The Compiler.

Gettysburg, Monday Morning, April 2, 1866.

H. J. STAHLE, EDITOR AND PROPRIETOR.

FOR GOVERNOR,

Hon. HIESTER CLYMER,

of Berks County.

ANOTHER VETO.

President Johnson, on Tuesday, returned to the Senate the Civil Rights bill, with a message containing his objections. This important document we print entire to-day, and feel sure that it will be read with the deepest interest by all. It is clear in its positions, powerful in its arguments, and patriotic in every line, doing credit to the head and heart of Andrew Johnson.

The Radical press has set up a terrible howl over this new proof of the President's devotion to the Constitution and the Union, but that may be considered as a point gained. The more open the antagonism between him and the revolutionists, the better—the sooner the issue will be determined.

The Conservative Republican and Democratic papers speak, with one accord, in high terms of admiration of the message. The New York *Times*, Republican, says:

The analysis of the bill is of so keen and searching a character, the logic is so irresistible, that we should hope even the strongest advocates of the measure will see how vastly important it is that the constitutional power of the veto should exist, and how important also, in a higher sense, it is that such a constitutional power should be entrusted to a President endowed with judgment, discretion and most uncommon courage. * * * * * * * *

It may be hoped that arguments so cogent as those employed in the message will not be thrown away. It is not every day that members have an opportunity of listening to reason and common sense. They may find this appeal a reasonable and acceptable change. Be that as it may, the President's message will be read and studied outside of Congress, and everywhere throughout the civilized world; and wherever it is read and studied the American name and character will be elevated, in so far as Andrew Johnson is held to represent the American people.

The New York *World*, Democratic, says:

By this wise and able message President Johnson has established a new claim to public confidence. He has shown himself, thus far, a statesman of singular independence, self reliance, and political courage. * * * A statesman of such robust confidence in his own judgment, will not be swerved, by any political cross winds, from the line of policy he has deliberately adopted.

The Washington correspondent of the New York *Times* writes: "Mr. Bingham, (Republican,) who is probably the ablest lawyer in the House, says that its legal objections to the bill are unanswerable."

We heartly thank President Johnson for this new effort to stem Radical fanaticism.

A CONNECTICUT EYE-OPENER!

The annexed correspondence between the Postmaster at Hartford, Connecticut, and the President, speaks for itself—it needs no comment.

The *National Intelligencer* says that this endorsement by the President clears up all doubts in regard to his position on the Connecticut election, whilst a despatch to the Philadelphia *Ledger* says that at Washington it is looked upon as what is known as an "eye-opener:"

"POST OFFICE, HARTFORD, Conn., Mar 22.
"*To President Johnson:*

"SIR: I am now engaged in publicly advocating the election of James E. English as candidate for Governor of Connecticut, a gentleman who is openly committed to the support of your veto, to the defense of your 22d of February speech, and of your policy of restoration, in opposition to the Disunionists of Connecticut. I am opposing the election of General Joseph R. Hawley, who openly disapproved of your veto and of your 22d of February speech, and declines to support your policy as opposed to the Radical majority in Congress. If my political action is not satisfactory to you, I beg you to receive my resignation as Postmaster of this city. I have the honor to be,
"Your obedient servant,
(Signed) "E. S. CLEVELAND."

The President returned this to Mr. Cleveland, endorsed as follows:

"Your political action in upholding my measures and policy is approved. Your resignation is, therefore, not accepted, but is herewith returned. (Signed)
"ANDREW JOHNSON.
"Executive Mansion, March 23."

Mr. *Sentinel*, DO YOU HEAR?

WHICH IS THE UNION PARTY?

President Johnson, on the 23d ult., said to several Connecticut gentlemen: "THE UNION PARTY IS NOT THE PARTY OF THE RADICALS." "When I said the Union party, I DID NOT MEAN THE MEN WHO ARE ENDEAVORING TO BREAK UP THIS UNION, BUT THE MEN WHO STAND BY ME!" "I believe the maintenance of this Union depends upon the policy which I have indicated to Congress, and THOSE WHO SUSTAIN THAT POLICY ARE MY FRIENDS, AND THOSE WHO OPPOSE THAT POLICY I CERTAINLY HAVE NO DESIRE TO SEE ELECTED TO ANY OFFICE!"

The Democratic party sustains President Johnson's policy, and the Radical party does not. Therefore the Democratic party stands by the Union, and the other does not. Hiester Clymer supports the President's white man's course, and Gen. Geary does not. The President's choice between them is therefore plain.

THE CASE OF SENATOR STOCKTON.

Senator Stockton, of New Jersey, was voted out of his seat last week, after occupying it for a year. The vote was 22 for to 21 against the outrage. But for the treachery of Stewart, of Nevada, who was committed to vote for Mr. Stockton, but purposely absented himself, the disgraceful act could not have been consummated.—The motive controlling the Radicals in the case was purely *political*, the desire to get a clear two-thirds, in order to pass bills over the President's veto, over-riding all their ideas of law and right.

These negro revolutionists are determined to *rule or ruin*. It becomes the people, of all parties, everywhere, to hold up the hands of the President in the bitter and unrelenting war which the Radicals are waging upon him. The triumph of the President will insure peace and prosperity; the success of the Radicals will keep up agitation and turmoil, and probably bring on another civil war, more bloody than the last. The times are big with weal or woe to the nation.

Ex-Governor Lowe, of Maryland, has received a pardon from the President.

THE DEMOCRATIC REVIVAL.

The local elections held throughout the State almost invariably indicate an enormous increase of Democratic strength. We have carefully watched the columns of our exchanges, in order to glean reliable information of the results, and have the satisfaction of announcing to our readers that in so far as the spring elections may be taken as an indication, everything looks encouraging for the great contest in October. The Democratic localities generally report increased majorities over last year, while even in the Republican strongholds the vote of the Opposition is rapidly diminishing. Our friends who were becoming despondent under frequent defeats may cheer up and go to work with renewed courage. The skies are daily becoming brighter. We have victory in our grasp if we will but make due exertions to secure it.

The Republican papers are hard put to. With Johnson adhering to the Constitution, and the spring elections going against them, their situation is anything but enviable. They are compelled, like dying men, to "catch at straws."

In order to off-set, after some sort of fashion, the brilliant victories heralded by the Democratic press, some of the Republican editors get up, in big type, announcements of places carried by their party, but fail to state the two main facts, to wit—that these places were always against the Democrats, and that at the late elections the Republican majorities *were reduced*. It will be noticed that *they give no figures*.

Take Norristown, for instance, which is an old Republican borough, and which at the late election gave but thirty five majority. And Hanover—who ever heard of it except as among the blackest of opposition towns? Indeed, the same might be said of every place in which they claim "victories." It must be up hill work for these editors to manufacture such a "boast," but they have no other kind of material left.

Hon. Wm. Hopkins, Chairman of the Democratic State Convention, and Hon. Wm. A. Wallace, Chairman of the Democratic Central Committee, both deny that a committee was sent to Washington to present to President Johnson the resolutions adopted by the Convention. They both further say, *upon the highest authority*, that the President has not expressed any dissatisfaction with Mr. Clymer's nomination. Will the *Sentinel* believe these gentlemen?

The Connecticut election takes place to-day. The campaign has been an exciting one, and the Republicans are not sure of holding their ground. Indeed, some of them are quite "blue" about the prospect.

The Postmaster at Norwich, Connecticut, who is Chairman of the Republican State Central Committee, declares that he cannot sustain President Johnson, but must support Hawley, the Republican candidate for Governor; and he has shown his sincerity by resigning his Postmastership. This is consistent.

James M. Scovel, a Republican, in the New Jersey Senate, is a Johnson man, and holds the balance of power. There is a "dead lock" in the effort to elect a U. S. Senator.

For the Compiler.

A SOLDIER'S OPINION ON SEVERAL SUBJECTS.

MR. STAHLE:—Dear Sir:—There are a score of my old comrades who write me for information, but as I am over-taxed with work and have not the time to keep up with my correspondents, the idea has struck me that if you will insert these few lines in the COMPILER it will answer all purposes, and greatly oblige your humble servant—for the boys all liked to read the COMPILER when they were in camp.

The trouble is about the bounty tax. "Are you going to pay yours?" &c. All I have to say is, I don't see now we will get out of it. You know we have "General" McConaughy, who holds an illegitimate seat in the Senate, and Lieut. Houck in the House—both "mighty men of valor" in peace and war—especially in the former. Had they and the rest of their crew our interests as much at stake now as they professed when we went into the service, they would have passed a law of some substantial favor and protection to us. Don't you see their crocodile affection? I think I do.

Whilst these pretended "soldiers' friends" cannot find time to do their duty by us, they can take plenty to vote to sustain the nigger bills of Old Thad. Stevens. Oh yes, these "colored vets," who "took Richmond and Petersburg" (?) must have millions appropriated to keep them in idleness, with a corps of white sap-suckers to cheat them and the Government, and the rest of white folks individually.

Boys, we saw some hard times to set this colored individual free, and I say if he can't paddle his own canoe now, let him drift. He is not fit subject to vote and hold office when there are white men around. I am glad that President Johnson's big fist or big boot has knocked the bottom out of the Bureau that the niggerites built to put their colored children in.

Now, boys, I think there are several of us living yet who remember that Sunday morning, the 31st of March, 1865. The Army of the Potomac had been on a bit of a reconnoissance for two days, but this morning the 2d, 5th, 6th and 9th Corps, and Sheridan, with a host of cavalry, advanced. We saw some abattis, some little works and some right smart forts, and "came up standing" on the Southside Railroad; and on Monday, when we had been twenty-four hours round on the left, (but I forgot, this was only "white trash,") the colored vets came running up through Petersburg, swearing they couldn't find old Peter nor any of his boys. What a glorious achievement! Then commenced the "nine day's races." Colored vets in the rear, to protect the rations from a few starving women and children; white trash in front to protect the colored vets from the Johnnies. The next we heard of the colored vets was at Farmville, when the white trash were returning from the capture of Lee and the rebel army at Appomattox Court-house. The colored vets were nicely encamped, east of the town, and were drawing rations. I mind it made our boys swear, for they had been out of rations for a couple of days and a night.

What is all this fuss about the colored vet? I am sure we don't claim anything more than our dues. If they would pay us the back bounty that we were to get—one hundred dollars Government bounty—no proviso—if we did the job in ten days it would be all the same;—but we were ten months at it, and by some mysterious motion of Secretary Stanton's wand, we were deprived of $33 33. Speet this is to go to the colored vets, too, for taking Richmond and Petersburg. Boys, you must excuse me if I branch out a little, for when I get to thinking about these things it makes me mad.

You know my advice always, to make a sure shot, you must have a good "ready" on. If you aim at nothing, you will hit nothing. I am happy to say to you that we will have a chance this fall to vote for men who will do something for white men again, and I hope every soldier will embrace the opportunity. Do any of you know of one Col. Geary, or rather Gen. Geary. Don't you know what a bully "soldiers' friend" he was—how the boys used to run when he was Col.; but they generally ran to get out of his sight, if they didn't happen to be in their places. How they blessed their stars when he was promoted; when he was sent to Tennessee, or Temptation, or some other State. The boys did not shed many tears to see their commander (or I should say tyrant) go.

I expect if he is elected he will have a provost marshal and judge advocate appointed in every county in the State. Why, don't you know that he is the candidate for Governor of the Republican or nigger party. He may get some colored soldiers to vote for him, but I don't think that many of the white ones who know him will do it. I think we have had the wool over our eyes long enough.

As to the project of going South to raise cotton, I thought I would write to a friend of mine down there, who is engaged in that business. He is very anxious for me to come. He wrote me a few items. He says good hands can be got for $8 per month, with a ration of 20 lbs. corn meal, 8 do. pork, and 2 do. rice, per week. This aint very steep. A span of mules will cost $300; farm implements much the same as here. The last item he spoke of I don't understand. He says, you will be expected to have about $500 for a donation or something of the kind to the Agent of the Freedmen's Bureau, to insure your success in getting all the niggers you want soon. Why, this Government agent I thought was paid by the Government; or is this Bureau business a sort of a slave concern, in spite of the talk about the nigger being free. He says you ought to have good recommendations, signed by some of the leading lights of your State—say Thaddeus Stevens. Boys, I can't see it.

The fact is, I don't know what to do myself.—Sometimes I think if times don't get better and the nigger keeps in favor, we had better kink our hair, apply some blacking, and get into one of those big "drawers." It appears the drawer for Tennessee will be empty soon. I'll try to find out and let you know.

Your old friend and comrade,
PELEG PROUTY.

P. S.—Don't throw your rations away till I am certain about it. P. P.

SECOND EPISTLE TO THE PHILISTINES.

President Johnson's Veto of the Civil Rights Bill.

TO THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES:

I regret that the bill which has passed both Houses of Congress, entitled "An act to protect all persons in the United States in their civil rights, and furnish the means of their vindication," contains provisions which I cannot approve consistently with my sense of duty to the whole people, and my obligations to the Constitution of the United States.

I am, therefore, constrained to return it to the Senate, the House in which it originated, with my objections to its becoming a law. By the first section of the bill persons born in the United States, and not subject to any foreign power, excluding Indians not taxed, are declared to be citizens of the United States. This provision comprehends the Chinese of the Pacific States, Indians subject to taxation, the people called Gipsies, as well as the entire race designated as blacks, people of color, negroes, mulattoes and persons of African blood. Every individual of these races born in the United States is by the bill made a citizen of the United States. It does not purpose to declare or confer any other right of citizenship than "Federal" citizenship." It does not purport to give these classes of persons any *status* as citizens of States, except that which may result from their *status* as citizens of the United States. The power to confer the right of State citizenship is just as exclusively with the several States as the power to confer the right of Federal citizenship is with Congress. The right of Federal citizenship thus to be conferred on the several excepted races before mentioned, is now for the first time proposed to be given by law. If, as is claimed by many, all persons who are native born are by virtue of the Constitution citizens of the United States, the passage of the pending bill cannot be necessary to make them such. If, on the other hand, such persons are not citizens as may be assumed from the proposed legislation to make them such, the grave question presents itself whether, when eleven of the thirty-six States are unrepresented in Congress at this time, it is sound policy to make our entire colored population, and all other excepted classes, citizens of the United States. Four millions of them have just emerged from slavery into freedom. Can it be reasonably supposed that they possess the requisite qualifications to entitle them to all the privileges and immunities of citizens of the United States? Have the people of the several States expressed such a conviction? It may also be asked whether it is necessary that they should be declared citizens in order that they may be secured in the enjoyment of the civil rights proposed to be conferred by the bill? Those rights are by Federal as well as State laws secured to all domiciled aliens and foreigners, even before the completion of the process of naturalization; and it may safely be assumed that the same enactments are sufficient to give like protection and benefits to those for whom this bill provides special legislation.

Besides, the policy of the government, from its origin to the present time, seems to have been that persons who are strangers to, and unfamiliar with our institutions and our laws, should pass through a certain probation at the end of which, before attaining the coveted privilege, they must give evidence of their fitness to receive and to exercise the rights of citizens, as contemplated by the Constitution of the United States.

The bill in effect proposes a discrimination against large numbers of intelligent, worthy and patriotic foreigners, and in favor of the negro to whom, after long years of bondage, the avenues to freedom and intelligence have just now been suddenly opened. He must of necessity, from his previous unfortunate condition of servitude, be less informed as to the nature and character of our institutions, than he who, coming from abroad, has to some extent, at least, familiarized himself with the principles of a government to which he voluntarily entrusts life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. Yet it is now proposed, by a single legislative enactment, to confer the rights of citizens upon all persons of African descent born within the extended limits of the United States, while persons of foreign birth, who make our land their home, must undergo a probation of five years, and can only then become citizens upon proof that they are of good moral character, attached to the principles of the Constitution of the United States, and well disposed to the good order and happiness of the same. The first section of the bill also contains an enumeration of the rights to be enjoyed by these classes so made citizens in every State and Territory of the United States. These rights are to make and enforce contracts, to sue, be parties, and give evidence, to inherit, purchase, lease, sell, hold and convey real and personal property, and to have full and equal benefit of all laws and proceedings for the security of person and property as is now enjoyed by white citizens. So, too, they are made subject to the same punishment, pains and penalties in common with white citizens and to none others. Thus a perfect equality of the white and black races is attempted to be fixed by Federal law in every State of the Union over the vast field of State jurisdiction covered by these enumerated rights. In no one of these can any State ever exercise any power of discrimination between the different races. In the excercise of State policy over matters exclusively affecting the people of each State, it has frequently been thought expedient to discriminate between the two races.

By the statutes of some of the States, Northern as well as Southern, it is enacted, for instance, that no white person shall intermarry with a negro or mulatto. Chancellor Kent says, speaking of the blacks, "marriages between them and the whites are forbidden in some of the States where slavery does not exist, and they are prohibited in all the slaveholding States; and when not absolutely contrary to law, they are revolting and regarded as an offence against public decorum." I do not say that this bill repeals State laws on the subject of marriage between the two races, for as the whites are forbidden to intermarry with the blacks, the blacks can only make such contracts as the whites themselves are allowed to make, and therefore cannot, under this bill, enter into the marriage contract with the whites. I cite this discrimination, however, as an instance of the State policy as to discrimination, and to inquire whether, if Congress can abrogate all State laws of discrimination between the two races in the matter of real estate, of suits, and of contracts generally, Congress may not also repeal the State laws as to the contract of marriage between the two races. Hitherto every subject embraces in the enumeration of rights contained in this bill has been considered as exclusively belonging to the States; they all relate to the internal policy and economy of the respective States. They are matters which, in each State, concern the domestic condition of its people, varying in each according to its own peculiar circumstances and the safety and well-being of its own citizens.

I do not mean to say that upon all these subjects there are not Federal restraints. As, for instance, in the State power of legislation over contracts there is a Federal limitation that no State shall pass a law impairing the obligations of contracts; and as to crimes that no State shall not pass *ex post facto* laws; to money, that no State shall make anything but gold and silver a legal tender. But where can we find a Federal prohibition against the power of any State to discriminate as to most of them, between aliens and citizens, between artificial persons, called corporations, and natural persons, in the right to hold real estate. If it be granted that Congress can repeal all State laws discriminating between whites and blacks in the subjects covered by this bill, why, it may be asked, may not Congress repeal, in the same way, all those laws discriminating between the two races on the subject of suffrage and office? If Congress can declare by law who shall hold lands, who shall testify, who shall have capacity to make a contract in a State, then Congress can by law also declare who, without regard to race or color, shall have the right to sit as a juror or as a judge, to hold any office, and finally to vote, in every State and Territory of the United States. As respects the Territories, they come within the power of Congress, for as to them the lawmaking power is the Federal power; but as to the States, no similar provision exists, vesting in Congress the power to make laws and regulations for them.

The object of the second section of the bill is to afford discriminative protection to colored persons in the full enjoyment of all the rights secured to them. By the preceding section it declares that "any person who, under color of any law, statute, ordinance, regulation or custom, shall subject, or cause to be subjected, any inhabitant of any State or Territory to the deprivation of any right secured or protected by this act, or to different punishment, pains, or penalties, on account of such person having at any time been held in a condition of slavery, or involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, or by reason of his color or race, than is prescribed for the punishment of white persons, shall be deemed guilty of misdemeanor and on conviction shall be punished by fine not exceeding one thousand dollars, or imprisonment not exceeding one year, or both, in the discretion of the court." This section seems to be designed to apply to some existing or future law of a State or Territory, which may conflict with the provisions of the bill now under consideration. It provides for counteracting such forbidden legislation by imposing a fine and imprisonment upon the legislators who may pass such conflicting laws, or upon the officers or agents who shall put or attempt to put them into execution. It means an official offense, not a common crime committed against law upon the persons or property of the black race. Such an act may deprive the black man of his property, but not of the right to hold property. It means a deprivation of this right itself, either by the State judiciary or the State Legislature. It is, therefore, assumed that, under this section, members of State Legislatures who should vote for laws conflicting with the provisions of this bill, that judges of the State courts who should render judgments in antagonism with its terms, and that marshals and sheriffs who should, as ministerial officers, execute processes sanctioned by State laws and issued by State judges in execution of their judgments, could be brought before other tribunals, and there subjected to fine and imprisonment for the performance of the duties which such State laws might impose. The legislation thus proposed invades the judicial power of the State. It says to every State court or judge "If you decide that this act is unconstitutional; if you refuse, under the prohibition of a State law, to allow a negro to testify; if you hold that, over such a subject matter, the State law is paramount, and under color of a State law refuse the exercise of the right to the negro, your error of judgment, however conscientious, shall subject you to a fine and imprisonment." I do not apprehend that the conflicting legislation, which the bill seems to contemplate, is likely to occur as to render it necessary at this time to adopt a measure of such doubtful constitutionality.

In the next place, this provision of the bill seems to be unnecessary, as no adequate judicial remedies could be adopted to secure the desired end without involving the immunities of legislatures, always important to be preserved in the interest of public liberty—without assailing the independence of the judiciary, always essential to the preservation of individual rights, and without impairing the efficiency of ministerial officers, always necessary for the maintenence of public peace and order. The remedy proposed by this section seems to be in this respect not only anomalous, but unconstitutional, for the Constitution guarantees nothing with certainty if it does not ensure to the several States the right of making and executing laws in regard to all matters arising in their jurisdiction, subject only to the restriction that in cases of conflict with the Constitution and constitutional laws of the United States, the latter should be held to be the supreme law of the land.

The third section gives the District Court of the United States exclusive "cognizance of all crimes and offenses committed against the provisions of this act," and concurrent jurisdiction with the Circuit Courts of the United States of all civil and criminal cases affecting persons who are denied or cannot enforce in the courts or judicial tribunals of the State or locality wherever they may be any of the rights secured to them by the first section; and the construction which I have given to the second section is strengthened by this third section, for it makes clear what kind of denial or deprivation of the rights secured by the first section was in contemplation. It is a denial or deprivation of such rights "in the courts or judicial tribunals of the State." It stands, therefore, clear of doubt that the offense and penalties provided in the second section are intended for the State judge who, in the clear exercise of his functions as a judge, not acting ministerially, but judicially, shall decide contrary to this Federal law. In other words, when a State judge, acting upon a question involving a conflict between a State law, and bound, according to his own judgment and responsibility, to give an impartial decision between the two, comes to the conclusion that the State law is valid and the Federal law is invalid, he must not follow the dictates of his own judgment at the peril of fine and imprisonment. The legislative department of the Government of the United States thus takes from the judicial department of the State the sacred and exclusive duty of judicial decision, and converts the State judge into a mere ministerial officer, bound to decide according to the will of Congress.

It is clear that in the States which deny to persons whose rights are secured by the first section of the bill any one of these rights, all criminal and civil cases affecting them, will, by the provision of the third section, come under the exclusive cognizance of the Federal tribunals. It follows that if in any State which denies to a colored person any one of all those rights, that person should commit a crime against the laws of the State, murder, arson, rape, or any other crime, all protection or punishment through the courts of the State are taken away, and he can only be tried and punished by the Federal courts. How is the criminal to be tried if the offense is provided for and punished by Federal law; that law and not the State law is to govern?

It is only when the offense does not happen to be within the purview of Federal law that the State courts are to try and punish him. Under any other law, then resort is to be had to the common law as modified and changed by State legislation, so far as the same is not inconsistent with the Constitution and laws of the United States. So that over this vast domain of criminal jurisprudence, provided by each State for the protection of its own citizens, and for the punishment of all persons who violate its criminal laws, Federal law, wherever it can be made to apply, displaces State law. The question here naturally arises, from what source Congress derives the power to transfer to Federal tribunals certain classes of cases embraced in this section? The Constitution expressly declares that the judicial power of the United States shall extend to all cases in law and equity arising under this Constitution, the laws of the United States, and treaties made or which shall be made under their authority; to all cases affecting ambassadors, other public ministers, and consuls; to all cases of admiralty and maratime jurisdiction; to controversies to which the United States shall be a party; to controversies between two or more States; between a State and citizens of another State; between citizens of different States; and between a State or the citizens thereof, and foreign States, citizens or subjects.

Here the judicial power of the United States is expressly set forth and defined, and the act of Sept. 24th, 1789, establishing the judicial courts of the United States, in conferring upon the Federal courts jurisdiction over cases originating in State tribunals, is careful to confine them to the classes enumerated in the above-recited clause of the Constitution. This section of the bill undoubtedly comprehends cases and authorizes the excercise of powers that are not, by the Constitution, within the jurisdiction of the courts of the United States. To transfer them to the Courts of the U. S. would be an exercise of authority well calculated to excite distrust and alarm on the part of all the States, for the bill applies alike to all of them—as well to those that have not been engaged in rebellion. It may be assumed that this authority is incident to the power granted to Congress by the Constitution, as recently amended, to enforce, by appropriate legislation, the article declaring that neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist within the United States, or any place subject to their jurisdiction.

It cannot, however, be justly claimed that with a view to the enforcement of this article of the Constitution there is at present any necessity for the exercise of all the powers which this bill confers. Slavery has been abolished, and at present nowhere exists within the jurisdiction of the United States, nor has there been, nor is it likely there will be an attempt to renew it by the people or by the States. If, however, any such attempt shall be made, it will become the duty of the General Government to exercise any and all incidental powers necessary and proper to maintain inviolate the great law of freedom.

The fourth section of the bill provides that officers and agents of the Freedmen's Bureau shall be empowered to make arrests, and also that other officers be specially commissioned for that purpose by the President of the United States. It also authorizes Circuit Courts of the United States and the Superior Courts of the Territories, to appoint, without limitation, commissioners who are to be charged with the performance of quasi judicial duties.

The fifth section empowers the commissioners, so to be selected by the courts, to appoint in writing under their hands, one or more suitable persons, from time to time, to execute warrants and other prosecutions desired by the bill. These numerous official agents are made to constitute a sort of police in addition to the military, and are authorized to summon a *posse comitatus*, and even to call to their aid such portions of the land and naval forces of the United States, or of the militia, as may be necessary to the performance of the duty with which they are charged. This extraordinary power is to be conferred upon agents irresponsible to the government and to the people, to whose number the discretion of the commissioners is the only limit, and in whose hands such authority might be made a terrible engine of wrong, oppression and fraud.

The general statutes regulating the land and naval forces of the United States, the militia, and the execution of the laws, are believed to be adequate for every emergency which can occur in time of peace. If it should prove otherwise Congress can at any time amend those laws in such a manner as, while subserving the public welfare, not to jeopardize the rights, interests and liberties of the people.

The seventh section provides that a fee of ten dollars shall be paid to each commissioner in every case brought before him; and a fee of five dollars to his deputy or deputies for each person he or they may arrest and take before any such commissioner, with such other fees as may be deemed reasonable by such commissioner in general for performing such other duties as may be required in the premises. All these fees are to be paid out of the Treasury of the United States, whether there is a conviction or not; but in case of conviction they are to be recoverable from the defendant. It seems to me that under the influence of such temptation bad men might convert any law, however beneficent, into an instrument of persecution and fraud.

By the eighth section of the bill, the United States Courts, which sit only in one place for white citizens, must migrate, the marshal and district attorney, and necessarily the clerk, although he is not mentioned, to any part of the district, upon the order of the President, and there hold a court, for the purpose of the more speedy arrest and trial of persons charged with a violation of this act; and there the judge and officers of the court must remain, on the order of the President, for the time designated. The ninth section authorizes the President, or such person as he may empower for that purpose, to employ such part of the land and naval force of the United States, or of the militia, as shall be necessary to prevent the violation and enforce the due execution of this act. This language seems to imply an important military force, that is to be always at hand, and whose only business is to be the enforcement of this measure over the vast region where it is intended to operate.

I do not propose to consider the policy of this bill. To me the details of the bill are fraught with evil. The white race and the black race of the South have hitherto lived together under the relation of master and slave—capital owning labor. Now, suddenly, that relation is changed; and, as to ownership, capital and labor are divorced. They stand now each master of itself—in this new relation one being necessary to the other.

There will be a new adjustment which both are deeply interested in making harmonious. Each has equal power in settling the forms, and if left to the laws that regulate capital and labor, it is confidently believed that they will satisfactorily work out the problem. Capital, it is true, has more intelligence, but labor is never so ignorant as not to understand its own interests, not to know its own value, and not to see that capital must pay that value. This bill frustrates this adjustment, it intervenes between capital and labor, and attempts to settle questions of political economy through the agency of numerous officials, whose interest it would be to foment discord between the two races. So far as the breach widens, their employment will continue; and when it is closed, their occupation will terminate. In all our history, in all our experience, as a people living under Federal and State law, no such system as that contemplated by the details of this bill has ever before been proposed or adopted to establish for the security of the colored race safeguards which go infinitely beyond any that the General Government has ever provided for the white race. In fact, the distinction of race and color is by the bill made to operate in favor of the colored and against the white race.

They interfere with the municipal legislation of the States, with the relations existing exclusively between a State and its citizens, or between inhabitants of the same State—an absorption and assumption of power by the General Government, which, if acquiesced in, must sap or destroy our federative system of limited powers and break down the barriers which preserve the rights of the States. It is another step or rather stride, toward centralization, and the concentration of all legislative powers in the national government. The tendency of the bill must be to resuscitate the spirit of rebellion and to arrest the progress of those influences which are more closely drawing around the States the bonds of Union and peace.

My lamented predecessor, in his proclamation of the 1st of January, 1863, ordered and declared that all persons held as slaves within certain States, and parts of States therein designated, were and thenceforward should be free; and further, that the Executive government of the United States, including the naval and military authorities thereof, would recognize and maintain the freedom of such persons.—This guarantee is made especially obligatory and sacred by the amendment of the Constitution abolishing slavery throughout the United States. I therefore fully recognize the obligation to protect and defend that class of our people whenever and wherever it shall become necessary, and to the full extent compatible with the Constitution of the United States.

Entertaining these sentiments, it only remains for me to say that I will cheerfully co-operate with Congress in any measure that may be necessary for the promotion of the civil rights of the freedmen, as well as those of all other classes of persons throughout the United States, by judicial process, under equal and impartial laws, in conformity with the provisions of the Federal Constitution. I now return the bill to the Senate, and regret that in considering the bills and joint resolutions, forty two in number, which have been thus far submitted for my approval, I am compelled to withhold my assent from a second measure that has received the sanction of both Houses of Congress.

ANDREW JOHNSON.

Washington, D. C., March 27, 1866.

TOWN AND COUNTY.

Items Solicited from all Parts of the County.

"FIRST OF APRIL."—What with "moving," and the transaction of money matters and conveyance of property, we expect this to be a busy day in our place. We hope the printer will not be neglected—especially by those who have had jobbing and advertising done for estates. We confess to being considerably "short" in our financial anticipations, and hope that ALL indebted will not let this week pass without giving us "a lift." There is plenty on our books, and if we are paid as promptly as those whom we owe expect to be, we shall get through "swimmingly." The paper-maker, the store-keeper, the butcher, and last, but not least, the tax-collector, all say PAY UP—and so MUST WE. Come along, then—come along NOW—and don't put it off by supposing that the printer has money enough anyhow, for he hasn't.

Those at a distance are urged to remit by mail. The postmasters are getting honest under Andy Johnson's stern administration.

LEGISLATIVE.—The bill in regard to the selection of Jurors in Adams, Fayette, Washington and York counties, came up in the House on Thursday. Mr. Boyle moved to make the bill general, but the Republicans voted the motion down. Mr. Kelly moved to strike out the Republican county of Washington. Agreed to. Mr. Cameron moved to strike out the Democratic county of York. Not agreed to. Mr. Pershing objected to the bill because it was the very thing to carry politics into the jury-box. Mr. Stambaugh moved to insert Franklin, which was agreed to. McConaughy, by not inserting Franklin, in the Senate, cast upon the people of Adams the reproach that they are not as honest as the people of Franklin; but this was too much for Stambaugh, so he had Franklin included in the bill. After considerable discussion the bill passed by yeas 58, nays 28. Republican legislators are running up a heavy account "against the day of wrath."

McConaughy's bill disfranchising deserters was discussed in the House on Wednesday and Thursday. Mr. Boyle characterized the bill as infamous and the author as a very bad lawyer or a very bad man. He charged the author with a deliberate design to deprive men of their right to vote to screen certain parties from the charge of forgery. Mr. Pershing did not see how the legal adviser of the Governor could endorse the bill. As a lawyer, he MUST pronounce it unconstitutional. The bill was passed with slight amendments. We venture to predict that the Supreme Court will have no hesitation in pronouncing it clearly unconstitutional.

DESTRUCTIVE FIRE.—On Monday last, the dwelling of Mr. Geo. Harman, about 1 mile below Hampton, took fire, (how, we did not learn,) and was entirely destroyed, with a part of its contents. A high wind prevailing, the sparks were carried to the barn of Lemuel Malaun, about two hundred yards off, and it too was destroyed, with hay, straw, and several head of cattle and sheep. The fences about the barn took fire, and it was with great difficulty that Mr. Malaun's house was saved. The scene is described as terrible in the extreme. Mr. Harman was partially insured, but we cannot say whether any part of Mr. Malaun's loss was so covered.

DEATH OF AN AGED COUPLE ON THE SAME DAY.—On Wednesday week, in Mountpleasant township, Mr. Peter Weaver and his wife breathed their last, within a few hours of each other. They had been married about fifty years; and dying on the same day, their remains were deposited in the same grave. Mr. Weaver was in his 77th year, and his wife in her 70th.—They had travelled life's path hand in hand, "and in death they were not parted."

ORPHANS' HOME.—It is said that the prospect for the location of the National Homestead for Orphan Children of deceased Soldiers and Sailors, at Gettysburg, is good. The Sabbath Schools contributing throughout the country have expressed such a choice almost unanimously, and Rev. Dr. Bourns, of Philadelphia, has addressed R. G. McCreary, Esq., on the subject, asking whether accommodations can be furnished at once for about 80 children, and whether an eligible site could be procured. The institution would no doubt be a large one. Bishop Simpson is President of the association, and Hon. R. McPherson one of the Directors.

THE LADIES' FAIR at McSherrystown, for the benefit of the orphans at St. Joseph's, commences TO-DAY, and will continue throughout the week. The grand Dinner will come off on Wednesday. This Fair offers unusual attractions, and we hope to see it liberally patronized—thus to properly reward the labors of the good ladies of Conowago, and at the same time realize a handsome sum for so praiseworthy a purpose.

SCHOOL STATEMENTS.—By the Common School Law of the State, it is made the duty of Directors "to publish an annual statement of the amount of monies received and expended, and the amount due from collectors, and setting forth all the financial operations of the district, in not less than ten written or printed handbills, to be put up in the most public places in the district."

We have just printed a large lot of blank Statements, for the convenience of Directors. They are gotten up in the best style, and according to the latest form. Every Board should have the necessary supply.

JUSTICES OF THE PEACE, chosen at the recent election, are required to file their acceptance with the Prothonotary within thirty days after the election—otherwise their commissions will not be issued by the Governor. Such as intend to enter upon the duties of the office should not fail to attend to this important matter in time.

The Beaver Local editor has been called by John H. Bleghly, county commissioner, to answer a charge of libel in saying that the official charged the county $417 for one year's loafing in the commissioners' office. Two hours later an offer was made to withdraw the suit if the editor would agree to retract, but he is determined to stick to it until he has shown up the shoddy clique in all phases of public mismanagement. The people will sustain him in the right.

This John H. Bleghly resided in this town some eighteen years ago. He removed to the Western part of the State, and finally located in Beaver county, where he turned Republican, (no doubt to be on the "strong side,") and was elected to the office of County Commissioner, much to the astonishment of those who knew him here.

One of the paper mills of Messrs. Wm. B. Mullin & Son, at Papertown, was destroyed by fire on Monday night last—loss $12,000 or $15,000, but fully covered by insurance. Weakley's hotel stables, at Carlisle, were burned on Wednesday night week, and Abraham Philips' barn, in the same place, on Monday night. In the latter two fine horses perished. Two young men, who were seen running away from the barn just as the flames burst forth, have been arrested on the charge of arson.

Our friend Daniel S. Diehl, of Tyrone township, recently sold a horse for the handsome sum of $250. At Mr. Myers' sale, in Oxford township, a cow brought $100 25—a fine animal, churning 12 pounds of butter per week.

At the spring elections in Franklin county the Democrats elected 13 of the 23 Election Judges, with 255 majority on the aggregate vote. Good for the "Green Spot!"

Dry goods are on the fall. The decline in prices in New York for the past month has amounted to one hundred per cent. This will be good news to the people.

RECORD YOUR DEEDS.—The attention of parties holding unrecorded Deeds is directed to the provisions of the Act of Assembly, which require that—

"All deeds and conveyances for real estate in this Commonwealth, shall be recorded in the office for Recording Deeds in the county where the lands lie, WITHIN SIX MONTHS after the execution of such deeds and conveyance; and every such deed and conveyance not recorded as aforesaid, shall be adjudged FRAUDULENT AND VOID against any subsequent purchaser for a valuable consideration, unless such deeds be recorded before the recording of the deed or conveyance under which such a subsequent purchaser or mortgagee shall claim."

This is a very important notice, and those holding unrecorded deeds will see the importance of having them recorded without further delay.

Hon. George Chambers died at Chambersburg on the 25th ult., aged 80 years.

On Saturday afternoon last, a young man named Mellinger, of Elizabethtown, this country, acting Mail Agent on the Reading and Columbia Railroad, was arrested by a Post Office Detective and committed to Prison at Reading on the charge of robbing the U. S. Mail. It appears that for some time past letters containing money and other valuables, had not reached their destination by this route, and steps were accordingly taken to ferret out the matter. The detective deposited a letter containing a sum of money marked, in the Post Office at Reading, and followed the same there. When he reached that city, finding that the letter had not arrived, he arrested the Mail Agent, upon whose person was found the marked money.—*Lancaster Intelligencer.*

SPECIAL NOTICES.

Are You Stout and Full Blooded?

If you are stout, fleshy, of a full blooded or plethoric habit, you are probably subject to headaches, vertigo, dizziness, a rush of blood to the head, and congestive diseases generally. At any rate, you are more likely to be afflicted in that manner than people of a more lean habit. Now you, above all other persons in the world, should have constantly on hand a box of Radway's Regulating Pills. If you never have to use them, so much the better. The 25 cents they cost will be a cheap investment if it succeeds in frightening away disease. It will be a cheaper one if, in a sudden attack, when no other medical aid be convenient, it rescue you from the grave. Because you are stout and plethoric, people will tell you to get bled. Commit no such act of folly. Let Dr. Radway's Pills be your only protector. The difficulty, if you are attacked by a rush of blood to the head, is caused by a disturbed circulation of the blood and not by a too great quantity of it in your system. It is occasioned by an irregular action of your heart and liver, and bleeding will only increase, not diminish, that irregularity. What you need is something to restore the organs to a natural and regular action, and thus equalize the circulation of the blood. That is precisely the effect of a dose or two of Radway's Regulating Pills. They do not merely purge. They "regulate" the liver, the bowels, the spleen, the kidneys, and so on. They expel from the body the injurious matter, and search out for that purpose all diseased humors and deposits wherever hidden. In this manner they restore a healthy action to the heart, the brain, and the lungs, as well as the stomach, render the circulation of the blood even, and keep your head as clear as though you had never possessed an ounce of superfluous flesh. Such are Radway's Pills. Sold by Druggists.

N. B.—Radway's Pills are elegantly coated with gum, which renders them perfectly tasteless and free from smell. They can be swallowed by children as easily as sugar plums.—They are the most pleasant medicine in the form of pills in general use. They purge thoroughly yet mildly. Principal office, 87 Maiden Lane, New York. RADWAY & Co.

April 2, 1866. 2w

Allcock's Porous Plasters.

A celebrated physician says he was amazed at the great number of beneficial inflections produced by one of these plasters. He affirms that *headache* is cured by one worn just below the breast-bone; that one placed over the navel will cure hysterics, as well as dysentery, and affections of the bowels."

CURE OF VARICOSE VEINS.

City Point, Va., Jan. 24, 1865.

T. Allcock & Co.—Seeing your notice in the Police Gazette, I got four of your Porous Plasters and placed them on the parts where the pains were most severe, and in less than twelve hours could walk as well as ever. I could hardly believe it, I was so well pleased. I wanted to see if the lameness would come back on me or not, so I did more walking that day than I had done in a week. The next day I had some pain in my hip, but I put on a plaster there and in two hours the pain was all gone, nor have I felt it since. Certainly they are the best application for the relief and cure of pains in the joints and back, and for varicose or enlarged veins, I have ever known, and I would not be without them on any account. Yours, truly,

Mar. 12 1m JOSEPH GATEWOOD.

Dr. Tobias' Venetian Liniment.

It cures Cholera, when first taken, in a few hours; Dysentery in half an hour; Toothache in five minutes. It is perfectly innocent to take internally, and is recommended by the most eminent Physicians in the United States. Price 40 and 80 cents.

Tonawanda, Pa., Aug. 8, 1859.

Dr. S. I. Tobias, New York: Dear Sir—I have used your Venetian Liniment with great success, both as an internal as well as an external medicine. In cases of Bilious Colic and Cholera Morbus I regard it as a sovereign remedy. Your Venetian Horse Liniment stands unrivalled as a horse medicine amongst farmers and boatmen on this canal.

WM. LEWIS,
Sup't North Branch Canal.

Sold by all Druggists. Office, No. 56 Cortlandt st., New York. [Mar. 12. 1m

To Consumptives.

The advertiser, having been restored to health in a few weeks by a very simple remedy, after having suffered for several years with a severe lung affection, and that dread disease, Consumption—is anxious to make known to his fellow-sufferers the means of cure.

To all who desire it, he will send a copy of the prescription used (free of charge) with the directions for preparing and using the same, which they will find a SURE CURE FOR CONSUMPTION, ASTHMA, BRONCHITIS, COUGHS, COLDS, and all Throat and Lung Affections.—The only object of the advertiser in sending the Prescription is to benefit the afflicted, and spread information which he conceives to be invaluable, and he hopes every sufferer will try his remedy, as it will cost them nothing, and may prove a blessing.

Parties wishing the prescription, FREE, by return mail, will please address

REV. EDWARD A. WILSON,
Williamsburg, Kings co., New York.

Mar. 5, 1866. 1y

To Die in a Bad Cause

as those who fall in the rebel ranks undoubtedly do, is foolish. But on the other hand DYEING FOR A GOOD CAUSE as those who are wise and prudent enough to remedy the defects of nature with CHRISTADORO'S HAIR DYE, are doing every day, in every City of the Union, is eminently praiseworthy. This peaceful revolution is going on throughout the whole land, and thus beauty and harmony supplant homeliness and incongruity. Manufactured by J. CRISTADORO, No. 6 Astor House, New York. Sold by Druggists. Applied by all Hair Dressers. [May 8. 1m

Errors of Youth.

A Gentleman who suffered for years from Nervous Debility, Premature Decay, and all the effects of youthful indiscretion, will for the sake of suffering humanity, send free to all who need it, the recipe and directions for making the simple remedy by which he was cured. Sufferers wishing to profit by the advertiser's experience, can do so by addressing

JOHN B. OGDEN,
No. 13 Chambers St., New York.

Mar. 5, 1866. 1y

Eye and Ear!

PROF. J. ISAACS, M. D., Oculist and Aurist, formerly of Layden, Holland, is located at No. 519 PINE Street, PHILADELPHIA, where persons afflicted with diseases of the EYE or EAR, will be scientifically treated and cured, if curable. N. B.—ARTIFICIAL EYES inserted without pain. No charges made for examination. The medical faculty is invited, as he has no secret in his mode of treatment.

July 17, 1865. 1y