The Globe.

UNTINGDON, PA. Wednesday morning, Mch. 6, 1867. W. Lewis, Editor and Proprietor. Hugh Lindsay, Associate Editor.

"I know of no mode in which a loyal citi zen may so well demonstrate his devotion to his country as by sustaining the Flag the Constitution and the Union, under all circumstances, and under every Administration REGARDLESS OF PARTY POLITICS, AGAINST ALL ASSAILANTS, AT HOME AND ABROAD."-STEPHEN

vero:

The Military Reconstruction Bill

THE PRESIDENT'S OBJECTIONS. The Bill Passed Over The Veto.

Washington, March 2.—The following is the message of the President of the United States, returning to the House of Representatives a till entitled "An Act to provide for the more efficient government of the rebel

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 anxiety 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 men with whom the decision must ultimately rest.

Objects of the Bill.

tea States therein named under the lands and goods in his district, and he absolute domination of military rulers, and the preamble undertakes to give the reason upon which the measure is based, and the ground upon which it is justified. It declares that there exist in those States no legal governments, and no adequate protection for life or property, and asserts the necessity of enforcing peace and good order within their limits. Is this true as

It is denied that the States in question have each of thom an actual government, with all the powers executive, judicial and logislative, which properly belong to a free State. They are organized like the other States of the Union, and like them, they make, administer and execute the laws which concern their domestic affairs. An existing de facto government, exercising such functions as these, is itself a law of the Stase upon all matters within its jurisdiction. To pronounce the supreme taw making power of an established State illegal is to say that law

No Trial Allowed. itself is unlawful.

What the South has Done.

of order, the suppression of crime, and nor has this been accomplished anyelsewhere, offenders sometimes escape for want of vigorous prosecution, and enemies contrary to justice. occasionally, perhaps, by the ineffijurors. It is undoubtedly true that missions or tribunals." these evits have been much increased and aggravated, North and South, by local governments for themselves, requisite to the punishment of a party which habitually defeat the object of it would be scarcely the slightest check all government, and render their own upon the officer, who has authority to lives and proporty insecure, is in itself organize it as he pleases, prescribe its utterly improbable, and the averment of the bill to that effect, is not supportburshed by the bill to that effect, is not supportburshed. ed by any evidence which has come to and revise all its decisions. Instead of my knowledge. All the information I mitigating the harshness of his single bare on the subject convinces me that will such a tribunal would be used the masses of the Southern people and those who control their public acts, while they entertain diverse opinions on questions of Federal policy, are completely united in the effort to reorganize their society on the basis of peace, and to restore their mutual prosperity as rapidly and as completely as their circumstances will permit.

The Real Design of Congress.

The bill, however, would seem to show upon its face that the establishment of peace and good order is not its object. The fifth section declares that the preceding sections shall cease to operate in any State where certain events shall have happened. These events are:

First. The selection of delegates to a State Convention by an election, at which negroes shall be allowed to vote. Second. The formation of a State Constitution by the convention so cho-

Third. The insertion into the State Constitution of a provision which will secure the right of voting at all elections to negroes, and to such white men as may not be disfranchished for rebellion or felony.
Fourth. The submission of the Con-

stitution for ratification to negroes and white men not disfranchised, and its actual ratification by their votes. Fifth. The submission of the State

Constitution to Congress for examination and approval, and the actual approval of it by that body.

Sixth. The adoption of a certain amendment to the Federal Constitu-

tion by a vote of the Legislature elected under the new Constitution. Seventh. The adoption of said amend-

ment by a sufficient number of other States to make it a part of the Consti tution of the United States.

All these conditions must be fulfilled before the people of any of these States can be relieved from the bondage of military domination; but when they are fulfilled then immediately pains and penalties of the bill are to cease, no matter whether there be peace and order or not, and without any reference to the security of life or property The excuse given for the bill in the preamble is admitted by the bill itself nat to be real. The military rule

are opposed, and upon which they have an underiable right to exercise their own judgment.

The Act Unconstitutional.

I submit to Congress whether this neasure is not in its whole character. 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 humanity for which our ancestors on both sides of the Atlantic have 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 peo ple, and he is to be supported with an efficient military force to enable him to perform his duties and enforce his authority.

Those duties and that authority, as defined by the third section of the bill, are "to protect all persons in their rights of person and property, to suppress insurrection, disorder, and violence, and to punish, or cause to be punished, all disturbers of the public peace or criminals.

Military Autocrats.

The power thus given to the commanding officer over all the people of each district is that of an absolute monarch. His mere will is to take the place of all law. The law of the States is now the only rule applicable to the subjects placed under his con-trol, and that is completely displaced by the clause which declares all inter ference of State authority to be null and void.

He alone is permitted to determine what are rights of person or property, and he may protect them in such way as in his discretion may seem proper The bill places all the people of the It places at his free disposal all the may distribute them without let or hindrance to whom he pleases. Being bound by no State law, and there being no other law to regulate the subject, he may make a criminal code of his own, and make it as bloody as any recorded in history, or he can reserve the privilege of acting upon the impulse of his private passions in each case that arises. He is bound by no rules of evidence; there is indeed no provision by which he is authorized or required to take any evidence at all. Everything is a crime which he chooses to call so, and all porsons are condemned whom he pronounces to be guilty. He is not bound to keep any record or make any report of his proceedings. He may arrest his victims wherever he finds them, without warrant, accusation, or proof of probable cause. If he gives them a trial before he inflicts the punishment, he gives of it imposes.

No Trial Allowed.

To a casual reader of the bill, it might seem that some kind of trial was secur The provisions which these governments have made for the preservation but such is not the case. The officer "may allow local civil tribunals to try the redress of private injuries; are in offenders;" but, of course, this does substance and principle the same as not require that he shall do so. If any those which prevail in the Northern State or Federal court presumes to ex-States and in other civilized countries. Fercise its legal jurisdiction by the trial They certainly have not succeeded in of a malefactor without his special per-preventing the commission of all crime, mission, he can break it up and punish the judges and jurors as being themwhere in the world. There, as well as selves malefactors. He can save his friends from justice, and despoil his

It is also provided that "He shall ciency of courts, or the prejudices of have power to organize military com

But this power he is not commanded to exercise. It is merely permissive, the demoralizing influences of civil and is to be used only when in his war, and by the rancorous passions judgment it may be necessary for the which the contest has engendered trial of offenders. Even if the son-But that these people are maintaining will such a tribunal would be used much more probably to divide the responsibility of making it more cruel and unjust.

Sham Restraints

Several provisions, dictated by the humanity of Congress, have been inserted in the bill apparently to restrain the power of the commanding officer, but it seems to me that they are of no avail for that purpose. The fourth section provides:
First, That trials shall not be un-

necessarily delayed; but I think I have shown that the power is given to punish without trial, and, if so, this provision is practically inoperative.

Second. Crael or unusual punishment is not to be inflicted; but who is to decide what is cruel and what is unusual? The words have acquired a legal meaning by long use in the courts. Can it be expected that military offi-cers will understand or follow a rule expressed in language so purely technical, and not pertaining, in the least degree, 'to their profession? If not, then each officer may define cruelty iccording to his own temper, and if it is not usual, he will make it usual.

Third. The sentence of a commission is not to be executed without being approved by the commander, if it affects life or liberty and life or liberty, and a sentence of death must be approved by the President. This applies to cases in which there has been a trial and a sentence. I take it to be clear under this bill that the military commander may condemn to death without even the form of a trial by a military commission; so that the life of the condemned may depend upon the will of two men instead

It is plain that the authority here iven to the military officer amounts absolute despotism. But to make it still unendurable, the bill provides that it may be delegated to as many subordinates as he chooses to appoint, for it declares that he shall "punish or

cause to be punished." Absolute Despotism Revived.

Such a power has not been wielded

ures to which it is known that they ten States-all persons of every color, sex and condition, and every stranger within their limits to the most abject slave as this bill gives to the military officers over both white and colored

> officers of the army are too magnanimous, just and humane to oppress and trample upon a subjugated people. I history of the world has been written in vain if it does not teach us that unrestrained authority can never be safenost sure to be more or less abused un-Power that sends them is unfriendly. was tried in Ireland, and though tem- and good order should be thus enforced. pered at first by principles of English aw, it gave birth to crucities so atrocious that they are never recounted without just indignation. The French Convention armed its deputies with this power, and sent them to the southern departments of the republic. The massacres, murders and other atrocities which they committed, show what the passions of the ablest men in the nost civilized society will tempt them to do when wholly unrestrained by law.

The Experience of the Past. The men of our race, in every age, ave struggled to tie up the hands of n the law, because their own experi-

those rights which they were not legally bound to respect. The head of a great empire has sometimes governand present, the invasion real, such as ed it with a mild and paternal sway, effectually closes the courts and depobut the kindness of an irresponsible de-puty never yields what the law does in time of peace, makes martial law but enmity; he punishes them if they civil authority. One more quotation:

Constitutionality of the Act Discussed. I come now to a question which is, possible, still more important. Have answer, certainly not, if we derive our authority from the Constitution, and if necessity to furnish a substitute for the we are bound by the limitations which

This proposition is perfectly clear that no branch of the Federal Government, executive, legislative or judicial, can have any just powers except those which it derives through, and exercises under the organic law of the Union. Outside of the Constitution, we have no legal authority more than private citizens, and without it we have only so much as that instrument gives us. This broad principle limits all our functions, and applies to all subjects. it shields every human being who comes or is brought under our juris-

We have no right to do in one place more than in another that which the Constitution says we shall not do at all If therefore the Southern States were, in truth, out of the Union, we could not treat their people in a way which the fundamental law forbids.

Effect of the Union Victories. Some persons assume that the succuss of our arms in crushing the oppo law, reduced those States and all their define, or limit. No fallacy can be National Government, when the public more transparent than this. Our vic. danger requires its exercise. The first trary despotism. When an absolute of Congress prescribing rules and artisovereign reduces his rebellious sub. cles of war, or otherwise providing for jects, he may deal with them accord- the government of the national forces. monarch puts down an insurrection, far as may be deemed expedient, the he must still govern according to law, local law, and exercised by the milita-If an insurrection should take place in ry commander, under the direction of eignty of the State government, and plied sanction of Congress. While the end in the overthrow of those who third may be denominated martial law planned it, would that take away the rights of all the people of the counties Congress, or, temporarily, when the ac-Corporeal punishment, imprisonment, heresy of those who advocated sees- national forces. That body of military the gag, the ball and chain, and the sion, and cannot be agreed to without law has no application to the citizen, almost insupportable forms of torture admitting that heresy to be right. In or even to the citizen soldier enrolled invented for military punishment, lie wasion, insurrection, rebellion, and do-within the range of choice. Rut mestic violence, were anticipated when this bill is not a part of that sort of milnecessary to declare that the States in and not to the soldier.

pelled from the Union. as a means of coording the people into the danguage have borne such servitude. States the ordinances of secession were the adoption of principles and meas. It reduces the whole population of the Union are providing now for a time of pro-States, and practically excludes them could not happen when the Constitute

as mere nullities, and are now acknowledged to be so by the States themselves. If we admit that they had any and degrading slavery. No master force or validity, or that they did, in ever had a control so absolute over his fact, take the States in, when they were passed out of the Union, we sweep from under our feet all the grounds upersons.

It may be answered to this that the of Federal force to maintain the integrity of the Government. This is a bill passed by Congress in time of peace.—There is not, in any one of the States, lo not doubt that army officers are as brought under its operation, either war well entitled to this kind of confidence or insurrection. The laws of the States as any other class of men. But the and of the Federal Government, are all in undisturbed and harmonious operation. The courts, State and Federal are open and in the full exercise of their ly trusted in human hands. It is al- proper authority. Over every State, comprised in these five military disderany circumstances, and it has always tricts, life, liberty and property are se-resulted in gross tyranny where the cured by State laws and Federal laws, rulors, who exercised it, are strangers and the National Constitution is everyto their subjects, and come among them | where in force, and every where obeyed as the representatives of a distant What, then, is the ground on which this Power, and more especially when the bill proceeds? The title of the bill announces that it is intended for the more Governments closely resembling that efficient government of these ten States. here proposed have been fairly tried It is recited by way of preamble, that. in Hungary and Poland, and the suf | no legal State Governments, nor adefering endured by those people roused quate protection for life or property, the sympathies of the entire world. It exist in those States, and that peace

No Foundation for Martial Law. The first thing which arrests attenion upon those recitals which prepare the way for martial law is this; That the only foundation upon which martial law can exist, under our form of governments is not stated or so much as pretended : actual war, foreign invaon, domestic insurrection; none of these appear, and none of these in fact exist. It is not even recited that any sort of war or insurrection is threatened. Let us pause here to consider, upon this question of constitutional law and the power of Congress, a recent their Government and keep them with decision of the Supreme Court of the United States in ex parte Miligan, I ence of all mankind taught them that | will first quote from the opinion of the rulers could not be relied on to concede majority of the Court: "Martial law

not extort from him. Between such operate as though we were in actual a master and the people, subjected to his domination, there can be nothing the consequence of the abrogation of resist his authority, and it they sub- "It follows from what has been said on mit to it he hates them for their ser- this subject that there are occasions when martial law can be properly applied. If in foreign invasion or civil war the Courts are actually closed, and it is impossible to administer criminal we the power to establish and carry justice, according to law, then on the into execution a measure like this? civil authority thus overthrown, to preserve the safety of the army and society; and as no power is left but the miltary, it is allowed to govern by martial rule until the laws can have their free course." I now quote from the opinion of the minority of the Court, delivered by Chief Justice Chase:—"We by no neans assert that Congress can establish and apply the laws of war where no war has been declared, or exists.-Where peace exists, the laws of peace must prevail." This is sufficiently explicit. Peace exits in all the territory It protects not only the citizens of States which are within the Union, but power in Congress in time of peace to set aside the laws of peace and to substitute the laws of war. The minority concurring with the majority declares that Congress does not possess that tates, or in time of rebellic

power. Again, and if possible, more emphatically, the Chief Justice with remarkable clearness and condensation. sums up the whole matter as follows: There are, under the Constitution. three kinds of military jurisdiction, one to be exercised, both in peace and war, another to be exercised in time of foreign war, without the boundaries of the sition which was made in some of the States or Dis-States to the execution of the Federal tricts occupied by rebels treated as belligerents and a third to be exercised people, the innocent as well as the in time of invasion or insurrection guilty, to the condition of vassalage, and gave us a power over them which or during rebellion within the limits of the Constitution does not bestow, or the States maintaining adhesion to the tories subjected the insurgents to legal of these may be called jurisdiction unobedience, not to the yoke of an arbi. der military law, and is found in acts ing to his pleasure, because he had that The second may be distinguished as power before. But when a limited military government, superseding, as one of our States, against the sover- the President, with the express or imwhere it was favored, by a part or a majority of the population? Could in the case of justifying or excusing pethey, for such a reason, be wholly out- ril, by the President; in times of insurways contended that the Government where ordinary law no longer adeit could put down insurrection with one that can provail in time of peace,

them were wisely provided for in the contrariwise the military law provided Constitution; but it was not thought by this bill applies only to the citizen which they might occur should be ex- An unlawful Exercise of Judicial power. I need not say to the representatives Review of Former Insurrections.
Rebellions, which wore invariably stitution forbids the exercise of judicial suppressed, occurred prior to that out power in any way but one, that is, by of which these questions grow. But the ordained and established Courts, the States continued to exist, and the It is equally well known that in all Union remained unbroken. In Massa criminal cases a trial by jury is made chusetts, in Pennsylvania, in Rhode indispensable by the express words of Island, and in New York, at different that instrument. I will not enlarge on periods of our history, violent and the inestimable value of the right thus armed opposition to the United States secured to every free man, or speak of was carried on. But the relations of the danger to public liberty in all parts those States with the Federal Govern- of the country, which must ensue from ment were not supposed to be inter-rupted or changed thereby, after the tense. A very recent decision of the robelious portions of their population | Supreme Court has traced the history, were defeated and put down. It is vindicated the dignity, and made known true that in these earlier cases there the value of this great privilege, so

ed soldier within our borders, except those who are in the service of the gov ernment. It is in such a condition of things that an act of Congress is proa trial by the lawful courts and juries ite number, has not been constitutionto nine millions of American citizens ally obtained to the ratification of that and to their posterity for an indefinite amendment, thus leaving the question period. It seems to be scarcely possilieve this consistent with a constitution have become a part of the Constituwhich declares in simple, plain, and unambiguous language that all persons this bill does violate the Constitution shall have that right, and that no person shall ever, in any case, be deprived many other ways, which I forbear to government, and returned to his constitution also forbids enumerate, is too clear to admit of the uents, they are admonished that none

the arrest of the citizen, without judi- least doubt. cial warant founded on probable cause. This bill authorizes an arrest without warrant, at the pleasure of a military commander. The Constitution de-clares that "no person shall be held to answer for a capital or otherwise infamous crime, unless on presentment by a grand jury." This bill holds every person not a soldier answerable for all crimes and all charges without any presentment. The Constitution declares that "no person 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 his person and property, to the will of one man, and as to his life, to the will of two. Finally, the Constitution declares that— The privilege of the writ of habeas corpus shall not be suspended unless when in case of rebellion or invasion, the public safety may require it;" whereas this bill declares martial law, that is a trial without unnecessary delav. He has no hope of release from custody, except the hope, such as it is, of release by acquittal before a military commission. The United States are bound to guarantee to each State a re-publican form of government.

What the framers of the Constitution intended.

Can it be pretended that this obligation is not palpably broken if we carry out a measure like this, which wipes away every vestige of republican government in ten States, and puts the life, property, liberty and honor of all the people in each of them under the dominion of a single person clothed with unlimited authority? The Parliament of England exercising pended billions of treasure, to enforce the omnipotent power which it claimed, was accustomed to pass bills of attainder; that is to say, it would con- advocated the right of secession, allegviet men of treason and other crimes ed in their own justification that we by legislative enactment. The person | had no regard for law, and that their party prejudice prevailed instead of ustice. It often became necessary for verify this assertion, we prove that Parliament to acknowledge its error, they were in truth and in fact fighting and reverse its own action. The fa-thers of our country determined that no such thing should occur here. They withheld the power from Congress, and and legal government, we clevate them thus forbade its exercise by that body, in history to the rank of self-sacrificing and they provided in the Constitution that no States should pass any bill of attainder. It is, therefore, impossible for any person in this country to be constitutionally punished for any crime by a legislative proceeding of any sort; nevertheless, here is a bill of attainder against nine millions of people at once. It is based upon an accusation so vague as to be scarcely intelligible, and found to be true upon no creditable evidence. Not one of the nine millions was heard in his own defence. The representatives of the doomed parties and should be carried on for no purpose were excluded from all participation n the trial. The conviction is to be Constitution and laws; and that when followed by the most ignominious pun- this was yielded by the parties in reishment ever inflicted on large masses bellion, the contest should cease, with of men. It disfranchises them by hundred the Constitutional rights of the States, dreds of thousands and degrades them of individuals, unimpaired. all, even those who are admitted to be guiltless from the rank of freemen to sent forth to the world, unanimously, the condition of slaves. The purpose by the Senate, and with only two disand object of the bill, the general in-tent which prevades it from beginning to end, is to change the entire structure in the South as well as in the North, and character of the State Governments, as expressing honestly and truly the adoption of organic laws and regumany thousands of persons, in both lations which they are unwilling to accept, if left to themselves. The ne-groes have not asked for the privilege of voting; the vast majority of them have no idea what it means. This bill not only thrusts it into their hands, but compels them, as well as the whites,

to use it in a particular way.

Africanizing the South. If they do not form a Constitution with prescribed articles in it, and afterwards elect a legislature which will act upon certain measures in a prescribed way, neither black nor white can be relieved from the slavery which the bill imposes upon them. Without pausing to consider the policy or impolicy of Africanizing the Southern part of our territory, I would simply ask the lawed and doprived of their represent rection or invasion; or of civil or for attention of Congress to that manifest, edged rule of Constitutional law, which of administration which can be steadation in the Legislature? I have al- eign war within districts or localities well known and universally acknowlof the United States was sovereign quately secures public safety and pri- declares that the Federal Government within its Constitutional sphere, that vate rights." It will be observed that has no jurisdiction, authority or powite executed its laws like the States of the three kinds of military jurisdiction are to regulate such subjects for any themselves by applying its coercive tion, which can be exercised or created State. To force the right of suffrage power directly to individuals, and that under our Constitution, there is but out of the hands of the white people, and into the hands of the nethe same effect as a State, and no oth- and that is the code of laws enacted groes, is an arbitrary violation of er. The opposite doctrine is the worst by Congress for the government of the this principle. This bill imposes beresy of those who advocated sees- national forces. That body of military martial law at once, and its operations will begin as soon as the general and his troops can be put in The drend afternative between its harsh ra'e and compliance with the Government was framed, and the itary law, for that applies only to the the terms of this measure, is not susmeans of repelling and suppressing soldier, and not to the citizen, while pended, nor the people afforded time for deliberation. The bill says to them take martial law first; then deliberate. And when they have done all that this measure requires them to do, other conditions and contingencies, over which they have no control, yet re-main to be fulfilled; before they can be relieved from martial law, another Congress must first approve the Constitutions made in conformity with the will of this Congress, and must de-clare these States entitled to represent that "Each State shall have at least tled, and must again occupy the atten-

> the people. A Dilemma for the Radicals. within the jurisdiction of the United

found peace, when there is not an arm- from the Union. If this assumption tion and laws are enforced by a vigiof the bill be correct, their concurrence cannot be considered as having been egally given; and the important fact is made to appear that the consent of posed, which, if carried out, would deny | three-fourths of the States, the requisble that any one should seriously be amendment was officially declared to in the particulars mentioned, and in ber, for want of due allegiance to the enumerate, is too clear to admit of the uents, they are admonished that none

Why the Constitution should be obeyed. It only remains to consider whether the injunctions of that instrument ought to be obeyed or not. I think they ought to be obeyed, for reasons which I will proceed 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 the rule of our conduct; we may, perhaps, take our choice be tween complete anarchy, a consolidated despotism, and a total dissolution of the Union. But National liberty regulated by law, will have passed beond our reach. It is the best frame of government the world ever saw; no other is, or can be, so well adapted to the genius, habits, or wants of the American people, combining the strength of a great empire, with un-speakable blessings of local self-govwhereas this bill doclares martial law, which of itself suspends this great writin time of coace, and authorizes the in time of peace, and authorizes the as the guardians of industrial rights. military to make the arrest, and give It is "the sheet anchor of our safety". abroad, and our peace at home." It was ordained "To form a more perfect Union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquillity, promote the general welfare, provide for the common defense, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and to our posterity. These great ends have been attained beretofore, and will be again by faithful obedience to it; but 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 to vindicate its su prome authority, that we carried or a bloody war of four years duration. How to treat Rebels.

Shall we now acknowledge that we sacrificed a million of lives, and exa Constitution which is not worthy of respect and preservation. Those who name of traitors against a righteou patriots; consecrate them to the ad miration of the world, and place them by the side of Washington, Hamp den and Sydney. 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 the odium which they should bear alone. It is a part of pub lic history, which can never be forgot-ten that both Houses of Congress, in July, 1861, declared, in the form of a solemn resolution, that the war was, of subjugation, but solely to inforce the

many thousands of persons, in both sections, gave their lives and their for tunes to the cause. To repudiate i now, by refusing to the States and to the 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 imagine no excuse, and to which I cannot voluntarily become a

The evils which spring from the unsettled state of our Government will be acknowledged by all. Commercial 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 bese calamities from our country it is imperatively required that we should immediately decide upon some course

Stand by the Constitution.

I am thoroughly convinced that any settlement, or compromise, or plan of action which is inconsistent with the principles of the Constitution, will not only be unavailing, but mischievous that it will but multiply the present evils instead of removing them. The Constitution in its whole integrity and vig or throughout the length and breadtl of the land is the best of all compromises. Besides, our duty does not, in my judgment, leave us a choice be

tween that and any other.

I believe that it contains the remedy that is so much needed, and that f the co ordinate branches of the Gov ernment would unite upon its provisions, they would be found broad enough and strong enough to sustain n time of peace, the nation which they bore safely through the ordeal of a protracted civil war. Among the most sacred guarantees of that question thus remains open and unsettled, and must again occurs the atten prived of its equal suffrage in the Sen-ate." Each House is made the "Judge tion of Congress; and in the mean-time the agitation which now prevails will continue to disturb all portions of cations of its own members," and may "with the concurrence of two thirds expel a member." Thus, as hereto-The bill also denies the legality of fore urged, in the admission of Senathe governments of the ten States tors and Representatives from any which it establishes is plainly to be by any monarch in England for more was no formal expression of a determining more is needed,—which participated in the ratification and all the States, there can be no used, not for any purpose of order or than five hundred years. In all that nation to withdraw from the prevention of crime but solely line no people who specific line and the States, there can be no used, not for any purpose of order or than five hundred years. In all that nation to withdraw from the Union.—To what extent a violation of iting the second who are distortantly and distortantly a for the prevention of crime, but solely time, no people who speak the English But it is also true, that in the Southern be excused in time of war or public dan- Constitution abolishing slavery forever sons who are disloyal will be clothed with the powers of landstation, for this

lant and faithful Congress. Senator or Representative presents his certificate of election, he may at once be admitted or rejected; or should there be any question as to his eligibility, his credentials may be referred for investigation to the appropriate committee. If admitted to a seat, it must be upon evidence satisfactory to the House of which he thus becomes a member, that he possesses the requisite constitutional and legal qualifications. If refused admission, as a membut persons loyal to the United States will be allowed a voice in the legislative councils of the nation, and the political power and moral influence of Congress are thus effectively exerted in the interests of loyalty to the Government, and fidelity to the Union. And is it not far better that the work of restoration should be accomplished by simple com-pliance with the plain requirements of the Constitution, than by a recourse to measures, which, in effect, destroy the States, and threaten the subversion of the General Government.

None but Loyal Men to be in Congress. All that is necessary to settle this simple but important question without further agitation or delay is a willingness on the part of all to sustain the Constitution and carry its provisions into practical operation. If to-morrow either branch of Cougress would declare that upon the presentation of their credentials, members constitutionally elected and loyal to the General Government, would be admitted to seats in Congress, while all others would be excluded, and their places remain vacant until the selection by the people of loxal, qualified persons, and if at the same time assurances were given that this policy would be continued until all the States were represented in Congress, it would send a thrill of joy through-out the entire land, as indicating the inauguration of a system which must speedily bring tranquility to the public

While we are legislating upon subjects which are of great importance to the whole people, and which must affeet all parts of the country, not only during the life of the present generation, but for ages to come, we should remember that all men are entitled at. least to a hearing in the councils which decide upon the destiny of themselves and their children. At present ten States are denied representation, and when the Fortieth Congress assembles on the 4th day of the present month. sixteen States will be without a voice in the House of Representatives. This grave fact, with the important ques-tions before us, should induce us to pause in a career of legislation which looking solely to the attainment of po-litical ends, fails to consider the rights it transgresses, the law which it violates, or the Constitution which it imperils.
ANDREW JOHNSON.

Washington, March 2d, 1867.

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