out plainly in Congress yesterday, when the House took up the miscellaneous appropriation bill. The Clerk having read the clause appropriating forty-six thousand dollars to enable the Commissioner of Public Buildings to furnish and repair the President's House-

Mr. Stevens explained that heretofore, before the incoming of the new administra-tion, a certain sum was appropriated for a similar purpose. An item was inserted in the miscellaneous bill, which all know failthe miscellaneous oill, which all know fail-ed to become a law owing to an amendment made to the bill on the motion of Mr. Davis, of Maryland. During the period between Mr. Lincoln's death and the leaving of the White House by Mrs. Lincoln, who was de-tained there by sickness, the building was left a pray to comers, and when President Johnson took possession there was searcely on took possession there was scarcely anything left. Spoons, linen, bedding and other articles were taken away, the hous having been open to everybody. The stew ard was responsible, but had failed in hi ard was responsible, but had failed in his duty. The President's family had tried to get along with great economy. Some fifteen thousand dollars of the former appropriations of thirty thousand dollars was anticipated. The sum now proposed was necessary for the purpose indicated.

Forty-six thousand dollars of the people's money gone to supply "spoons, linen, bedding and other articles," carried off from the Executive Mansion during its occupancy by Mr. Lincoln's family! Let the people remember that the White House never was robbed of its spoons &c. till it fell into the occupancy and control of the radicals and let them now firmly resolve that it shall never again be occupied by a member of the Setvens and Sumner Spoonion party.

An Alarming Proposal.

Among other radical schemes that-

ought to alarm all citizens of the United States who set any value upon the liberties they enjoy, is the proposal to put the whole telegraph system of the country in the hands of the General Government. Senator Brown, of Missouri; the embodiment of the "Red Republicanism" with which the European disturbances of 1848 have streaked our politics, is said to be hard at work on a speech he intends to deliver in favor of the bill authorizing the Government to purchase and establish telegraph lines, to be managed as a part of the postal system. If the radical majority in Congress could win the President over to their way of thinking, they would pass this bill without hesitation. They would do so not because the public are not well enough served by the various companies that have dotted the landscape of America with telegraph poles, but because the control of the telegraph would aid the dominant party in the maintenance of its power. The experiment was made under the beneficent administration of the saintly Lincoln, whose paternal government kept watch and ward over the private affairs of the people, even to the extent of seizing their telegrams and opening their letters. It was found to work well-for the men who committed the outrage. It gave them an immense advantage over their political opponents, and contributed in a large degree to promote the re-election of Mr. Lincoln and to exend the power of the radicals in Congress. The radicals would gladly put the control of the telegraph in the hands of the President if they were sure of his allegiance to their party; but just there a strong doubt comes in, which may save the country from this new and alarming move in the direction of governmental espionage and influence

over private affairs. Asserting their Right to Equality.

We have advanced greatly of late. Our regard for the coming man of America is shown by setting apart a gallery in the Senate for the use of such negroes as are enabled by the bounty of the Freedmen's Bureau to loaf about Washington in idleness. There the common colored trash congregate: but that is not in accordance with the ideas of Fred. Douglass and his associates, the members of the negro delegation, which composes what Horace Greeley calls "the outside Congress!" These distinguished "American citizens of African descent" refuse to be separated from their white brethren. They not only demand equality, but insist upon enjoving it.

On last Saturday Fred, Douglass and George T. Dowling, members of the negro branch of the present rump Congress, appeared in the white people's gallery of the Senate. The doorkeeper politely requested them to leave. They would'nt do it. Not they. They were there for the purpose of asserting their right to equality, and they made good their point. The doorkeeper did not insist upon removing them, because h knew the radicals would remove him i he did. As it is rumor says Sumne will move to have him severely repri manded for insulting these distinguished negroes. So we go, step by step toward negro equality.

THE Connecticut Republicans do no enter the canvass in that State in a very amiable frame of mind. At a Hartford meeting to elect delegates to the State Convention, resolutions indorsing the President were voted down, and Postmaster CLEVELAND was hissed for ad vocating them. The General HAWLEY Radical) delegates were chosen. From the way things look it would seem that the Republicans in that State are getting things in shape to be very handsomely whipped next April.

The Contest in Our Councils. As is natural the contest now going on between the Select and Common Councils of this city excites considerable

comment among our people. comment among our people.

It is alleged by the Bepublicans that there was a miscount of the vote for Common Councilmen in the North West Ward. This allegation is based entirely upon an apparent discrepancy. in the returns. Two of the election officers, the Judge and one of the Inspectors, and at least one of the clerks positively deny that any mistake occurred. The other Inspector and one clerk were satisfied that the count was fairly made. They cannot say that any mistake did They saw nothing that would induce them to think so, at the time the count was made; and they base any opinion they may now entertain solely upon the apparent discrepency that was afterwards discoved to exist in the figures. This was not noticed until the next day, when their attention was called to it by some suspicious outsider.

On the morning after the election some sharp Republicans, thinking they had figured out a mistake, demanded that the ballot-box of the North West Ward be delivered up and a recount made of the votes. The Alderman, into whose custody it had been given by the officers of the election, very properly refused to comply with their absurd demand. He knew, as every man who has the least knowledge of law ought to know, that he had no right to give up a sealed ballot-box to any parties except to those properly authorized to receive it in case of a contested election.

On Friday morning next, after the day ly rebuked by a great curtailment of of election, the members elect of Common Council met together in pursuance of the following clause in the city Char-

SEC. 3. And be it further enacted. That the said select and common councilmen elect shall meet at such place in the said city as the said councils, each for its own body, may after the first election agree upon; and afterwards at such place as by any ordinance duly passed may be tixed for that purpose; between the hours of ten and twelve of the clock in the forenoon, on the Friday next following each and averagles. riday next following each and every tion of select and common councilmen, to be held in pursuance of this act, and shall then and there-receive the returns aforesaid, and shall forthwith provident then and there-receive the returns aforesaid, and shall forthwith proceed to examine the same and to judge and determine thereon; and for that purpose, and to the end and intent that this act or the provisions herein contained may not be ineffectual, the said select or common councilmen elect, as the case may be, who shall be elected and recase may be, who shall be elected and returned as aforesaid, or a mainty of them case may be, who shall be elected and re-turned as aforesaid, or a majority of them, who shall be a quorum for all business, shall be judges of their own elections, and shall have full power and authority to ap-prove thereof, or set aside the same, or after-wards to vacate the seat of any member, for misbehaviour, neglect of duty, or other misdemeanor.*

When Common Council assembled, n pursuance of the above clause of the city charter, four Democrats and one Republican presented themselves with certificates of election properly signed by the proper officers in the North West Ward. The returns were brought in from the Prothonotary's office and duly examined. There being no discrepancy then discovered, and no one either contesting their seats or filing a single objection, the members certified to be elected in the North West Ward were each sworn into office. That was the proper time for any one who had an idea of contesting the seat of another to have put in his petition or protest. Nothing of the kind was done, and, as we have already said, not the slightest objection was made to the swearing in of the four Democratic members certified to be elected from the North West Ward.

Section 1st of an ordinance passed February 15th, 1849, provides that " the Select and Common Councils shall, on the second Tuesday of February in each year, and whenever any vacancy shall occur, elect in joint meeting, a City Treasurer, Solicitor," and other officers named.

In compliance with the above ordinance the two branches of Council met each in its own chamber on last Tuesday. Prior to the taking of any steps toward going into joint meeting by either body, the Select Council clearly and distinctly recognized the Common Council as fully and properly organized by joining with that body in the passage of a joint resolution fixing the rate of taxation for the coming year, and other business. When a Committee from the Common Council informed the Select Council that they were ready to go into joint meeting for the purpose of electing city officers for the coming year, that body passed the following resolution and sent it to the Common Council:

Resolved, By the Select Council of the Resolved, By the Select Council of the flip of Lancaster, that in consequence of an illeged miscount of the vote for Common Council in the North West Ward, that the Convention for the election of city officers deferred until Wednesday, the 14th inst., t 2 o'clock P. M., to give the Common Council an opportunity in the meantime to layer recount of such that it is the common to the country of such that is the control of layer recount of such that is the control of layer recount of such that is the control of layer recount of such that is the control of layer recount of such that is the control of layer recount of such that is the control of layer recount of such that is the control of layer recount of such that is the control of layer recount of such that is the control of layer recount of such that the layer ave a recount of such votes, if they decid

o have it done. The Common Council, a co-ordinate branch of the city government, and vested with equal powers, had a right to feel themselves outraged and insulted at the reception of such a resolution. By the Charter of the city each branch of the City Council is made the sole and absolute judge of the qualifications and elections of its own members. What right, then, have the Select Council to attempt a review of the proceedings of the Common Council on that subject? Was not their action completely revolutionary? Up to the time when the above resolution was sent to the Common Council Chamber not the first step toward contesting the seat of any one of the sitting members of that body had been taken. Those holding seats were not only in undisturbed possession of them, but they had not even been notified that a contest would be made. Or course under such circumstances the only proper thing for the Common Council to do was to refuse to concur in the insulting resolution of the dictating body. This they did; whereupon the Select Council adjourned without going nto joint meeting for the purpose of

electing city officers. On Thursday another meeting was had, but the Select Council still persisted in contumaciously refusing to go into joint neeting. Thereupon the Democratic members went over into the chamber of Common Council and a number of ballots were had for city officers, but without electing any one. It is to be hoped the members of Select Council will not attempt to persist in their foolish and revolutionary course. They ought to know that the Common Council have no right to go into an irregular and unauthorized count of the ballot box of the North West Ward. They have no legal power to do so. It can only be done by committee of that body, duly appointed to examine into the matter, when a regular case of contested election shall have been made up between the parties

now sitting and those who claim their Up to this period the action of the Democratic members has been right and proper, that of their opponents wrong and revolutionary. The Democratic and revolutionary. The Democratic members have complied with every requirement of the law. By the law they will stand or fall. Those holding seats in the Common Council from the North West Ward will not give them up until a proper legal contest shall decide the case against them. They are confident a proper legal contest shall decide the cuse against them. They are confident that they were fairly elected. The returns show that two of them received more than one half of all the votes polled, and that the others were only some two or three votes behind. No objec-tions were made to their taking their two or three votes benind. No objections were made to their taking their seats and they will only give them up when by a proper contest it shall be decided their opponents are entitled to them. They set nothing but what

Veto of the Freedmen's Bureau Bill.

I have existence of the United States:

I have existence with care the bill which has been passed by the two Houses of Congress, to amend an act entitled an act to establish a bureau for the relief of freedmen and refugees, and for other purposes. Haveing, with much regret, come to the conclusion that it would not be consistent with the public welfare to give my approval to the measure, I return the bill to the Senate with my objections to its becoming a law. I might call to mind in advance of these objections that there is no immediate necessity for the ate of the United States that there is no inquediate necessity for the proposed measure. The act to establish a bureau of the proposed measure. gees, which was approved in the month of March-last, thas not yet expired. It was thought stringent and extreme enough for the purpose in view in time of war. Before it ceases to have effect, further experience may assist to guide us to a wise conclusion as to the policy to be advented in time of may assist to guide us to a wise conclusion as to the policy to be adopted in time of peace. I share with Congress the strongest desire to secure to the freedmen the full enjoyment of their freedom and their prosperity, and their entire independence and equality in making contracts for their labor; but the bill before me contains provisions which, in my opinion, are not warranted by the Constitution and are not well suited to accomplish the end in view. The bill proposes to estabaish, by authority of Congress, miliary jurisdiction overall parts of the United States containing refugees and freedmen. tary jurisdiction overall parts of the United States containing refugees and freedmen.— It would, by its very nature, apply with the most force to those parts of the United States in which the freedmen most abound—and it expressly extends the existing temporary jurisdiction of the Freedmen's Bureau, with greatly enlarged powers, over those States in which the ordinary course of judicial proceedings has been interrupted by the rebellion. The source from which this military jurisdiction is to enanate is none other than the President of the United one other than the President of the Unite States, acting through the War Department and the Commissioner of the Freedmen's Bureau. The agents to carry out this military jurisdiction are to be selected either from the army or from civil life; the country is to be divided into districts and sub-districts, and the number of earliest country is to be divided into districts and sub-districts, and the number of salaried agents to be employed may be equal to the number of counties or parishes in all the United States where freedmen or refugees are to be found. The subjects over which this military jurisdiction is to extend in every part of the United States, includes protection to all employees, agents and officers of this bureau in the exercise of the duties imposed upon them by the bill in the eleven States. It is further to extend over all cases affecting freedmen and refugees discriminated against by local laws, cus-

all cases affecting freedmen and refugees discriminated against by local laws, custom, or prejudice. In those eleven States the bill subjects any white person who may be charged with depriving a freedman of any civil rights or immunities belonging to white persons, to imprisonment or fine, or both, without, however, defining the civil rights and immunities which are thus to be secured to the freedman by military law. This military jurisdiction also extends to all questions that may arise respecting conall questions that may arise respecting con racts. The agent who is thus to exercise all questions that may arise respecting con-tracts. The agent who is thus to exercise the office of a judge may be a stranger, en-tirely ignorant of the laws of the place, and exposed to the errors of judgment to which all men are liable. The exercise of power, over which there is no legal supervision, by so vasta number of agents as is contemplated by this bill, must, by the very nature of man, be attended by acts of caprice, injustice

by this bill, must, by the very nature of man, be attended by acts of caprice, injustice and passion.

The trials having their origin under this bill, are to take place without the intervention of a jury and without any fixed rules of law or evidence. The rules on which offenses are to be heard and determined by the numerous agents are such rules and regulations as the President through the War Department shall prescribe.

No previous presentment is required, nor No previous presentment is required, nor ny indictment charging the commission any indictment charging the commission of a crime against the laws, but the trial must proceed on charges and specifications. The punishment will be, not what the law declares, but such as a court-martial may think proper, and from these arbitrary tribunals there lies no appeal, no writ of error, to any of the courts in which the Constitution of the United States vests exclusively the judicial power of the country. While judicial power of the country. While territory and the classes of actions and fenses that are made subject to this me are are so extensive, the bill itself, should it become a law, will have no limitation in

nt become a law, will have no limitation in point of time, but will form part of the permanent legislation of the country.

I cannot conceive a system of military jurisdiction of this kind with the words of the Constitution which declare that "no person shall be held to answer for a capital or otherwise infamous crime unless on a presentment or indictment of a grand or a presentment or indictment or indictment or indictment or indict or ind or otherwise infamous crime unless on a presentment or indictment of a grand jury, excepting cases arising in the land, naval forces, or in the militia, when in service in time of war or public danger," and that "in all criminal proceedings the accused shall enjoy the right to speedy and public trial by an impartial jury of the State or district wherein the crime shall have been committed."

The safeguards which the experience and

risdom of ages taught our fathers to estab-ish as securities for the protection of the lish as securities for the protection of the innocent, the punishment of the guilty, and the equal administration of justice, are to be set aside, and for the sake of a more vigorous interposition in behalf of justice, we are to take the risk of the many acts of injustice that would necessarily follow from an almost countless number of agents established in every parish or county in nearly a third of the States of the Union, over whose decisions there is to be no supervision or control by the Federal courts.

The power that would be thus placed in the hands of the President is such as in time of peace certainly ought never to been trusted of peace certainly ought never to beentrusted to any one man. If it be asked whether the creation of such a tribunal in a State wa creation of such a tribunal in a State was warranted as a measure of war, the question immediately presents itself whether we are still engaged in war. Let us not unnecessarily disturb the commerce and credit and industry of the country, by declaring to the American people and to the world that the United States are still in a condition of civil war. At present there is no part of our ar. At present there is no part of our buntry in which the authority of the United lates is disputed. Offenses that may be ommitted by individuals should not work forleiture of the rights of whole commun ties. The community has returned, or is returning, to a state of peace and industry. The rebellion is at an end. The measure, therefore, seemsto be as inconsistent with the actual condition of the country as it is at variance with the Constitution of the United States.

actual condition of the country as it is at variance with the Constitution of the United States.

If passing from general considerations, we examine the bill in detail, it is open to weighty objections. In time of war it was eminently proper that we should provide for those who were passing suddenly from a condition of bondage to a state of freedom bit this bill proposes to make the Freedomen's Bureau, established by the act of 1865, as one of many great and extraordinary military measures to suppress a formidable rebellion a permaneht branch of the public administration, with its powers greatly enlarged.

I have no reason to suppose, and I do not understand it to be alleged, that the act of March, 1865, has proved deficient for the purpose for which it was passed, although at that time, and for a considerable period thereafter, the Government of the United States remained unacknowledged in most of the States whose inhabitants had been involved in the rebellion. The institution of slavery, for the military destruction of which the Freedmen's Bureau was called into existence as an auxiliary, has been already effectually and inally aborgated throughout istence as an auxiliary, has been already effectually and finally abrogated throughout the whole country by an amendment of the Constitution of the United States, and practically its eradication has received the assent and concurrence of most of those States in which it at any time had an existence. I am not, therefore, able to discern in the condition of the country anything to justify an apprehension that the powers and agencies of the Freedmen's Bureau, which were effective for the protection of freedmen and refugees during the actual continuance of hostilities, will now, in a time of peace, and after the abolition of slavery, prove inadequate to the same proper ends. If I am correct in these views, there can be no necessity for the enlargement of the powers of the bureau for which provision is made in the bill. The third section of the bill authorizes a general and unlimited grant of support to the destitute and suffering refugees and freedmen, their wives and children. Succeeding sections make provisions for the rent or purchase of landed estates for freedmen, and for the erection for their benefit of suitable buildings for asylums and schools, the expenses to be defrayed from the Treasury of the whole people.—The Congress of the United States has never heretofore thought itself empowered to establish any laws beyond the limits of the District of Columbia except for the benefit of our disabled soldiers and sailors. It has never founded schools for any class of our own people, not even for the stence as an auxiliary, has been already flectually and finally abrogated throughou

thas never founded soldiers and sailors. It has never founded schools for any class of our own people, not even for the orphans of those who have fallen in the defense of the Union, but has left the care of their education to th much more competent and efficient control of the States, of communities, of private associations and of individuals. It has never deemed itself authorized to expend the public money for the rent or purchase of houses for the thousands, not to say millions, of the white race, who are honestmillions, of the white race, who are honest ly toiling from day to day for their subsis tence. A system for the support of indigen persons in the United States was never persons in the United States was never contemplated by the authors of the Constitution. Nor can any good reason be advanced, why, as a permanent establishment, it should be founded for one class or color of people more than for another, Pending the war many refugees and freedmen received support from the government but received support from the government, but it was never intended that they should henceforth be fed, clothed, educated and henceforth be fed, clothed, educated and sheltered by the United States, The dea on which the slaves were assisted to freedom was that on becoming free they would be a self-sustaining population, and any legislation that shall imply that they are not expected to attain a self-sustaining condition, must have a tendency injurious alike to their character and their prosperity. The appointment of an agent for every county and parish will create an immense patronage, and the expense of the numerous officers. cided their opponents are entitled to them. They ask nothing but what is right, and will submit to nothing that is wrong,

appropriations asked by the Freedmen's Bureau as now established for the year 1860

appropriations asked by the Freedmen's Bureau as now established for the year 1865 and 1870 a condition of our fiscal affairs is encouraging, but in order to sustain the present measure of public confidence, it is necessary that we practice not merely constomary economy, but, as far as possible, severe remember. In addition to the objections already stated, the fifth section of the bill proposes to take away land from its former owners without

owners without any legal proceedings being first had, contrary to that provision of the Constitution which declares that no perthe Constitution which declares that no persons shall be deprived of life, liberty, or property without due process of law. It does not appear that a part of the land to which this section refers may not be owned by minors or persons of unsound mind, or by those who have been faithful to all their obligations as citizens of the United States.—
If any portion of the land is held by such persons, it is not competent for any without If any portion of the land is held by such persons, it is not competent for any authority to deprive them of it. If on the other hand it be found that the property is liable to confiscation even then it cannot be appropriated to public purposes, until, by due process of law, it shall have been declared forfeited to the government.

There is still further objection to the bill, on grounds seriously affecting the class of persons to whom it is designed to bring relief. It will tend to steep the mind of the freedman in a state of uncertain expectation and restlessness, while to those among whom

and restlessness, while to those among whom he lives it will be a source of constant and

he lives it will be a source of constant and vague apprehension.
Undoubtedly the freedman should be protected, but he should be protected by the civil authorities, and especially by the exercise of all the constitutional powers of the courts of the United States and of the States. His condition is not so exposed as may at first be finagined. He is in a portion of the country where his labor cannot well be first be imagined. He is in a portion of the country where his labor cannot well be spared. Competition for his services from planters, from those who are constructing or repairing railroads, and from capitalists in his vicinage or from other States, will enable him to command almost his own terms. He also possesses a perfect right to change his place of abode, and if, therefore, he does not find in one community or State a node his place of abode, and if, therefore, he does not find in one community or State a mode of life suitable to his desires, or proper re-muneration for his labor, he can move to another, where that labor is more esteemed

and better rewarded. In truth, however, such State, induced by In truth, however, such State, induced by its own wants and interests, will do what is necessary and proper to retain within its borders all the labor that is needed for the development of its resources. The haws that regulate supply and demand will maintain their force, and the wages of the laborer will be regulated thereby. There is no danger that the exceedingly great demand for nat the exceedingly great demand for will not operate in favor of the laborer.

habor will not operate in favor of the laborer, neither is sufficient consideration given to the avidity of the freedmen to protect and take care of themselves.

It is no more than justice to them to believe, that as they have received their freedom with moderation and forbearance, so they will distinguish themselves for their industry and thrift, and soon show to the world that in a condition of freedom they are self-sustaining, capable of selecting their are self-sustaining, capable of selecting their are self-sustaining, capable of selecting their own enjoyment and their own places of abode, of insisting for themselves on a pro-per remuneration, and of establishing and maintaining their own asylums and schools. It is earnestly hoped that instead of wasting away, they will, by their own efforts, establish for themselves a condition of respectability body. spectability and prosperity. It is certain that they can attain to that condition only through their own merits and actions.

In this connection the query presents itself, whether the system proposed by the bill will not, when put into complete operation, practically transfer the entire care, support and control of four millions of support and control of four millions of emancipated slaves to agents, overseers or task masters, who, appointed at Washington, are to be located in every county and parish throughout the United States containing freedmen and refugees? Such a system would inevitably tend to a concentration of power in the Executive, which would enable him, if so disposed, to control the action of this numerous class, and to use them for the attainment of his corn o use them for the attainment of his own political ends.

I cannot but add another very grave ob-ection to the bill. The Constitution imper-tively declares, in connection with taxaion, that each State shall have at least on representative, and fixes the rule for the number to which in future times each State shall be entitled; it also provides that the Senate of the United States shall be composed of two Senators from each State, and adds with peculiar force, that no State, without its consent, shall be deprived of its equal suffrage in the Senate. The original act was necessarily passed in the absence of the States chiefly to be affected, because their results were those results were the states.

of the States chiefly to be affected, because their people were then contumaciously engaged in the rebellion.

Now the case is changed, and some, at least, of the States are attending Congress by loyal representation soliciting the allowance of the constitutional right of representation. At the time, however, of the consideration and the passing of this bill, there was no Senator or Representative in Congress from the eleven States which are to be mainly affected by its provisions. The very fact that reports were and are made against the good disposition of the country is an additional reason why they need and should nal reason why they need and should itional reason why they need and should ave representation in Congress, to explai heir condition, reply to accusations, and assist by their local knowledge in perfecting assist by their local knowledge in perfecting measures immediately affecting themselves, while the liberty of deliberation would then befree and Congress would have full power to decide according to its judgment, there could be no objection urged that the States most interested had not been permitted to be heard. The principle is firmly fixed in the minds of the American people that there should be no taxation without representation. Great burdens have now to be borne by all the country, and we may best demand that they shall be borne without marmur when they are yoted by a majority mand that they shall be borne without marmur when they are voted by a majority of the representatives of all the people. I would not interfere with the unquestionable right of Congress to judge and act for itself of the elections, returns and qualifications of its own members, but that authority cannot be construed as including the right to shut out, in time of peace, any State from the representation to which it is entitled by the Constitution at present.

the representation to which it is entitled by the Constitution at present.

All the people of eleven States are excluded; those who were most faithful during the war not less than others. The State of Tennessee, for instance, whose authorities engaged in rebellion, was restored to all her constitutional relations to the Union by the patriotism and energy of her injured and betrayed people. Before the war was brought to a termination they had placed themselves in relation with the General Government; had established a State Government of their own, and as they were not

themselves in relation with the General Government; had established a State Government of their own, and as they were not included in the emancipation proclamation, they, by their own act, had amended their Constitution so as to abolish slavery within the limits of their own State.

I know no reason why the State of Tennessee, for example, should not fully enjoy all her constitutional relations to the United States. The President of the United States stands towards the country in a somewhat different attitude from that of any member of Congress chosen from a single district or State. The President is chosen by the people of all the States. Eleven States are not at this time represented in either branch of Congress, and it would seem to be his duty on all proper occasions, to present their just claims to Congress.

There always will be differences of opinion in the community, and individuals may be guilty of transgressions of the law; but these do not constitute valid objections against the right of a State to representation, and would in no wise interfere with the discretion of Congress with regard to the qualifications of members but I lodd it me days

and would in no wise interfere with the discretion of Congress with regard to the qualifications of members, but I hold it my duty to recommend to you in the interests of peace, and in the interest of the Union, the admission of every State to its share in public legislation when, however insubordinate, insurgent or rebellious its people may have been, it presents itself, not only in an attitude of loyalty and harmony, but in the persons of representatives whose loyalty cannot be questioned under any existing constitutional or legal test. constitutional or legal test.

It is plain that an indefinite or permanen

It is plain that an indefinite or permanent exclusion of any part of the country from representation must be attended by a spirit of disquiet and complaint. It is unwise and dangerous to pursue a course of measures which will unite a very large section of the country, however much the latter may preponderate. The course of emigration, the development of industry and business and natural causes will raise must the South natural causes will raise up at the South men as devoted to the Union as those of an men as devoted to the Union as those of any other part of the land. But if they are all excluded from Congress, if in a permanent statute they are declared not to be in full constitutional relations to the country, they may think they have cause to become a unit in feeling and sentiment against the government. Under the political education of American people the idea is interest. may think they have cause to become a unit in feeling and sentiment against the government. Under the political education of American people, the idea is inherent and ineradicable that the consent of the majority of the whole people is necessary to secure a willing acquiescence in legislation. The bill under consideration refers to certain of the States as though they had "been fully restored in all their constitutional relations to the United States." If they have not, let us at once act together to securethat desirable end at the earliest possible moment. It is hardly necessary for me to inform Congress that in my own judgment must of those States, so far at least as it is dependent on their own action, have already been fully restored, and are to be deemed as entitled to enjoy their constitutional rights as members of the Union.

Reasoning from the Constitution itself, and from the actual situation of the country, I feel not only entitled but bound to assume that with the Federal courts restored, and those of the several States in the full exercise of all classes of the people will, with the aid of the military, in case of resistance to the

law, be essentially protected against unconstitutional intringement and violation.

Should this expectation unhappily fail, which I do not anticipate, then the Executive is already fully armed with the powers conferred by the act of March, 1865, establishing the Freedmen's Bureau, and hereafter, as hereitofore, he can employ the land and naval forces of the country to suppress insurrection, or to overcome obstructions to the laws, in accordance with the Constitution.

ution. I return the bill to the Senate in the earn set hope that a measure involving questions and interests so important to the country will not become a law, unless upon deliberate consultation by the people it shall receive the sanction of an enlightened public hadranet. dgment. ANDREW JOHNSON Washington, D. C., Feb. 18, 1866.

How the Yeto Message was Received in

the Senate. A special despatch to the Philadel-phia Age gives the following account of the manner in which the message vetoing the Freedmen's Bureau Bill was received in the Senate. It says:

The President's message to the Senate to-day vetoing the Freedmen's Bureau Bill fell like a bombshell in the radical camp. As soon as it became known that it was in the Senate, crowds of members of the House of both parties hurried over to hear it read. Shortly after three o'clock it was called up and read from the Clerk's desk, and was listened to with profound attention. When it was concluded the white people in the galleries cheered loudly and the negroes ndulged in a torrent of hisses The Presiding officer (Foster) ordered the white gallery to be cleared, but the

larkies were not molested. The veto creates great excitement among the radicals—they are swearing over it bitterly. The conservatives here, of course are in fine spirits over the unistakable, blow at one of the favorite measures of the Black Republican party. They will now endeavor to pass it over the President's veto. The attempt is being made in the Senyle this often being made in the Senate this after As I write, the radicals in that

oody are engaged in a little game of filibustering. libustering.

It is currently reported that a special
Cabinet meeting on the subject of the
veto was held this morning, and that
four members of the Cabinet (believed to be Messrs. Stanton, Welles, Dennison and Harlan) were in favor of approving the bill as it passed both Houses of Congress. The President, however, was firm, and resolved to adhere to his

letermination to veto it. Hence the glorious message above referred to.

The fight between the White House and the Capitol promises to be very interesting. Thad. Stevens & Go. vs. Andrew Johnson-which will triumph? We need have no fear of the result, as we have a President who intends to administer the government according to the Constitution, and not after the fashion of the band of destructionists that now control Congress.

An Example that will be Followed. The Connecticut Republican State Convention, which assembled on Wed. nesday last, set an example that will no doubt be followed by their brethren of Pennsylvania on the 7th of March next. The ingenuity of Connecticut Yankees has long been celebrated. The wooden hams they used to peddle deceived the eyes of the sharpest housekeeper, while it took a regular epicure to detect the flavor of beechwood on their nutmegs, even after they had been

Their shrewdness has not forsaken them, nor have their hands forgotten the cunning which made Connecticut pedlers distinguished as the most unmitigated cheats in existence. They are as keen in the pursuit of office as they are unscrupulous in the tricks of trade. They never stick for the want of a lie, and are always ready to adopt any method of deception.

Of course they nominated a soldier.-According to all accounts, he is a model of his kind, a well built fellow, a man of huge proportion, put up after the style of Jack Falstaff, fat and well fed. All the fatigues and hard marching of the war failed to reduce his proportions.

Having the soldier candidate, the next ning needed was a juggling platform. Of course they got it up. That must be a very difficult piece of cheatery to which a set of Connecticut Yankees of the popular school of politics are not They were too sharp to starve like the donkey between two bundles of hay; indeed, they had no choice to make. On the one hand stood Thad. Stevens and his policy, on the other the President with his. They dared not prefer one while they repudiated the other, so they endorsed them both. Their endorsement of President Johnson is in

much; that of the radical majority in Congress is hearty, outspoken and sincere. The same double dealing game e tried in this State. We shall have a Republican platform which may mean almost anything. We suggest that they make short work of the matter by pass-

very general terms, and does not mean

ing the following resolution: Resolved, That we endorse Andrew Johnson and Thad. Stevens, (especially the latter); that we are in favor of the restoration ter); that we are in favor of the restoration policy of the former, and, its opposite, the reconstruction theory of the latter, (particularly the latter); that we are for negro suffrage, and against it; that we are proud of our Congressman who voted for it, and equally so of those members of our State Senate who were too weak in the back to do so; that (in short) we have no principles except seven, viz; the five loaves and the two fishes; and that to secure these we have concluded to run a newspaper general."

That single resolution will, we ven-

That single resolution will, we venure to predict, embrace the whole sum and substance of the platform adopted by the Republican State Convention of Pennsylvania. The Yankees of Connecticut have set the example, and the Pennsylvania radicals will as naturally follow, where New England rascality leads as a dog follows his master.

Forney says the Negroes Must Vote.

Col. John W. Forney was recently waited on and serenaded by an assemblage of Negroes. He responded in a speech from which we extract as follows: "The question is now whether, having been liberated here in the District of Columbia, and freed through all the Southern States—whether, having fought for your citizenship, you are to be permitted to remain in the and freed through all the Southern States—whether, having fought for your citizenship, you are to be permitted to remain in the lower grade which you occupied before the war began, save only that you are no longer to be kept, physically in servitude; and that is the great question now before the American people. When the Rebellion closed I was not of those who believed that the Union party of this country would make the civil enfranchisement of manumitted millions their policy. In other words, I did not beenfranchisement of manumitted millions their policy. In other words, I did not believe that we were strong enough to take ground in favor of what is popularly called universal suffrage. But I am now here to say that I was mistaken. I did not apprehend the full logic and duty of the case; and now, without turning back upon the past, I avow myself in favor of the trial of that great experiment which the statesman would be a coward to postpone, and the philanthropist unworthy of his name if he did not meet it half way; and here, in the District of Columbia, we may safely meet the issue."

During the campaign in this State last fall Forney denied most bitterly that his party was in favor of negro suffrage. A very few months have been sufficient o change his views. He knows the question cannot be shirked any longer, and so he comes out and meets it squarely. What will the coming Republican State Convention do? Will it try to dodge the issue? It may, but the effort will be utterly futile. The people of Pennsylvania cannot be fooled by such transparent trickery. IT is stated on reliable authority that

he radical Post-master at Lafayette,

Indiana, has been superseded against the earnest protest of Hon. G. S. Orth, Republican member of the House from that district. Mr. Orth is a follower of Stevens, and voted for the negrosuffrage and other monstrous bills, that have lately passed that body. Hence his recommendations are not regarded at the White House. An appeal will be made to the Senate by the friends of office to the Senate by the friends of officers who may displayed by the President, and that radical body will no doubt refuse to confirm their successors. But that's a small matter. If they can stand it, the President can, and the work of removal will go on notwithstanding their opposition. NEGRO SUFFRAGE.

SPEECH OF HON. HIESTER CLYMER, OF BERKS COUNTY. On Senator Landon's Resolution Approving the action of those Members of Congress from Pennsylvania who voted in fuvor of the District of Columbia Negro Sufrage Bill, and instructing the Pennsylvania U. & Senators to support the same in the U. N. Senate.

Mr. Clymer said: Mr. Speaker, were I at this hour to consult my own feelings, I should certainly not rise to address the Senate. For several days I have been suffering from a severe indisposition, and I do not know that I will be able to say what I have proposed for myself, with that clearness and that precision which I conceive the great importance of the question demands; and I should gladly remain silent did I not feel that a higher duty than is usually imposed upon a Senator falls to my lot. I feel, sir, that when one is charged to speak, by every man who has voted for him and whom he immediately represents, and by thousands of others who have hitherto opposed him, who say, "for the sake of right, for the sake of justice, for our sake, and for those who are to come after us, give utterance to our sentiments in the Senate of Pennsylvania."—I say, when called upon by such voices, coming up from every hill and valley of the Commonwealth, I could not refrain from speaking, however imperfectly the duty may be performed. In addition, sir, I am called upon by past memories in this State, by the past actions of the good and great men who laid her foundations upon certain immutable principles, and who guided her destinies since she was a weak upon certain immutable principles, and who guided her destinies since she was a weak and dependent colors.

and dependant colony.

By all these considerations I feel con-By all these considerations I feel constrained, at this hour and upon this subject, to say something to this honerable body, and in so doing I shall not diverge from the issue directly made by the resolutions offered by the Senator from Bradford, (Mr. Landon.) I will not, unless compelled so to do, travel over the wide field embraced in the remarks of that Senator, and in the discoursive effort of the Senator from Indiana, (Mr. White.) I intend to confine myself to the question upon which instructions are proposed to be given. And, sir, for myself and for the people of this State, I thank the Senator from Bradford that he, first of all here, has had the hardibood, the boldness, aye, sir, I may call it the daring courage, here and now to distinctly avow, and glory in the ayowal, that all the blood and treasure spent, that all the ills untold which have befollow on the stream. in the ayowal, that all the blood and treasure spent, that all the ills untold which have befallen our land, that all the debt, that the calamity and misery, the carnage and harvest of death through which we have just passed, was, sir, not to preserve a Constitution and restore a broken Union, but was to keep the party to which the Senator adheres in power, through the co-operation and by the votes of an inferior and debased race, whom they already proudly call their allies! [Applause.]

Oh, sir, I conless to you it does require nerve and courage to do it. But I thank God the Senator has made the deliberate avowal, right here, where it may be met by the indignant scorn of the people of this State, and that the member of Congress from the Lancaster district, (Mr. Stevens,)' has made a similar avowal upon the floors of Congress.

from the Lancaster district, (Mr. Stevens,) has made a similar avowal upon the floors of Congress. He alone, of all his party, dared make it there. The Republican party of this State may not hereafter deny its position on this question. It has long demed the issue. Would, sir, that it could have been fairly made years ago. How much of sorrow and of blood would it have spared this land? But, sir, the mask is thrown aside, the hideous purpose is at hast disclosed; the hour of trial has come. The people shall sit in judgment; and was be people shall sit in judgment; and woe be to those who have so long deceived them, thereby drenching the land with blood and mortgaging the present and future generations with endless debt.

Mr. Speaker, the resolutions before the denate are in these words: Senate are in these words:
WHEREAS, A bill enfranchising the colored citizens of the District of Columbia lately passed the lower house of Congress, receiving the earnest support of our Republican members:
t erefore, be it Resolved by the Senate and House, &c., That we approve and commend the action of our members in support of this measure, and our Senators are requested and hereby instructed to vote for the same.

vote for the same.

**Resolved, That the Governor be requested to forward to each of our members and Senators in Congress a copy of this preamble and resolution. THE DOCTRINE OF INSTRUCTIONS-UPON

WHAT FOUNDED. WHAT FOUNDED.

Before discussing the policy of the measure, for which our Representatives in Congress are thanked for having voted, and for which it is proposed to instruct our Senators to vote, I design briefly to discuss the destring of instructions.

loctrine of instructions It is based upon the supposition that those who give the instructions truly and un It is ansect upon the supposition that those who give the instructions truly and unquestionably represent the majority of the whole people of the State; and that the question upon which instructions are given was a recognized principle in the general orm of the party having the ascend ency in the State, or a distinct issue made before and approved of by the people in some preceeding election. I conceive these to be the only grounds on which instructions can have any binding force.

DOES THE SENATE OF PENNSYLVANIA, AS NOW CONSTITUTED, FAIRLY REPRESENT PARTIES IN THIS STATE? In order to ascertain whether, it these in-In order to ascertain whether, if these instructions are passed by the General Assembly, they will truly represent the opinions of a majority of the whole people of Pennsylvania, or whether they will merely be an expression of the opinion of certain Senators and members who hold their seats in these halls by means of gerrynandered districts, or upon issues other than the one now presented, I shall have to refer to some facts and figures.

At the Presidential election, in 1864 a

ets and figures.

At the Presidential election, in 1864, a At the Presidential election, in 1901, a larger vote was polled than ever before in this State, amounting in the aggregate to 562,707. Of these Mr. Lincoln received 286,700, and General McClellan 276,316; Mr. 562,707. Of these Mr. Lincoln received 236, 391, and General Mctlellan 276,316; Mr. Lincoln's majority being 20,075. If you will divide the whole vote by the number composing this body, (thirty-three,) it will appear that the average number of voters to each Senator is 17,051. It follows, then, if the people of this State were fairly and honestly represented on this floor, and that if the State had not been wiffully and wickedly, by party drill and under the party lash gerrymandered, there should and would be sixteen Democratic Senators bold. would be sixteen Democratic Senators hold

ing seats here instead of twelv

eventeen Republicans instead It were a useless waste of time to point It were a usoless waste of time to point out the magnis by which this nefarious scheme was accomplished, but I may not refrain from citing one specimen of the honesty and fairness of the Republican majority which fastened this injustice and outrage upon the people of this State.

At the Presidential election, the county of

At the Presidential election, the county of Lancaster polled 22,917 votes. At the sume election, Berks county yolled 19,976 votes, Lancaster polling but 2,941 votes more than Berks, and yet Lancaster has two Senators in this body and Berks but one; and in the House Lancaster has four members and Berks only three!!—thereby giving the 2,941 voters which Lancaster has in excess of Berks one Senator and a member!!! ingight cite other cases of like injustice and might cite other cases of like injustice and fraud, but I will not detain the Senate by referring to a subject for which there is no

referring to a subject for which there is no present remedy.

But, sir, assuming that there should be sixteen Senators on this floor representing the Democratic vote of the State, and that at least three, if not a greater number of Republican Senators, will decline to vote, or, if voting, will do so against the resolutions. I ask, sir, whether even if you remember to the state of or, if voting, will do so against the resolu-tions, I ask, sir, whether even if you pass them, will they be the voice of a imajority of the whole people of the State? There is, sir, but one answer to the question. They will be the instructions of a majority of the General Assembly, but clearly not of the whole people, and therefore of no binding force or effect upon our Senators. I trust I have made this point clear and beyond dayil. HAS THE QUESTION OF NEGRO SUFFRAGE

HAS THE QUESTION OF NEGRO SUFFRAGE
EVER BEEN FAIRLY IN ISSUE BEFORE
THE PEOPLE OF THIS STATE?
My second proposition is that you cannot
instruct upon a question which was not a
recognized principle in the general platform
of the party in the ascendency in the State,
or which was made a distinct issue and approved of by the people at some preceding
election.
Will any Senator, Republican or Democrat, assert that the question of pages sof-

Will any Senator, Republican or Democrat, assert that the question of negro suffrage in the District of Columbia, in the Southern States, or in a State of the Union ever entered into the platform of the Republican party, framed at Baltimore, in 1834, or into the one made in this State last August, under the guidance and direction of Mr. Cessna, the chairman of the State Committee of that party? On the contrary, sir, when the charge was made that a forced construction of that kind might attach to the Cessna platform of 1865, it was indigconstruction of that kind might attach to the Cessna platform of 1855, it was indignantly and officially denied by that gentleman. It was asserted vehemently, and with emphasis by every Republican speaker everywhere in the State, so far as it came to my knowledge, that the Republicans us a party were opposed to the doctrine, and they never would, and never could be committed to any such policy. I will not speak they never would, and never could be committed to any such policy. I will not speak for the Senator from Bradford, (Mr. Landon,) nor for the Senator from Erie, (Mr. Lowry.) I know how often they are far in advance of those who usually act with them, and how likely they are to tell the truth when others dissemble. I will not aver what they might have said; but I assert that elsewhere averaging in the said. they might have said; but I assert that elsewhere—everywhere in this broad State—it was denied to be an issue; and I challenge you now, my Republican friends, to say, if you had dured to make that issue, where you would have been. [Applause.] You would have been where the people of this State will surely consign you, after you shall have voted for these resolutions.

THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA AND THE DUTY OF CONGRESS TO LEGISLATE IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE VIEWS, WISHES AND INTERESTS OF THE PEOPLE OF THAT DISTRICT.

DISTRICT. I have thus demonstrated that the resolutions, if passed, will not represent the will of a majority of the whole people of the State; that they are not upon a question embraced in the general platform of the dominant, party, or originar from an issue dominant party, or arising from an issue involved in the late election in this State. I shall now proceed to discuss the subject matter of the resolution which is to instruct our Senators to vote for the bill before Con-gress, enfranchising the negro in the Dis-trict of Columbia, and thanking and com-mending the Republican members of Con-gress from Pennsylvania, for having advo-cated and voted for said bill when before that body.

that body.

In 1788-89 the States of Maryland and In 1788-89 the States of Maryland and Virginia ceded certain portions of their territory for the purposes of a seat of Government for the United States, absolute authority over that district was conferred upon the Congress of the United States. I do not intend to dispute this fact, on the contrary, I admit it in its fullest, broadest, and most unequivocal signification. Congress was given absolute, unqualified, and (if I may use the expression) eternal control of that district. But, sir, will the Senator from Bradford, will any Senator who Intends voting for these resolutions, pretend to say that when that clause was put into the Constitution of the United States, it was cerr supposed, by those who framed it, that the day would come when Congress would dare to legislate, on any subject, against the views, and wishes and interests of the people of that district? Was it not, on the contrary, the only recognized doctrine, that the representatives of the people were ever to respect and obey their views, wishes, and interests? Did not that principle enter—lay at the very foundations of our Government? Was it not implanted so deep down in the hearts of those who made the Constitution, that the total never have deep down in the hearts of those who made the Constitution, that it could never have been supposed by them that evil hours like the present might come upon our country? No, sir; they were too jealous of the rights of men, ever to have conferred a power thus unlimited and illimitable, over their brethren and posterity, who were to inhabit that district, had they supposed that it would ever be exercised against their views, their wishes and their interests. Let who will attempt to deny this proposition; views, their wishes and their interests. Let who will attempt to deny this proposition; let who may deride it. I tell him that our pust history will prove it; every principle that entered into the formation of our Government will establish it. Those who frauned the Constitution had waged a seven years' war, to enable them and their posterity to maintain this doctrine, and enforce it, and they would have been the last men on earth to have committed any portion of territy to maintain this doctrine, and entored it, and they would have been the last men on earth to have committed any portion of their fellow-citizens to the tender mercies of a law-making power, in which their views, wishes and interests were not to be respected and obeyed. And, sir, that body to which this supreme jurisdiction was given, was ever in contemplation of those who conferred it, to legislate in accordance with the demands and wishes of the people of the district. They allowed that people no representative; they deprived them of a vote upon national affairs; a territory anomalous in condition was created, without representation, yet subject to taxation. But, sir, the States of Virginia and Maryland, which ceded the territory, and those who made the supreme law, which gave Congress the exclusive and absolute control over it, did so because they conceived that they were confiding that power to a body which, at no time, and under no circumstances would violate those fundamental principles, which so long as fuudamental principles, which so long as one Government was administered with justice, were to govern the action of every legislative body in the land. THAT ARE THE VIEWS AND WISHES OF THE PEOPLE OF THE DISTRICT

SUBJECT. This being admitted, how does the fact as o the views, wishes and interests of the cople of that District stand? This could best be determined by a vote of that people It was taken, and the Senator [Mr. Lan and the Senator Mr. Landon wall knows the result. Nearly seven thousand against and but sixty odd in favor of the proposition. Seven thousand white men have deliberately said, "We wish ho admixture of races; we wish to meet no man here, on either political or social equilibrium of the result of nored usuages, we have been accustomed to meet. It is against our views, our wishes, to meet. It is against our views, our wishes, and we conceive against our best interests." And yet, sir, in defiance of this clear and explicit declaration, the Republican majority of the present Congress elected from States, a large majority of whom have persistently and ever denied this "right," "this privilege," as a Senator [Mr. Landon] calls it, to the colored citizens within their borders, have forced this measure upon them. It has been done, as is boldly proclaimed hero and there, for the purpose of testing mable has been done, as is boldly proclaimed here and there, for the purpose of testing public sentiment, to know how far they may go without danger of being hurted from power. It has been done as an "entering wedge" for the enfranchisement of negroes there and elsewhere throughout the land. They have done that to the District of Columbia which, as yet, they would not dare altempt in their States. Yet, sir, negro suffrage is to be forced upon the District of Columbia by the votes of Congressmen representing States which saving Maine, Vermont, New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Rhode [Island Hampshire, Massachusetts, Rhode Island and N. York admits them on a freehold qualification of two hundred and fifty dollars, so there is a second and so the second and second a I say, sir, that every Congressman who vo ted for this iniquity, save those from the States which I have mained, voted for that to which their own people will not submit. They did it too in flat opposition to the almost unanimous wish of the people of the District. Is this just? Is it right? Is it fair? Will it be submitted to? Will not the hour come when the judgment entered against the views, the wishes and the interests of the people of the District of Columbia, to an irresponsible holy, by a Coungress

hair? Will it be submitted to? Will not the hour come when the judgment entered against the views, the wishes and the interests of the people of the District of Columbia, by an irresponsible body, by a Congress organized and existing on such revolutionary principles that doubts may well arise as to the legality of any of its acts? Will not the hour come when that judgment, if it be concurred in by the Senate, will be reversed? STHE ELECTIVE FRANCHISE ONE OF THE NATURAL RIGHTS OF MANKIND? These, sir, are my views in regard to the question so far as it relates to the District of question so far as it relates to the District of Columbia. In order to reach the general principle, I propose briefly to examine this doctrine enumented by the Semator from Bradford, (Mr. Landon,) that elective frunchise is one of the natural rights of mankind. It is true the Senator did not enunciate it in specific terms. His argument was general in its character, but I drew the conclusion that he claimed it to be a natural right. If I am wrong I beg to be corrected here, and now.

now. Mr. Speaker, I have always considered, Mr. Speaker, I have always considered, and, I believe, every writer on the subject, has hitherto adjudged that the natural rights of men are protection to life, to liberty, to reputation, to property. If the right to vote is one of the natural rights of men, it should be exercised by all mankind, without limitation as to age or sex, race or color, at all times, everywhere and under all circumstances; because all governments profess, at least, to furnish protection to life, liberty, reputation and property. But, sir, hasany least, to furnish protection to life, liberty, reputation and property. But, sir, hasany Government any where, at any time, granted unlimited, unconditional suffrage? To state the proposition is to show its absurdity, because if it be a natural right it should be exercised by all men, of energy age, by both sexes, and at all times. Has this ever been permitted any where? It is not, on the contrary, a right which belongs to and is vested in the whole body politic, whose exclusive right it is to determine when, where and by whom it shall be exercised, and under what restrictions? It is, therefore, not a natural right, but purely a conventional ander what restrictions? It is, therefore, not a natural right, but purely a conventional or political right, to be exercised by those only who are adjudged worthy of it by the whole body of the people.

THE HISTORY OF PENNSYLVANIA ON THE SUBJECT OF NEGRO SUFFRAGE.

I have said, Mr. Speaker, that no government, in any area, or all any time beautiful or support that the substantial of the support of the suppo

I have said, Mr. Speaker, that no government, in any age, or at any time, has granted this conventional or political right to all men of all ages, regardless of sex and color. The history of our own State is illustrative of the position I assume. It is written in her Constitution that "fit elections by the citizens every white freeman of the age of twenty-one years, having resided in this State one year, and in the election district where he offers to vote ten days immediately proceeding such election, and within two years paid a State or county tax, which shall have been assessed at least ten days before the election, and shall enjoy the rights of an elector."

And further to allustrate my argument, and for the information of those who have failed to understand the regress which the

And further to illustrate my argument, and for the information of those who have failed to understand the reasons which lead to the adoption of the clause of our Constitution which I have just read, I propose, at this time, to cite the opinions of one of the ablest of our lawyers and statesmen, whose virtues, learning and eloquence will obtain for him the admiration of after times, in reference to the policy and necessity of inserting the word "white" in the first section of the third article, I refer to the Attorney General, Mr. Meredith. He was a member of the convention which framed the existing Constitution of the Commonwealth.

EXTRACTS FROM THE SPEECH OF HOY. W. M. MEREDITH, DELIVERED IN THE RE-FORM CONVENTION OF 1838, ON THE SUB-On the 17th of January, 1838, the conven-

JECT.

On the 17th of January, 1838, the convention resumed the consideration of the report of the committee to whom was referred the third article of the Constitution. Mr. Martin, of Philadelphia, moved to forther amend the first section of the article by inserting the word "white" before the word 'freeman." The motion led to a prolonged and able debate; in which Mr. Meredith said:

"The right of suffrage ought to be the privilege of white citizens alone. And where is to injustice? The backs came here fugilives from slavery recking from the chains of personal bondege. Is it not enough that they are protected by our laws? Are we bound to do more for them than for the English and German emigrants who come into our State and from whom we ourselves have descended remotely and proximately? How isit with these enigrants? Is the right of suffrage bestowed upon them without a servitude of seven years, and the process of naturalization after oaths have been tiled? Viewing the question as a statesman and not as connected with may themes of the equality of the human race—what have we to require of slaves who come here as fugitives from bondage? Nothing, Every citizen of the State of one year's residence, whojans paid his tax, is entitled to vote.

"He did not think he argument sound which required us then to one the polls to coll these

serve seven years before they can be permitted to vote.

"He did not think the argument sound which required us then to open the polls to all these blacks. He shuddered at the consequence of throwing open our polls to all who might come here to exercise the right of suffrage. He thought it wiser not to incar the risk of having our institutions controlled by a race to which we do not belong. No one denies the possession of intellect and virtue to the blacks; but, I require more than this—while we resist all association with them in private life, and religible the idea of intermarriage with the race and