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Poetry.

ONE BY ONE.

One by one the sands are flowing,
One by one the moments fall;
Some are coming, some are going,
Do not strive to grasp them all.
One by one thy duties wait thee,
Let thy whole strength go to each;
Let no future dreams elate thee,
Learn thou first what these can teach.
One by one (bright gifts of Heaven)
Joys are sent thee here below;
Take them readily when given,
Ready too to let them go.
One by one thy griefs must meet thee,
Do not try an armed band;
One will fade as others greet thee,
Shadows passing through the land.
Do not look at life's long sorrow,
See how small each moment's pain;
God will help thee for to-morrow;
Every day begin again.
Every hour that flees so slowly,
Has its task to do or bear;
Luminous the crown, and holy,
If thou set each gem with care.
Do not linger with regretting,
Or for passing hours depend;
Nor, thy daily toil forgetting,
Look too eagerly beyond.
Hours are golden links, God's tokens,
Reaching Heaven; but one by one
Take them, lest the chain be broken
Ere the pilgrimage be done.

HEARTS' TREASURES.

'Tis but a little faded flower,
But oh, how sadly dear!
It brings me back one golden hour,
Through many a weary year.
I may not to the world impart
The secret of its power,
But treasured in my woman's heart,
I keep my faded flower.
A broken ring—a dream of life—
A wild, mysterious spell—
That whispers more of spirit strife
Than words can ever tell.
A fairy fountain, from whose tide
A thousand visions spring,
That round my heart in memories glide
From out the broken ring.
A slender tress of golden hair,
That traced a dear one's brow,
A year ago so warm and fair,
But cold and faded now;
Yet peacefully the infant sleeps,
All pure and undefiled,
While mournfully the mother weeps
Her little angel child.
Where is the heart that doth not keep
Within its inmost core
Some fond remembrance, hidden deep,
Of days that are no more?
Who has not saved some trifling thing,
More prized than jewels rare—
A faded flower, a broken ring,
Or tress of golden hair?

Miscellaneous.

DISFRANCHISEMENT OF DESERTERS.

The following opinion of the Supreme Court in the case of Huber vs. Reily was read by Justice Story:

The act of Congress under which the defendant below justifies his refusal to receive the vote of the plaintiff is the one approved on the 3rd day of March, 1865. The twenty-first section is the only one applicable to this case, and it is as follows: "And he [the deserter] shall be liable to the penalties of this section." This is followed by a clause authorizing and requiring the President to issue his proclamation setting forth the provisions of the section, and we know judicially that this was done on the 11th of March.

The act of Congress is highly penal. It imposes forfeiture of citizenship and deprivation of the rights of citizenship, and penalties for the commission of crime. Its avowed purpose is to add to the penalties which the law had previously affixed to the offense of desertion from the military or naval service of the United States, and it denominates the additional sanctions provided as penalties. Such being its character, it is, under the well known rule of law, to receive a strict construction in favor of the citizen.

The constitutionality of the act has been asserted on three grounds. The first of these is that it is an *ex post facto* law, imposing additional punishment for an offense committed before its passage, and altering the rules of evidence so as to require different and less proof of guilt than was required at the time of the perpetration of the crime. The second objection is, that the act is an attempt by Congress to regulate the right of suffrage in the States, or to impair it, and the third objection is that the act proposes to inflict penalties and penalties upon offenders before and without trial and conviction by due process of law, and that it is therefore prohibited by the bill of rights.

In the view which we take of this case, and giving to the enactment the construction which we think properly belongs to it, it is unnecessary to consider at length either of these objections to its constitutionality. It may be insisted, with strong reason, that the penalty of forfeiture of citizenship imposed upon those who had deserted the military or naval service prior to the passage of the act is not a penalty for the orig-

inal desertion, but for persistence in the crime, for failure (in the language of the statute) to return to said service, or to report to a Provost Marshal within sixty days after the issue of the President's proclamation. If this so, the act of Congress is in no sense *ex post facto*, and it is not for that reason in conflict with the Constitution. Its operation is entirely prospective. If a drafted man owes service to the Federal Government every new refusal to render the same may be regarded as a violation of public duty, a public offense for which Congress may impose a penalty. And it is the duty of every court to construe a statute, if possible, so "ut res magis valeat quam pereat," which construction of this act must be adopted which is in harmony with the acknowledged powers of Congress, and which applies the forfeiture of citizenship to the new offense described as failure to return to service, or to report to the Provost Marshal.

The second objection also assumes more than can be conceded. It is not to be doubted that the right to regulate suffrage in a State, and to determine who shall, or who shall not be a voter, belongs exclusively to the State itself. The Constitution of the United States confers no authority upon Congress to prescribe the qualification of electors within the several States that compose the Federal Union. Congress is not indeed empowered to make regulations for the time, place and manner of holding elections for Senators and Representatives, or to alter those made by the legislature of a State, except those that relate to the places of choosing Senators, but here the power stops. The right of suffrage in a State election is a State right, a franchise conferable only by the State, which Congress can neither give nor take away. If, therefore, the act now under consideration is in truth an attempt to regulate the right of suffrage in the States, or to prescribe the conditions upon which that right may be exercised, it must be held unwarranted by the constitution. In the exercise of its admitted powers, Congress may doubtless deprive an individual of the opportunity to enjoy a right that belongs to him as a citizen of a State, even the right of suffrage. But this is a different thing from taking away the right itself. Under the terms of the Federal Government, a voter may be sent abroad in the military service of the country, and thus deprived of the privilege of exercising his right, or a voter may be imprisoned for a crime against the United States, but it is a perversion of the term to call this impairing his right of suffrage. Congress may provide laws for the naturalization of aliens, or it may refuse to provide such laws. Its action or non-action may thus determine whether individuals shall or shall not become citizens of the United States, and it cannot doubt that the act of Congress against the general government, Congress may impose upon the criminal forfeiture of his citizenship of the United States. Disfranchisement of a citizen for crime, is no unusual punishment. Barker vs. The People, 20 Johns, 458. If, by the organic law of a State, citizens of the United States only are allowed to vote, the action or non-action of Congress may thus indirectly affect the number of those entitled to the right of suffrage. Yet still it is the right in one which its possessor holds as a citizen of a State, secured to him by the State constitution, and to be held on the terms prescribed by that constitution alone. It is an integral part of the State government.

But it is not a correct view of the act of Congress now before us to regard it as an attempt to deprive State constitutions or to prescribe the qualifications of voters. The act makes no change in the organic law of the State. It leaves that as before, to confer the right of suffrage as it pleases. The enactment operates upon an individual offender, and prescribes the terms of the punishment to be inflicted upon him by the Federal law, by deprivation of his citizenship of the United States, but it leaves each State to determine for itself whether such an individual may be a voter. It does no more than increase the penalties of the law upon the commission of each crime. Each State defines for itself the right, but the consequences of the infliction of such penalties, and with us it is still our own constitution which restricts the right of suffrage, and confers upon it those only who are inhabitants of the State, and citizens of the United States.

The third objection against the validity of the act of Congress would be a very grave one, if the act does in reality impose pains and penalties before and without a conviction by due process of law. The fifth article of the amendments to the constitution ordains "that no person shall be held to answer for a capital or other crime, unless by indictment of a grand jury, except in cases arising in the land or naval forces, or in the militia, when in actual service, in time of war or public danger, nor shall any person be subject for the same offense to be twice put in jeopardy of life or limb; nor shall he be compelled in any criminal case to be a witness against himself, nor be deprived of life or property without due process of law." The sixth article secures to the accused in all criminal prosecutions certain rights among which are public trial, by jury of the vicinage, information of the nature and cause of the accusation, face to face presentation with the witnesses against him, compulsory process for his own witnesses, and the assistance of counsel. The spirit of these constitutional provisions is briefly that no person shall be made to face a criminal offence unless the penalty be inflicted by due process of law.—What that has been often defined, but never better than it was both historically and critically by Judge Curtis, of the Supreme Court of the United States, in Den vs. Murray et al., 15 Howard 272. It ordinarily implies and includes a complainant, a defendant and a judge, regular allegations, opportunity to answer, and a trial according to some settled course of judicial proceedings. It must be admitted there are a few exceptional cases. Prominent among these are summary proceedings to recover debts and sums due by defaulting public officers. But I can call to mind no instance in which it has been held that the attainment of guilt of a public offense, and the imposition of legal penalties, can be in any other mode than by trial according to the law of the land, or due process of law, that is the law of that particular case, administered by a judicial tribunal authorized to adjudicate upon it. And cannot persuade myself that a judge of election or a board of election officers, constituted under the State laws, is such a tribunal. I cannot think they have power to try criminal offenders still left to adjudicate the guilt or innocence of an alleged violator of the laws of the United States. A trial before such officers is not due process of law for the punishment of offenses according to the meaning of that phrase in the constitution. There are it is true many things which they may determine, such as the age and residence of a person offering to vote, whether he has paid taxes and whether if born an alien he has a certificate of naturalization. These things pertain to the ascertainment

of a political right. But whether he has made some changes, but they have not restrained the jurisdiction or diminished the powers of such courts.

It is to such a code of laws, forming a system devised for the punishment of desertion that the 21st section of the act of March 23, 1865, was added. It refers plainly to pre-existing laws. It has the single object of increasing the penalties, but it does not undertake to change or displace with the machinery provided for punishing the crime. The common rules of construction demand that it be read as if it had been incorporated into the former act. And if it had been prescribed that penalty for desertion or failure to report within a designated time after notice of draft which the act of 1863 declares should be punished on conviction and death in lieu of the latter such other punishments as by the sentence of a court martial may be indicted, would any one contend that any portion of this punishment could be indicted without conviction and sentence? Assuredly not. And if not, so must the act of 1865 be construed now. It means that the forfeiture which it prescribes, like all other penalties for desertion, is to be adjudged to the convicted person after trial by a court martial and sentence approved. For the conviction and sentence of such a court there can be no substitute, and fasten upon him the legal consequences. Such we think is the true meaning of the act, a construction that cannot be denied to it without losing sight of all the previous legislation respecting the same subject matter, no part of which does this act profess to alter.

It may be added that this construction is not only required by the universally admitted rules of statutory interpretation, but it is in harmony with the personal rights secured by the constitution, and which Congress must be presumed to have kept in view. It gives to the accused a trial before sworn judges, a right to allege an opportunity of defence, the privilege of hearing the witnesses against him, and of calling witnesses in his behalf. It preserves to him the common law presumption of innocence, until he has been adjudged guilty according to the forms of law.

It is a penalty to a single—If tried by a court martial and acquitted, his innocence can never again be called in question, and he can be made to suffer no part of the penalties prescribed for guilt. On the other hand, if a record of conviction follows, a conviction is a precedent to suffering the penalty of the law, and Congress may work intolerable hardships. The accused will thus be obliged to prove his innocence whenever the registry of the provost marshal is adduced against him. No decision of a board of election officers will protect him against the necessity of repeating his defence at every subsequent election, and each time with increased difficulty arising from the possible death or absence of witnesses. In many cases this may prove a gross wrong. It cannot be doubted that in some instances there were cases that required a return to service or a report, by persons registered as deserters by Provost Marshals, that would have been held justifying a court martial, or at least a court martial, and the necessity of repeating his defence at every subsequent election, and each time with increased difficulty arising from the possible death or absence of witnesses. In many cases this may prove a gross wrong. It cannot be doubted that in some instances there were cases that required a return to service or a report, by persons registered as deserters by Provost Marshals, that would have been held justifying a court martial, or at least a court martial, and the necessity of repeating his defence at every subsequent election, and each time with increased difficulty arising from the possible death or absence of witnesses. In many cases this may prove a gross wrong. 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