

State Registrars and the State Judges of Election for numerous offenses declared by the act, and in some instances to require them under pains and penalties to disregard the State law they swear to support. And it places every one of these State officers at the mercy of the irresponsible Deputies appointed by the Federal Marshal, and who, according to the experience we have had of the act, have generally been men of the basest and most degraded character that could be found; men who have served terms in the penitentiary; men who were notorious thieves; men who kept houses of infamous resort; in a word, the most despicable characters that could be taken up in the great cities of New York, Philadelphia, or elsewhere. To these wretches is given the power to tear the Judges of election from their seats by an arrest without warrant, to arrest any, the most respectable voter in the city, and thereby to prevent him from exercising his right of suffrage and to terrify whole bodies of voters by threats of arrest and by outright violence. This is no overdrawn picture. It is not drawn strongly enough. Whoever will read the testimony taken before committees of investigation of Congress in regard to the elections in New York, especially the election of last year, will be amazed at the detail of enormities, almost too shocking for belief, committed by these Supervisors and Deputy Marshals. Their great object seems to have been to prevent naturalized citizens from voting, and for this purpose hundreds of arrests were made, and the persons arrested held in custody until they surrendered their naturalization papers or agreed that they would not vote. Among the hundreds of arrests actually made, and the thousands of persons against whom warrants were prepared, it is difficult to find, so far as I have been able to discover, the name of an American-born citizen. Indeed, the execution of the law was a Know-Nothing crusade against naturalized citizens, and it has been estimated, with apparent reason, that at least five or six thousand of such citizens were deterred from voting last fall in the single city of New York by this persecution. Of the cruelties practiced on those who were arrested, of their confinement in a sort of cage in the office of the Chief Supervisor, of the sufferings they underwent while thus confined, I have no time to-night to speak. I wish you could all read the testimony that details these matters, for I venture to say that there is not an honest or a humane man in this audience who would not be shocked by the recital. The truth is that this Election Law, or at least so much of its provisions as authorizes the appointment of Supervisors and Deputy Marshals, is a mere scheme to buy voters by appointing them Deputy Marshals, and to employ Republican electioneers and Republican desperadoes to control the elections of the people and to pay them out of the treasury of the United States. When the bill was under consideration in Congress, it was said that such a law was necessary for the protection of the Freedmen of the South; but the truth is that the law originated in the Union League Club of the city of New York, and was made especially for that city. On this subject I beg leave to read a few extracts from a speech delivered by me at the last session. Speaking of these laws, I said:

"Here is the way these laws originated, not at all in the interest of the Freedmen of the South, as has been so often contended, but solely for the purpose, or mainly for the purpose, of controlling the elections of the city of New York, and by that means of the great State of New York. "Now, how have they been executed? Their execution proves just what I say. Let me give you some figures upon that subject taken from the official reports of the Attorney General and from the reports of Investigating Committees. In 1876, under these laws, there were 4,863 Supervisors of Election appointed, and these, 1,779 were appointed in the State of New York, nearly one-half of them in that single State. Again, there were 11,610 Marshals appointed and more than one-fourth of them were appointed in the State of New York. But now look where the money was spent, for that is the main point. There was expended under those acts in that year the sum of \$285,922.07. How much of it was expended to protect the poor Freedmen at the South? In the Southern States, to wit: Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, Missouri, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas and Virginia, \$48,719.86 were spent, while in the other States, \$237,202.21. That is to say, one-sixth of the money was spent in the South and five-sixths of it spent in the North. That is the way they protected the poor Freedmen. They had given him the right to vote; they had compelled the South, in self-defense, to give him the right to vote. They guaranteed him against any discrimination on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude; but when it came to using the money of the United States, for \$1 that they gave to protect him, to guarantee him, they spent \$5 to corrupt elections at the North and to deprive them of their right to vote at the North. How much of this money was paid in order to fix up the elections in New York City? I have shown you that the total expenditure was \$285,922. Of that \$156,000, being more than half the whole amount, was spent in the State of New York. That is the way the right of the Freedmen to vote without objection on account of race, color or previous condition was enforced. "But let us pass on; and I must pass on or I shall never get through. Let us come to 1878, and we shall find another specimen of the same thing. The Supervisors appointed in 1878 were forty-eight hundred and eighty-one. Of these nineteen hundred and fifty-three, nearly one-half were appointed in New York, and sixteen hundred and eighty-two were appointed in Pennsylvania. That made thirty-six hundred and thirty-five in those two States alone, leaving only twelve hundred and forty six for all the other States in the Union. That is the way they took care of the poor Freedmen at the South. Of the deputy marshals forty-seven hundred and twenty-five were appointed, and of these

about one-half, twenty-three hundred and eight, were appointed in New York and in all the other States of the Union only twenty-four hundred and seven were appointed. That made of Supervisors and Marshals ninety-six hundred and six. The expenditures were \$222,714.22, for I want to be precise; and in the Southern States from which returns were made, to wit: Alabama, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, South Carolina and Virginia, what portion do you suppose was expended of this \$222,000? Of course, you would suppose that as the Ku-Klux raged down there, as the White Leaguers raged down there, as there was no such thing as free elections down there, as the poor negroes were massacred in order that the whites might carry the elections, you would suppose, as all that took place according to radical authority, that that was the place where the most of the Deputy Marshals of the United States were appointed and where most of the money was spent. But, singularly enough, of this \$222,714.22 expended in 1878 the amount used in the South was just \$18,241.06; that is to say, about one-twelfth of the whole expenditure, while eleven-twelfths of it was expended in the North. Why was it expended in the North? Let the gains of the Republican party in New York, in New Jersey and in Pennsylvania answer the question why it was expended there. The gains in the House of Representatives will answer it better than anything else can answer it. At one single election there was a gain of more than fourteen members of the House of Representatives, and, singularly enough, the greater expenditure of money, the greater was the gain of Republican members of Congress.

But it is not alone for the persecution, fraud and corruption to which these laws give rise that they should be condemned. There is a fatal objection to them that cannot be overcome; and that is that they are in violation of the Constitution. The right to pass them is claimed under Article I, Section 4, of the Constitution, which provides that "the times, places and manner of holding elections for Senators and Representatives shall be provided in each State by the Legislature thereof; but the Congress may at any time by law make or alter such regulations except as to the places of choosing Senators." On this subject I said in the speech to which I have referred:

"In the first place, it is to be observed that the provision in the Constitution relates simply to the election of Senators and Representatives in Congress. In the second place, the power given to Congress is the power to make regulations in respect to the times, places and manner of holding elections, or to alter the regulations when made by a State, with the limitation that they shall not change the places fixed by the State authorities for choosing Senators. It is obvious that the laws now under consideration and which we propose to repeal are not exertions of the power to prescribe the time or place of holding elections, because they do no such thing. If, therefore, they are authorized by this section of the Constitution, it must be in virtue of the word 'manner.' That is the only word that is left. "I go to another proposition which I hold is capable of demonstration, and that is, that whether the right of Congress to regulate the manner of Congressional elections when there is no default on the part of the State, exists or does not exist, the laws which this bill proposes to repeal are not a constitutional exercise of the power, for it is fundamental that Congress can not, under Article I, Section 4, interfere in any manner whatever with the election of State officers. It can no more do it, under pretense of regulating Congressional elections, than it can when no Congressmen are to be elected. It follows that any regulation of Congressional elections enacted by Congress must be so framed as not to interfere with the election of State officers. If it does so interfere it is unconstitutional. Upon that I stand with a consciousness of being in the right that I hope is not presumptuous. To me no legal proposition ever appeared clearer. There are two classes of elections in this country. There is an election for Federal officers, Representatives and Senators in Congress, and Electors of President and Vice-President; if the latter can properly be called Federal officers. There is another class of elections for the officers of a State and her subdivisions. With the election of this latter class Congress, under this clause of the Constitution, has no more right to interfere than it has to interfere with the elections in France. So far as it can interfere at all, it is under the Fifteenth Amendment, and that is simply to guarantee the right of men otherwise qualified against a discrimination on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude. But that guarantee, I have shown, has nothing to do here. Here the question is not about objections of race, color, or previous condition of servitude, but it is whether Congress, under the pretense of regulating Congressional elections, can in effect regulate the election of State officers too, and that in direct violation of the laws and the rights of the States. "If our forefathers in the Convention should have put a clause in the Constitution that would warrant what these laws attempt, they knew that the whole instrument would be rejected, and rejected with scorn and indignation. Sir, I ask what do these laws effect? Do they not interfere with the election of State officers? How is it that when hundreds upon hundreds of men who claimed the right to vote, and who, so far as we know, had the right to vote at the last election in the City of New York, were arrested by Federal officers, dragged from the polls before Mr. Commissioner Davenport, put in a cage as many as the cage would hold, kept there until the election was over, and others only admitted to bail on the condition that they would promise not to vote, others again only on condition that they would surrender their naturalization papers—papers that he had no more right to take from them than he had to take their goods and chattels—when that was done was that not interference with the election of the officers of the State? Was that simply a regulation of the manner of electing

members of Congress? Was that not an interference with the election of the members of the Legislature of the State who were to be chosen at that election? Was it not an interference with the election of one of the Judges of the highest judicial tribunal of that State then to be chosen? Was it not an interference with the election of every State officer who was voted for at that election? Who can deny it? Nobody can. And, sir, will you tell me that Congress under the power to regulate the manner of elections in the choice of members of Congress, can frame a law in such wise as really to authorize a Deputy Marshal of the United States to tear the State Judges from their seats and confine them in prison and stop the election, and that all that is not interfering with the rights of the States to hold their election for State officers according to their own laws? Will you tell me that is an exercise of the power to regulate the manner of electing members of Congress? No, sir, it will not stand one moment's examination. There are some things so clear that argument upon them only serves to obscure them, and this is one of them. A man would be absurd who should argue that two and two do not make four; but he would be scarcely more absurd than he who should argue that laws which permit the interference of which I have spoken, can be sustained under the provisions of the Constitution authorizing Congress to regulate the manner of electing members of Congress."

OFFICIAL DIRECTORY.

REGULAR TERMS OF COURT—Fourth Mondays of January, April, August and November. President Judge—Hon. CHAS. A. MAYER, Lock Haven, Additional Law Judge—Hon. JOHN H. OYDIS, Bellefonte. Associate Judges—HON. SAMUEL FRANCE, JOHN DIVEN, Prothonotary—J. CALVIN HARPER, Register of Wills and Clerk of C. C.—E. W. BURCHFIELD, Recorder of Deeds, Ac.—WILLIAM A. TORLES, District Attorney—DAVID A. FORTNEY, Sheriff—JOHN FANSLER, Treasurer—HENRY YARBROCK, County Surveyor—JOSEPH DEVLING, Coroner—CONSTANT CARBRIE, County Commissioners—ANDREW GREGG, GEO. SWAB, JACOB DUNKLE, Clerk to County Commissioners—HENRY RECK, Attorney to County Commissioners—C. M. BOWER, Justice of the Peace, House—BARTER G. GLENN, County Auditors—JAMES T. STEWART, GEORGE R. WILLIAMS, THOMAS R. JAMISON, Jury Commissioners—HENRY KELLER, JR., NATHAN J. MITCHELL, Superintendent of Public Schools—Prof. HENRY MEYER, Notaries Public—EVAS M. BLANCHARD, W. W. POTTER, R. C. CHERRICK, Bellefonte.

DIRECTORY.

CHURCHES, Ac. PRESBYTERIAN, Situated on Spring and foot of Howard streets. Services, Sunday at 10:30 A. M. and 7:15 P. M. Praying-meeting, Wednesday at 7:15 P. M. School, 2:15 P. M. in the Wigwam, northeast corner of Spring and Lamb. Pastor, Rev. William Lauric; residence, Spring street, south of Methodist church. METHODIST EPISCOPAL, Situated southeast corner of Spring and Howard streets. Services, Sunday at 10:30 A. M. and 7:15 P. M. Praying-meeting, Wednesday at 7:15 P. M. Sunday-school, Sunday 2:30 P. M. in basement of church. Pastor, Rev. A. D. YOCUM; residence, Curtin street, west of Spring. ST. JOHN'S ROMAN CATHOLIC, Situated on Bishop street between Allegheny and Penn. Services, Sunday at 10:30 A. M. and 7:15 P. M. Praying-meeting, Wednesday at 7:30 A. M. Pastor, Rev. A. J. O'Brien; residence, south side of Bishop between Allegheny and Penn. ST. JOHN'S EPISCOPAL, Situated southwest corner of Allegheny and Lamb streets. Services, Sunday 10:30 A. M. and 7:15 P. M. Praying-meeting, Wednesday at 7:15 P. M. and Sunday-school Sunday 2 P. M. in basement of church. Pastor, Rev. John Howitt; residence on Lamb street near Episcopal church. LUTHERAN, Situated southeast corner of High and Penn streets. Services, Sunday 10:30 A. M. and 7:15 P. M. Praying-meeting, Wednesday at 7:15 P. M. Pastor, Rev. Samuel K. Furst; residence, at Parsonage, High street, next the church. GERMAN REFORMED, Situated northeast corner of Linn and Spring streets. Services, Sunday at 10:30 A. M. and 7:15 P. M. Praying-meeting, Wednesday at 7:15 P. M. Sunday-school, Sunday 5:30 A. M. in the church. Pastor, Rev. W. A. Bigger; residence, west side of Allegheny south of Episcopal church. UNITED BRETHREN, Situated corner South High and Thomas streets. Services, Sunday at 10:30 A. M. and 7:15 P. M. Praying-meeting, Wednesday at 7:15 P. M. Pastor, J. M. Smith; Post-office address, Bellefonte. AFRICAN METHODIST, Situated south end of High street. Services, Sunday 10:30 A. M. and 7:15 P. M. Praying-meeting, Wednesday 7 P. M. Sunday-school in church at 2:30 P. M. Pastor, Rev. Jones; residence, Thomas street. FRIENDS, Situated end of Logan street, near Bellefonte Academy. Meetings, Sunday 11 A. M., Wednesday 11 A. M. Y. M. C. A., Praying-meetings are held every Sunday at 4 and every Friday at 7:15 P. M. in the room of the Association above the Post Office. A Union meeting is held in the room the first Sunday in each month at 4 P. M. Room open every night from 7 to 9 P. M., and the National Christian Temperance Union at 7:30 P. M., on Thursday. THE LADIES' TEMPERANCE PRAYER-MEETING meets in the Logan House, Thursday, at 3 P. M. CENTENIAL TEMPERANCE CLUB, Regular meeting each Monday at 7 P. M. in their rooms in Bush's Arcade, High street.

New Advertisements.

Subpoena in Divorce. LEVINE M. HOSNER,) In the Court of Common Pleas of Centre County, No. 184, Aug. 1878.) SANNA C. HOSNER,) T. 1878. THE undersigned, a Commissioner appointed by the Court, to take testimony in the above case, will meet the parties at the office of Alexander & Bower, in Bellefonte, on THURSDAY, the 20th day of SEPTEMBER, A. D. 1878, at 10 o'clock A. M., when all parties interested may attend. H. A. MCKEE, Commissioner. Administrators' Notice. LETTERS OF ADMINISTRATION on the estate of Dr. George L. Potter, deceased, late of the Borough of Bellefonte, having been granted to the undersigned, resident of Bellefonte, he requests all persons knowing themselves indebted to said deceased to come forward and make immediate payment, and all having claims against him to present their accounts, duly authenticated for payment. ADAM HOY, Administrator. Letting. PROPOSALS for building Stone Abutments for a Bridge across the Bald Eagle Creek, at Fort Madida, will be received by the County Commissioners until 12 o'clock M., SEPTEMBER 20, 1878. Specifications can be seen at their office, in Bellefonte, Pa. The contract to be let to the lowest responsible bidder, the Commissioners reserve the right to reject any or all bids. ANDREW GREGG, GEORGE SWAB, JACOB DUNKLE, Commissioners. CANCER REMOVED, WITHOUT KNIFE, and in most cases without pain. Apply to C. W. P. FISHER, M. D., Bouldsburg, Centre County, Pa. CENTRE COUNTY BANKING COMPANY. Receive Deposits And Allow Interest, Discount Notes, Buy and Sell Gov. Securities, Gold and Compo, JAMES A. BEAVER, President, J. D. SHUGART, Cashier, 4-1f E. C. MUMER, Pres't, J. P. HARRIS, Cash'r, FIRST NATIONAL BANK OF BELLEFONTE, Allegheny Street, Bellefonte, Pa. 4-1f

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