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JOB PRINTING, of every kind, done with FALL AND WINTER GOODS, meatness and dispatch. THE GAZETTE OFFICE has just been refitted with a Power Press and new type, and everything in the Printing line can be executed in the most artistic manner and at the lowest rates.-TERMS CASH.

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April 6, 1866-1y

J. MCD. SHARPE. E. F. KERR. SHARPE & KERR, ATTORNEYS AT LAW. BEDFORD, PA., will practice in the courts of Bedford and adjoining counties Of-face on Juliana st., opposite the Banking House of Reed & Schell. [March 2, '66. JOHN LUTZ. R. DURBORROW.

DURBORROW. DURBORROW & LUTZ, ATTORNEYS AT LAW, BEDFORD, PA., Will attend promptly to all business intrusted to their care. Collections made on the shortest no-

tice. They are, also, regularly licensed Claim Agents and will give special attention to the prosecution of claims against the Government for Pensions, Back Pay, Bounty, Bounty Lands, &c. Office on Juliana street, one door South of the "Mengel House," and nearly opposite the *Inquirer* office.

OHN P. REED, ATTORNEY AT LAW, BEDFORD, PA. Respectfully tenders his services to the public. Office second door North of the Mengel House. Bedford, Aug, 1, 1861.

OHN PALMER, ATTORNEY AT

LAW, BEDFORD, PA. Will promptly attend o like, independent of the serie. Particular attention paid to the collection of Military claims. Office on Juliana Street, nearly opposite the Mengel House.

Bedford, Aug. 1, 1861. Calicoes, Delaines, Coburg Cloths, I noes, Alpacas, Flannels, Ginghams, laines, all colors, large stock of blead bleached Muslins, Cloths, Cassimered ESCHORT Aug. 14 1001. RSPY M. ALSIP, ATTORNEY AT LAW, BEDFORD, PA. Will faithfully and promptly attend to all business entrusted to his eare in Bedford and adjoining counties. Military 'laims, back pay, bounty, &c., speedily collected. Office with Mann & Spang, on Juliana street, t so doors South of the Mengel House. Jan. 22, 1864, A large assortment of Men's and Bo Shoes Ladies' Misses' and Children's

KIMMELL. J. W. LINGENFELTER. IMMELL & LINGENFELTER,

# Bedkord Gazette. The

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general assortment of

FALL AND WINTER GOODS,

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A large and complete stoc

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### BEDFORD, PA., FRIDAY MORNING, MARCH 15, 1867.

## Dry Goods, Groceries, &c,

iety which its transcendant importance is calculated to awaken. I am unable to give it my assent, for reasons so grave that I hope a statement of them may have some influence on the minds

of the patriotic and enlightened, with m the decision must ultimately The bill places all the people of the whom rest. ten States therein named under absolute domination of military rulers, and the preamble undertakes to give the reasons upon which it is justified. It de-clares that there exists in those States no legal government and no adequate protection to life or property, and asserts the necessity of enforcing peace and good order within their limits. It is true, as a matter of fact, that it is not denied that the States in question have each of them an actual government with all the powers executive, judicial and legislative, which properly belong to a free state. There are the shall have power to or-ganize a military commission or tribu-

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completely as their circumstances will permit. The bill, however would seem proved by the President. This applies to show upon its face that the estab- to cases in which there has been a trial clares that the preceding sections shall may condemn to death without even cease to operate in any State where certain events have happened. These are : State convention by an election, at which negroes shall be allowed to vote. Second, The formation of a State Constitution by convention so chosen. 3d. The insertion into the State Constitution of a provision which will secure rights of voting, at all elections, to negroes and such white men as may not be disfranchised for rebellion or felony. 4th. The submission of the Constitution for ratification to negroes and white men not disfranchised, and its actual ratification by their vote. 5th The submission of the State Constitution to Congress for the examination and actual approval of it by that body. 6th. The adoption of certain amendments to the Federal Constitution by a vote of legislation elected under the new Constitution. 7th, The adoption of said amendment by a sufficient number of other States to make it a part of the Constitution of the United States All these conditions must be fulfilled before the people of any of these States can be relieved from bondage by military domination; but when they are fulfilled then the pains and penalties of the bill are to cease, no matter wheththere be peace and order or not, without reference to the security of life and property. The excuse given for the bill in the preamble is admitted by the bill itself not to be real. The mili tary rule which it establishes is plainly to be used, not for any purpose of order and the prevention of crime, but solely as a means of coercing the people into the adoption of principles and measures to which it is known they are opposed, and upon which they have an undeniable right to exercise their own judgment. I submit to Congress whether this measure is not in its whole scope and object without precedent and without authority, in palpable conflict with the plainest provisions of the Constitution, and utterly destructive to those great principles of liberty and numanity for which our ancestors on both sides of the Atlantic shed so much blood and expended so much treasure. The ten States named in the bill are divided into five districts. For each district an officer of the army not below the rank of Brigadier General is to be appointed to rule over the people, and he is to be supported with an efficient military force to enable him to per-form his duties, and that the authority as defined by the third section of the bill is to protect all persons in their rights of person and property, to sup-press disorder and violence, and to punish all disturbers of the public peace or criminals. The power thus given to the commanding officer over all the people of each State, is that of an absoute monarch. His mere will is to take the place of all law. The law of the States is the only rule applicable to the subject placed under his control, and that is completely displaced by the lause which declares all interference of the State authority to be null and

him without a warrant of accusation or proof of the probable cause. If he gives them a trial before he inflicts the

ded so to do. To a casual reader of the bill it might seem that some Find of a not require that he shall do so if any State or Federal tribunal presumes to exercise its legal jurisdiction by trial of a malefactor; without his special permission he can break it up and punish the judges and jurors as being themselves malefactors, he can save his friends from justice and despoil his en-

free State. They are organised like other States of the Union, and like them, they make, andminister and ex-erute the laws which be used only when in his judgment it other States of the Union, and like them, they make, andminister and ex-ecute the laws which concern their do-metic and the first state of the sta mestic affairs. An existing *de facto* even if the sentence of a commission government exercising such functions were made a prerequisite to the punishment of a party, it would be scarcely the State upthe slightest ckeck upon the officer who jurisdiction. has authority to organize it as he pleaslaw-making es, and prescribe its mode of proceedate illegal, is ings and the appointments of its memf is unlawful. bers from his own subordinates and rehese governvise all its decisions instead of mitiga-ting the harshness of his single rule. preservation crime and injuries, are Such a tribunal would be used much the same as more probably to divide the responsibility of making it more cruel or unies, they cer-just. Several provisions dictated by the humanity of Congress, have been inserted in the bill, apparently to re-strain the power of the commanding rthern States well as else- officer; but it seems to me that they are es escape for on, and occa-efficiency of shall not be unnecessarily delayed; but efficiency of shall not be unnecessarily delayed; but jurors. It is I think I have shown that the power is given to punish without trial, and if so, se evils have this provision is practicably inoperavated North alizing influ-tive. Cruel or unusual punishment is not to be inflicted, but who is to decide what is cruel or usual or unusual. The has engenwords have acquired a legal meaning le are mainthe object of the courts of th er their own derstand it and follow a rule in lanre, is in itself he averment taining in the least degree to their proaverment

To the House of Representatives: I have examined the bill to provide for the more efficient government of the rebel States with the care and anx-iety which its transcendant importance States were in truth out of the Union, we could not treat them in a way which punishment, he gives of his own grace and mercy, not because he is comman-people assume that the success of our arms in crushing the opposition, which was made in some States to the executrial was secured to persons accused of tion of the Federal laws, reduced those crime; but such is not the case. The officer may ask local or civil tribunals to try offenders; but of course this does age, and gave us a power over them, which the Constitution does not bestow or define or limit. No fallacy can be more transparent than this. Our victories subjected the insurgents to legal obedience, not to the yoke of an arbitrary despotism. When an absolute sov-ereign reduces his rebellious subjects he may deal with them according to his pleasure, because he had that power before. But when a limited monarch puts down a rebellion he must govern according to law. If any insurrection should take place

in one of our States against the authority of the State government and end in the overthrow of those who planned it, it would take away the rights of all the people of the counties where it was fa-vored by a part of a majority of the population, could they for such a reas-on be wholly outlawed and deprived of their representation in the Legislature. I have always contended that the Government of the United States was sov-ereign within its Constitional sphere that it executed its laws like the States themselves, by employing its coercive powers directly to individuals—and that it could put down insurrection with the same effect as a State, and no other. An opposite doctrine is the worst heresy of those who advocate se-Invasion, insurrection and domestic violence were anticipated when the government was framed, and means of reclare that States in which they might occur should be expelled from the U-nion. Rebellions which were invariably suppressed occurred prior to that out of which these questions grow, but the States continued to exist and the Union remained unbroken. In Massachusetts, in Pennsylvania, in Rhode Island, and in New York at different utterly improbable, and the averment of the bill to that effect is not supported by any evidence which has come to my knowledge. All the information I have on the subject convinces me that the mass of the Southern people and those ag, the ball and chain, and other two control their public acts, while uestions of policy are completely uni-ted in their effort to reorganize their society on a basis of peace, and restore mutual prosperity as rapidly and as completely as their circumstances will so true that in the Southern States the ordinances of secession were treated by lishment of peace and good order is not and sentence. I take it to be clear un- all friends of Union as mere nullities, its real object. The fifth section de- der the bill that military commanders and are now acknowledged to be so by the States themselves. If we admit that they had any force or validity, or that they did in fact take the States in which they were passed out of the Union, we sweep from under our feet all the grounds upon which we stand, in justifying the use of federal force to maintain the integrity of the government. This bill was passad in Congress many subordinates as he chooses to appoint, for it declares that "he shall pun-one of the States brought under its opish or cause to be punished." Such a eration, either war or insurrection; the laws of the State and of the Federal arch in England for more than five Government are in undisturbed and hundred years. In all that time no harmonious operation, the Courts people who speak the English language State and Federal-are open and in full have borne such servitude; it reduces exercise of their proper authority over The Constitution declares that no perthe whole population of the ten States —all persons of every color, sex or condition and every stranger within their limits—to the most abject and degra-Federal laws, and the National Constiding slavery. No master ever had a control so absolute over his slaves, as the severywhere in force, and everywhere in force, and everywhere in force, and everywhere in force, and everywhere in spectral always and the spectral difference of the army are too magnanimous, just these ten States. It is reiterated by way and humane, to oppress and trample upon a subjugated people. I do not doubt that army officers are as well en-or property exist in those States, and titled to this confidence as any other that peace and good order should thus time of peace and authorize the militaclass of men; but the history of the world be enforced in them. The first thing ry to make the arrest and gives to the has been written in vain if it does not that arrests attention upon these reciteach us that unrestrained authority tals, which prepare the way for mar-can never be safely trusted in human tial law, is this: That the only foun-He has no hope of release from custody hands-it is almost sure to be more or dation in which martial law can exist abused under any circumstance, under our form of government is not and it has always resulted in gross tyr-anny where rulers—who are strangers war, foreign invasion, or domestic into their subjects, and come among them as representatives of a distant power, none of these in fact exist. It is not and more especially when the power that sends them is unfriendly. Gov-even recited that any sort of war or in-surrection is threatened. Let us pause ernments closely resembling that here proposed, have been fully tried in Hun-constitutional law and the power of the ten states and puts the life, properdured by those people aroused the sym- Supreme Court of the United States in in each of them under the domination pathies of the entire world. It was tried in Ireland, and though first tem-pered by principles of the English law, it gave birth to cruelties so atrocious that they are never recounted without must be actual and present, and the injust indignation. The French conven- vasion real, such as to effectually close tion armed its deputies with this pow-er, and sent them to Southern depart-ities." We see that martial law comes in only when actual war closes the murders and other atrocities which they committed show what the pas-sions of the ablest men in most civili-law operate as though we were in actuzed society will attempt to do when al war, and becomes the cause instead and reverse its own action. The fathwholly unrestrained by law. The men of our race in every age have struggled to tie up the hands of their governments follows from what has been said on withheld the power from Congress and and keep them within law, because this subject that there are occasions thus forbade its exercise by that body, their own experience of all mankind when martial law can be properly aptaught them that rulers could not be plied; if in civil or foreign war the courts that no State should pass any bill of atrelied on to concede those rights which are actually closed and it is impossible they were not legally bound to respect. to administer justice according to the The head of a great empire has some- law, then, on the theatre of military times governed with a mild and pater-nal sway, but kindness of an irrespon-sible deputy never yields what lawdoes not extort. Between such a master and the way is a net the state of the the people subjugated to his domina-tion their can be nothing but enmity. but the military, it is allowed to govern He punishes them if they resist his au-thority, and if they submit he hates them for their servility them for their servility. I come now to the question which is, if possible, still more important. Have

VOL. 61 .--- WHOLE No. 5,384.

THE PRESIDENTS VETO OF THE MIL-ITARY RECONSTRUCTION BILL. WASHINGTON, March 2.—The fol-lowing is the message of the President of the United States, returning to the House of Representatives :" To the House of Representatives: be exercised in time of foreign war without the boundaries of the United States or during a rebellion within the limits of the States maintaining adhesion to the national Government when public danger requires its exercise. The first of these may be called jurisdiction to render military law, and is found in the acts of Congress prescribing rules and articles of war, or otherwise pro-viding for the government of the na-tional forces. The second may be dis-tinguished as military government, superceding, as far as many be deemed expedient, local law, and exercised by the military commander, under direction of the President, with express or implied sanction of Congress. The or implied sanction of Congress. The third may be denominated as martial law proper, and is called into action by other conditions and contingencies, ov-Congress, or temporarily when the ac-tion of Congress cannot be invited, and in case of justyfying or excusing peril, by the President in times of insurrection or invasion of civil or foreign war, within districts or localities where ordinary law no longer adequately insure these States entitled to representation the public safety.

Constitution, there is but one that can now prevails will continue to disturb constitution, there is but one that can prevail in time of peace, and that is the code of laws enacted by Congress for the government of the National forces. That body of military law has no ap-plication to the citizen, or even to the citizen soldier enrolled in the militia citizen soldier enroued in the minuta in time of peace. But this bill is not a part of that sort of military law, for that applies only to the soldier, and not the citizen; while contrawise the introduction of the united States, and practi-cally excludes them from the United If this assumption of the bill be correct, their concurrence cannot be considered a heir concurrence cannot be considered military law provided by this bill applies only to the citizen, and not to the soldier. I need not say to the representatives of the American people that their Constitution forbids the exercise of judicial power in any way but one, of that amendment, thus leaving the cession, and cannot be agreed to with-out admitting that heresy to be right. and that is by the ordained and estab-lished courts. It is equally well known lished courts. It is equally well known that in all criminal cases a trial by jury is made indispensable by the express words of that instrument. I will not pelling and suppressing them were wisely provided for in the Constitution; but it was not thought necessary to deenlarge on the inestimable value of the or speak of danger to public liberty in all parts of the country, which must ensue from a denial of it anywhere or upon any pretence. A very recent de-cision of the Supreme Court has traced the authority, vindicated the dignity and made known the value of this privilege so clearly that nothing more is needed. To what extent and violation may be excused in time of war or pubseems to be scarcely possible that any one should scarcely believe that this is consistent with a Constitution, which declares in simple, plain and unambigthat all persons shall uous language. have that right, and that no person shall ever in any case be deprived of it. The Constitution also forbids the arrest of a citizen without a judicial warrant, foundation or probable cause. This bill authorizes the arrest without a warrant at the pleasure of a military commander. The Constitution declares great ends have been attained that no person shall be held to answer for a capital or otherwise infamous crime, unless on presentment by a grand This bill holds every person not a oldier answerable for all crimes and all charges without any presentment. son shall be deprived of life, liberty or property, without due process of law. This bill sets aside all process of law and makes the citizen answerable in when in case of rebellion or invasion the public safety may require. Whereas this bill declares martial law, which of itself suspends this great writin prisoners only one privilege, and that except the hope, such as it is, of a release by acquittal before a military commission. The United States are ound to guarantee to each State a Republican form of government. Can it be pretended that this obligation is not palpably broken if we carry out a measure like this; which wipes away every Congress. The recent decision of the ty, liberty, and honor of all the people pass bills of attainder, that is to say: It would convict men of treason and othtimes a patient and fair one, bu tainder. It is, therefore impossible for any person in this country to be constitutionally convicted or punished for any crime by a legislative proceeding of any sort. Nevertheless, here is a tion so vague as to be scarcely intelli-

and object of the bill, the general intent which prevails from beginning to end is to change the entire structure and character of the State governments and character of the State governments and compel them by force to the adoption of organic law and regulation, which they are unwilling to adopt. If left to themselves, the negroes will not ask for the privilege of voting. The vast majority of them have no idea of what it means. This not only thrusts it into their hands, but compels them as well as whites to use it in a

to the condition of slaves. The purpos

them as well as whites to use it in a particular way, and if they do not form a constitution with prescribed articles in it, and afterwards elect a legislature which will act on certain measures in the prescribed way, neither blacks nor whites can be relieved from the slavery which the bill imposes upon them. Without pausing here to consider the policy or impolicy of Africanising the Southern part of our territory, I would simply ask the attention of Congress to that manifest, well-known and univer-sally acknowledged rule of Constitution-al law, which declares that the Federal Government has no jurisdiction, au-thority or power to regulate such sub-jects for any State. To force the right of suffrage out of the hands of the white people, and into the hands of negroes, is an arbitrary violation of this princi-

ple. This bill imposes martial law at once, and its operation will begin so soon as the General and his troops can be placed. The dread alternative between its harsh rule and compliance with the terms of this measure is not suspended, nor are er which they have no control, yet remain to be fulfilled before they can be relieved from martial law. Another Congress must first approve of the Con-stitution made in conformity with the will of this Congress and must declare in both Houses. The whole question It will be observed that of the three kinds of military jurisdiction which can be exercised or created under our as having been legally given, and the important fact is made to appear that the consent of 3-fourths of the States, the requisite number, has not been constitutionly obtained to the satisfaction question of slavery where it stood be-fore the amendment was officially declared to have become a part of the Constitution. That the measure proposed by this bill violates the Constitution in the particular mentioned, and in many ways, (will not enumerate,) is too clear to admit of the least doubt. It only remains to consider whether the injunc-tion of the instrument ought to be obeyed or not. I think they ought to be obeyed for reasons which I will pro-ceed to give as briefly as possible. In the first place it is the only system of free government which we can hope to have as a nation when it ceases to be

"Mengel House," opposite the residence of Mrs. Tate. May 13, 1864. W. DICKERSO . F. MEYERS. EYERS & DICKERSON, AT-MEYERS & DICKERSON, AT TORNEYS AT LAW, Bedford, Pa., office same as formerly occupied by Ron. W. P. Schell, two doors east of the Gazerre office, will practice in the several courts of Bedford county. Pensions, bounty and back pay obtained and the purchase and sale of real estate attended to. [may11, '66. OHN H. FILLER, Attorney at Law, Bedford, Pa. Office nearly opposite the Post ce. [apr.20,'66.-1y.

Physicians and Dentists.

DR. GEO. B. KELLEY, having permanently located in ST. CLAIRS-VILLE, tenders his professional services to the itizens of that place and vicinity. nov2'6691 VILLE, te

R. J. L. MARBOURG, Having permanently located, respectfully tenders ofessional services to the citizens of Bedford and violity. Office on Juliana street, east side, nearly opposite the Banking House of Reed & Schell.

Bedford, February 12, 1864. J. G. MINNICH. JR.,

DENTISTS,<sup>1</sup> Defice in the Bank Building, Juliana St. All operations pertaining to Surgical or Me-nanical Dentistry carefully performed, and war-nted. Tooth Powders and mouth Washes, ex-

ellent articles, always on hand. TFRMS-CASH. Bedford, January 6, 1865.

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TEETH EXTRACTED WITHOUT PAIN. by the use of Nitrous Oxide, and is attended with no danger whatever.

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upon a new style of base, which is a combination of Gold and Vulcanite; also, upon Vulcanite, Gold, Platina and Silver. TEMPORARY SETS inserted if called for. Special attention will be made to diseased gums and a cure warranted or no charge made. TEETH FILLED to last for life, and all work is the detail life done to the antiremising factor of

the dental line done to the entire satisfaction of I or the money refunded. Prices to correspond

and shall visit Schellsburg the 1st Monday of each mu shii visit Senedisburg the 1st Monday of each month, remaining one week; Bloody Run the 3rd Monday, remaining one week; the balance of my ime I can be found at my office, 3 doors South of the Court House, Bedford, Pa. nov.16,'86. WM. W. VAN ORMER, Dentist. Monday,

DR. H. VIRGIL PORTER,

(late of New York City,) DENTIST.

Would respectfully inform his numerous friends, and the public generally, that he has located per-manently in Bloody Run, where he may be found at all times prepared to insert full or partial sets of his BEAUTIFUL ARTIFICIAL TEETH on new and

Teeth filled in a superior manner. Teeth extracted without pain. All operations warranted. feb15tf.

ANIEL BORDER, PITT STREET. TWO DOORS WEST OF THE BED FORD HOTEL, BEDFORD, PA. WATCHMAKER AND DEALER IN JEWEL-

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DRINTERS' INK has made many a business man righ We ask you to try it in the re-solutions of THE GAZETTE Jul

and Gaiters, all prices, and sizes to suit everybody. CLOTHING : ATTORNEYS AT LAW. BEDFORD, PA., Have formed a partnership in the practice of he Law. Office on Juliana street, two doors South of the "Mengel House," A very large stock of Men's and Boys' Coats, Pants and Vests, all sizes, and prices to suit the times. HATS AND CAPS: A complete assortment of all kinds, sizes and prices. G. H. SPANG, ATTORNEY AT LAW BEDFORD, PA. Will promptly at-this care in Bedford and adjoining counties. Office on Juliana Street, three doors south of the 'Mengeel House.'' onnesita the ranjdonce of Mar A prime article Sole Leather, Calf Skins, Kip and Upper Leather and Linings. COTTON CHAINS, Single and Double, all numbers, cheap. CEDAR AND WILLOW WARE, Tubs, Buckets, Brooms, Baskets, &c. Call and see our stock of Goods and be convinced that No. 1 Anderson's Row, is the place to get bargains. J. M. SHOEMAKER. sep. 28, '66. NEW STORE !! NEW GOODS !! MILL-TOWN, two miles West of Bedford, where the subscriber has opened out a splendid assortment of Groceries, Notions, &c., &c. Dry-Goods, All which will be sold at the most reasonable VILLE, tenders his professional services to the citizens of that place and vicinity. nov2'66y1 W. JAMISON, M. D., BLOODY est to the people of that place and vicinity. Office one door west of Richard Langdon's store. Nov. 24, '65-1y Nov. 24, '65-1y Everybody buys 'em Call and examine our goods. dec7,'66. G. YEAGER. 1867.- . B. F. AT # AGAIN! -1867. AND A rare CHANCE for BARGAINS! JAMES B. FARQUHAR Is pleased to state to his friends and former cu mers, that he has RESUMED BUSINESS IN BEDFORD, at the well known P. A. Reed stand, opposite the Bedford Hotel, where he is prepared to sell everything in his line, CHEAPER THAN THE CHEAPEST ! He has a full line of Dry-Goods, Ready-Made Clothing, Boots and Shoes. which have been purchased at very low prices, and will be sold at a very small advance. Call and examine our stock. jan,18,'67. Bankers. REED, AND SCHELL, Bankers and DEALERS IN EXCHANGE, BEDFORD, PA.,

DRAFTS bought and sold, collections made and Deposits solicited.

D UPP & SHANNON, BANKERS, BEDFORD, PA. BANK OF DISCOUNT AND DEPOSIT.

COLLECTIONS made for the East, West, North and South, and the general business of Exchange transacted. Notes and Accounts Collected and Remittances promptly made. REAL ESTATE bought and sold. feb8

DICHARD LEO, Manufacturer of

CABINET-WARE, CHAIRS, &C.,

BEDFORD, PA., The undersigned being engaged in the Cabinet making business, will make to order and keep hand everything in his line of manufacture. BUREAUS, DRESSING STANDS, PARLOR AND EXTEN SION TABLES, CHAIRS, BEDSTEADS, WASH-

STANDS, & C., & C., will be furthished at all prices, and to suit every taste. COFFINS will also be made to order. "Prompt attention paid to all orders for work. "Shop on West Pitt Street, nearly opposite the residence of George Shouk

the residence of George Shuck. July 10, 1863.-tf RICHARD LEO.

form of trial by a military commission, so that the life of the condemned may First, the selection of delegations to a depend on the will of two men instead of one. It is plain that the authority here given to military officers amounts to absolute despotism, but to make it still more unendurable, the bill pro-vides that it may be delegated to as power has not been wielded by a mongary and Poland, and the suffering enments of the republic. The massacres, murders and other atrocities which void. He alone is permitted to deter-mine what are the rights of person and property. He may protect them in such way as in his discretion may seem proper. It places at his free disposal all the lands and goods in his district. He may distribute them without let or

self-governments, having a controlling power to defend the general interests, and recognizing the authority of the State as the guardians of Industrial rights. It is the spot-anchor of our safety abroad and our peace at home. It was ordained to form a more perfect Union, e-tablish justice, insure domestic tranquility, promote the general welfare, provide for the common defense, and secure the blessings of liberty to These heretofore and will be again by faithful obedience to it, and they are certain to be lost if we treat with disregard its sacred obligations. It was to punish the gross crime of defying the Constitution and vindicate its supreme authority, that we carried on a bloody war of four yea:s duration. Shall we now acknowledge that we sacrificed a million of lives and expended billions of treasure to enforce a Constitution which is not worthy of respect and preservation?

the Constitution as administered by us. If we now verify their assertion we prove they were in truth and fact fighting for their liberty, and instead of branding their leaders with the dishonoring name of traitors against a righteous, legal, government, we elevate them in history of self-sacrificing patriots, consecrate them to the admiration of the world, and place them by the side of. Washington, Hampden and Sidney. No. Let us leave them to the infamy

they deserve, punish them as they should be punished according to law, and take upon ourselves no share of a Union which they should bear alone. It is a part of our public history which can never be forgotten, that both Houses of Congress in July, 1861, declared in the form of a solemn resolution, that war was and should be carried on for no purpose of subjugation, but solely to enforce the Constitution and laws, and when this was yielded by parties in rebellion, and control should cease with the constitutional rights of the States and individuals unimpaired. This resolution was adopted and sent forth to the world unanimously by the Senate, and with only two dissenting voices in the House. It was accepted by the friends of the Union in the South as well as in the North, expressing honestly and truly the object of the war. On the faith of it many thousand persons in both sections who gave their lives and fortunes to the cause to repudiate it. Now, by refusing to the States and individuals within them the rights which the Constitution and laws of the Union would secure to them, is a breach of our plighted honor, for which I can image no excuseto which I cannot voluntarily become a party. The evils which spring from the unsettled state of our Government will be acknowledged by all. Commer-cial intercourse is impeded; capital is in constant peril; public securities fluctuate in value; peace itself is not secure, and the sense of moral and political duty is impaired to avert these calamities from the country. It is imperatively required that we should form some course of administration which can be steadfastly adhered to. I am thoroughty convinced that any settlement or compromise or plan of action which is inconsistent with the principles of the