LANCASTER INTELLIGENCER OFFICE, November 6th, 1865. JAMES F. DOWNEY is authorized to re ceive money and subscriptions, and to contract for advertising and job work for us. COOPER, SANDERSON & Co.

MR. BUCHANAN'S BOOK.

J. M. WESTHAEFFER, Bookseller Lancaster city, will act as General Agent for the sale of Mr. Buchanan's Book in Lancaster county. All persons desiring to canvass for subscribers to the work, are requested to call on Mr. Westhaeffer immediately. The Book is in great demand and active canvassers can dispose of it rapidly.

The Duty of Congress. The Congress which aesembles on next Monday will be powerful for evil or good. Never was there a time in the history of this country when there was such need of wise and patriotic action. The great problem of the restoration of the recently revolted States to the Union cannot be successively solved unless it is approached in a spirit of wise and liberal Statesmanship. Passion and party prejudice must be laid aside, if Congress expects to restore permanent peace and prosperity to the nation. The near and remote future of this country will be effected beneficially or injuriously by the action of the majority of Congress upon the great and pressing question of re storation.

It is the plain duty of Congress to provide for the speedy return of all the seceded States to their legitimate relations to the Union, under the Constitution. That this must be done eventually all admit, and that it ought to be done as speedily as possible is equally self-evident to every man who does not willingly close his eyes to the truth. No single argument advanced by the radicals has any force in it. The whole theory of Thaddeus Stevens and his radical supporters is unconstitutional, full of absurdities, and sure, if adopted, to prove most disastrous to the best interests of the country. Any attempt at a compromise between those known as con servative Republicans, and the radical Stevens faction will be sure to be disastrons to the public good. By leaguing together the Republican majority in Congress may succeed in keeping the Southern States out of the Union, but they will do so at their own peril. They will not even succeed in securing the temporary political control for a continuance of which they will have shown themselves willing to sacrifice every

Their plain duty is to heal the wounds of war, to restore the pleasant, bonds of union that once bound all the States together, to soothe animosities that exist between the two sections, to provide for a speedy restoration of the mild rule of the civil law throughout the land, to cherish and foster into full and vigorous life the industrial interests of the South, to do all in their power to put the people of that section in a condition in which, by promoting their own prosperity, they shall be able to add to that of the nation. If they are influenced by wise and statesmanlike views they will do this. If they attempt to keep the Southern States out of the Union, and to continue the strife between the sections, the Republican majority in Congress will inflict a serious injury upon the nation, which will be avenged by an indignant people who will speedily sweep them from all positions of liönor and profit.

Political Degeneracy.

There was a time in the history of this country when the integrity of Congress was above suspicion : a time when every question which arose was sure to be fairly discussed, and to be decided in accordance with Constitutional provisions, the laws and established precedents; a time when country took the precedence of party; a time when on constitutional. True, the provision in any great measure affecting the interests and the honor of the nation the people felt that their representatives be safely trusted. How is it to-day? Does not every man know that we have | States or of Pennsylvania is any bar to reached a point where it is considered speak and vote merely as partisans? Is it not sure that upon the most momentous issues ever presented to the consideration of any legislative body there is every reason to believe that the opinions of the present Congress have been predetermined by party bias? Is it not known and acknowledged of all men that a majority of those now holding seats in Congress have deliberately resolved to pursue a certain course of action in reference to the States recently in rebellion, because they believe the interest of the political organization with which they act demands that those States shall be kept out of the Union? One would suppose that the mere suspicion of such a state of affairs in their public councils would arouse all the indignation of any free people; that proof of its existence would call down upon the heads of truckling politicians the they were in many instances deprived swift vengeance of an outraged popul of their votes. But how will he get rid abroad in open day. The people accept | Constitution to fix a penalty upon all the miserable condition of our public affairs with an easy unconcern that is If the clause which declares that no ex enough to raise a strong doubt as to their own honor and honesty. It would | first annulled by an amendment to the seem as if the popular mind had grown | Constitution, we are at a loss to see how corrupt; as if public virtue no longer existed among us. That the madness that has seized upon the people will pass away we hope and believe; but until it does there will be no restraint upon the selfishness and the evil passions of those in office. They will continue to set party before country, and to follow the evil bent of their inclinations regardless of the public good.

Conscience Money.

The total amount of conscience money received at the Treasury Department for the year ending with June last was \$20,875. It was received in sums varying from 50 cents

The above announcement is made by telegraph from Washington. It is decidedly suggestive. If over \$20,000 has been returned to the United States Treasury by loyal thieves within a year, in petty sums of from 50 cts. to \$500, how much must unconscionable loyal scoundrels have stolen during that time, or during the reign of the loyal party?-That is a sum for loval editors and loval people generally to cypher at. When any of them reach an approximate result we shall be glad to hear from them.

THE Fenian flag was hoisted on Saturday over the Capitol of that Government in Union Square, New York.— They have agreed to pay \$1,000 a month

Frauds and Ex Post Facto Laws. Our neighbor, the Express, has been emarkably short of editorial matter for ome time past. We had about concluded that itseditor had curled himself up like a bear for a whole winter's nap. The noise made about an alleged return from the 77th regiment, a palpably fraudulent affair, has, however, had the ffect of rousing him to a state of semionsciousness. He growls savagely, but it is evident that he is not more than half awake. His article abounds in mis-statements, ridiculous blunders, and illogical absurdities. Had he been wide awake at the time we are sure he would have had more sense than to write such a tissue of nonsense; and we can scarcely think he would have alluded to the re ported return from the 77th regiment, if ne had known the circumstances under which it was received. The facts in the affair show it to be a case entirely similar to the infamous Given fraud in Philadelphia. We happen to know how the matter stands. The Republican State Central Committee, having plenty of money at its command, sent a commissioner to Texas to manage the voting of the 77th regiment. That official re turned in due time and filed his report in the office of the Secretary of State at Harrisburg. There was no return to alter the vote for Senator in the 19th Senatorial District, and none affect ing the majority of W.S. Stenger, Esq. the Democratic candidate for District Attorney of Franklin county, Mr. Duncan was thus fairly elected to the Senate and Mr. Stenger to the office of District Attorney. In such a dilemmathere was no recourse for the Republicans, except one with which they have grown fa

miliar—the manufacture of a fraudulent

return. A few days since the Prothonotary of Franklin county received what purported to be the vote of Company A, 7th Reg't. P. V., and of Battery B. These returns were postmarked "Phildelphia, Nov. 18," and were sent un der the frank of Mr. O'Niell, member of Congress. According to these returns, which had been forty days coming from Victoria, Texas, 10 votes were cast in Co. A for McConaughy for Senator, and 17 in Battery B, making 27 in all; just enough to beat Duncan by two votes.— Battery B also cast 17 votes for Rowe for District Attorney, just enough to beat Stenger. No return of a vote for county officers was made from Co. A It was not needed. According to the requirements of a special act for Frank lin county, State and county officers are all voted for on a single slip of paper .-Full tickets were sent by mail to Texas, but a letter from the Captain of Co. A announces the fact that "no tickets reached the Company until some eight days after the election, and that no cleetion had been held." The fraud in this case is apparent on its very face. No votes were cast for the Franklin county candidates for Sheriff and Treasurer, or for any of the minor offices. These were all safely elected by the home vote. No doubt this was well known to the soldiers in Texas on the day of election! Such are the facts in the case to which the Express alludes. It seems to have had some knowledge of the fraudulent character of this infamous transaction for itspeaks as if it were greatly in doubt as to whether the returns made would be received as other than fraudulent by the Senate. It therefore urges Mr. Me-Conaughy to rely upon another dodge It advises him to contest the seat of Mr Duncan on the ground that deserter voted for his opponent. But it admits in the same article that even this will not avail. After abusing all who evaded

contest on that ground, it says: The law of Congress, denying the right of oting to deserters, is most likely uncon stitutional. Every State has the right to determine who shall be its voters. Unless ome new constitutional issue is raised, th some new constitutional issue is raised, the decision on this point will, in all probability, go against Mr. McConaughy, and in favor of Mr. Dunean. If the Union party gain a Senator in Adams and Franklin, it will be by the Texas votes; and again they must thank the soldiers to whom they owe so much. The Union Convention of the Nineteenth District are culpable, and criminal, and responsible to the people of the State, for putting in nomination a man so unpopular in his own home, so distasteful to his own neighbors, as to run behind his to his own neighbors, as to run behind his ticket—a ticket which, in the case of the

ship and calling on McConqueby t

We have seldom seen any newspape get itself into such a complete muddle over any matter. The only sensible thing in the whole article is the admission that the act of Congress denying The Bedford Trial-Acquittal of John the right of voting to deserters is unour Constitution is so plain that no man astonished to hear the Express admit that the Constitution of the United the arbitrary will of Congress and the

is about to repudiate some of the cardinal principles of his party. But the absurdities of the article to which we allude have not all been enumerated by us. The editor shows a wonmarkably logical turn of mind, by dethe coming session so amend the Constitution of this State as to prevent all deserters and delinquent drafted men from voting or holding any offices of honor or profit,-He thus admits that they now have a Republican party to deprive them of that right in the recent election was utterly in violation of all law; and further that the Legislature has no power to legalize the act of Congress under which the case of these deserters and delin quents can be reached, even by Constitutional amendment. We have seldom met with a newspaper article of the same length which contained so many palpable absurdities. Considering that it is the first original political article which we have noticed in the Express since the election, we are, we confess, surprised at it. The editor of that paper was once supposed to have some ability as a writer. We have failed to see much evidence of this since we have been

character with the general tenor of his productions. Virginia Methodist Conference.

brought into contact with him. The

article to which we allude is perhaps a

little worse than usual, but not out of

The Virginiu Conference of the M. E. Church South, now in session at Danville, Va., Bishop Early presiding, have taken up the subject of re uniting the church to the Northern, and by far the largest branch of the sect. A preamble and resolutions, introduced by the Rev. Mr. Peterson, deprecating a return to the North Church, and indicating the objection of the conference to the proed policy of a bishop for every State or conference, against the abolition of the Presiding Eldership, and against the lay del egate system, were referred to the Committee on the State of the

What the Figures Teach. In another column will be found able containing the official vote in the recent State election. It will be seen that the falling off in the Democratic vote from that east for McClellan was no less than 60.576. When we remember that our opponents werein a position to swell the majority for Lincoln by the nost enormous and bare-faced frauds, which they did in the army and elsewhere, to the amount of at least twenty thousand votes, we do not wonder that their vote in the recent election fell off some 57,991. That was confidently expected and predicted. But there is no reason, except our own carelessness and anathy, why the Democratic vote for Auditor General should not have been nearly or quite up to that of McClellan. McClellan's vote was an honest one, not swelled by frauds in the large cities, and by the convenient manufacture of false returns from the army. It was the measure of the Democratic strength in Pennsylvania. While the vote cast for Lincoln can never again be reached by our opponents, we can in any well contested campaign poll for Democratic candidates the same number of votes cast for McClellan. The official returns show that we have it within our power to carry Pennsylvania whenever the full Democratic vote is polled. Let every Democrat, as he looks over this table of returns, resolve that he will do his whole duty in the important campaign of next fall. With an open campaign, and proper organization, both of which we shall have, we can certainly elect a Democratic Governor, and a majority of members of Congress. It must be done. It can be done easily, if every Democrat resolves to do his whole duty. Let our failure at the recent election teach us how to do our duty. Let us learn a lesson from the figures: a lesson full of hope and of fixed resolve.

Thad, Stevens' Course, A telegram from Washington to the

Pittsburg Commercial says: Thaddeus Stevens, who has been here for some days, talks with the utmost freedom respecting the course he and his friends in-tend to pursue. He denounces the policy of the President without stint, and will take of the President without stint, and will take an early opportunity on the assembling of Congress to enunciate his own views. There is considerable pressure to prevent his re-appointment to the Chairmanship of the Ways and Means Committee.

If the Republican majority in the House have not had enough of Mr. Stevens, by all means let them continue him as Chairman of the Committee of Ways and Means. It is true he made himself the laughing stock of the whole country last winter by his absurd vagaries; but, a crack-brained radical politician will certainly be best fitted to act as the representative leader of the party now in power. A statesman, or a man of calm judgment and clear political dis-cernment, would be entirely out of place at the head of such a party of impracticable fanaties as will compose a majority of the House of Representatives. We expect to see Mr. Stevens put back into the position he occupied during the last Congress. His appointment will be in accordance with the eternal fitness of things. No one but some sourtempered fanatic, with a mind full of radical conceits, and a tongue trained to the utterance of vile abuse, would be fit to lead the Republican majority in the present Congress.

A Costly Carpet.

A special despatch to the N. Y. Herd savs: One of the late acquisitions to the House of Representatives is a carpet imported from England, costing the round sum of seven thousand dollars. It is very elegant in pattern and of the finest quality; but the opinion is not wanting among the crowds of people that daily visit the Capitol and expenses the splandid among the crowds of the splandid among the services. the draft as most infamous and unworthy of any of the rights of citizenamine the splendid appointments of the Representative chamber that the fabric in question could with greater propriety have been had from an American loom, instead of beyond the seas

Such is a small specimen of the economy of the great moral reform party, which came into power with Mr. Lincoln on loud-mouthed professions of retrenchment and reduction of expenses. It is a mere item, the smallest possible fragment in the sum total of general extravagance and reckless expenditure for which the administration of the Republican party has been distinguished. There is a time coming when an oppressed and over-burdened people will bring that spendthrift organization. to a severe reckoning; and it is not very far distant.

P. Reed, Jr. The telegraph announces the fact that John P. Reed, Jr., of Bedford, was accan mistake its meaning; but we are quitted on Saturday of the charge of having murdered one Crouse. The plea set up in his behalf was that the shooting was done in self defence, and from what we know of the case, we have no certain that members of Congress will President. The editor of the Express | doubt it was completely made out The must either have been napping, or he case is one of those unfortunate ones springing out of political animosities.-The man who was killed had made several assaults upon John P. Reed, Jr., and upon his younger brother, a weak and defenceless youth. At the time the derful grasp of intellect, and a most re- | shooting occurred, Crouse made an assault upon John P. Reed, Jr., struck manding that the legislature shall at him with a stone, knocking him down, and was advancing with another stone in his hand, when Reed drew a pistol, shot him, and killed him almost instantly. The jury have pronounced the act

justifiable, as done in self defence. We hope the time will soon come when past full right to vote; that the effort of the | political animosities will have been forgotten. It is said that Crouse was urged on to his acts of violence by outside parties in Bedford. If this beso, they were the most culpable.

GOVERNMENT JAIL DELIVERY .- It is swift vengeance of an outraged populace. That it does not, is proof of the political profligacy of our times. Public opinion is rotten to the very core. We have ceased to demand purity of character and uprightness of action from our public officials. Corruption and fraud are the order of the day. They no longer attempt concealment, but stalk abroad in open day. The people accent Constitution to fix a penalty upon all deserters and delinquent drafted men? If the clause which declares that no cx post facto law shall be passed be not

countability. The above comments are from the Philadelphia Ledger. So far as they go they are eminently right and proper, and will be approved by every right thinking man in the nation. But, they are not half strong enough. They are very weak utterances upon a point of such vital importance to every American citizen. All such acts deserve to be denounced in words of indignation as strong as the most trenchant terms of the English language will allow, and even then every freeman ought to feel that not half enough has been said. The time will come when men will look back with horror and disgust upon the acts of tyranny which have disgraced our day, and when our posterity will wonder at the tameness with which we submitted to see our dearest and most clearly ascertained rights trampled upon

THE HAGERSTOWN MAIL concludes a brief notice of Ex-President Buchanan's Book in the following terms: "The contents of this volume will be eagerly read by an impatient and doubtless to large extent censorious public, but Mr. Buchanan safely trusts the dispassionate udgment of the future for a full vindication of his mot ves and acts during the dark troublous days of his adminis tration, which immediately preceded the ouburst of the rebellion.

by arbitrary power.

An addition to the list of prisoners at the Old Appitol was made on Saturday, by the incarceration of a couple of mysterious personages, said to be from Richmond. Even he officers and attaches of the prisoners in the prisoners and attaches of the prisoners. the officers and attaches of the prison are forbidden to hold verbal communication with them. Fuller, the mysterious prisoner who was generally believed to be John H. Surratt at the time of his incarceration,

and whose real name first reached the pullic through the *Herald* several weeks ag has been released. We clip the above item of news from the New York Herald. The Baltimore Gazette says, Fuller is the person who was arrested in one of the Western States several months ago and brought on in chains to Washington, where he has since been imprisoned. He was escorted across the country by a military guard, who refused to answer any questions in regard to the prisoner's identity, and, in fact, was treated as state prisoners were in France before the destruction of the Bastile. The accusation against him was that he had swindled the Republican National Union Committee out of a large sum of money prior to the last Presidential election. After several months, confinement, and in all probability, after having been compelled to make some terms with the Government, he has been reeased, and the agent of the press dismisses him and his story in a few brief lines. We know of nothing that more strikingly illustrates the change that has been wrought in the public sentiment and public feeling of the country than this man's case. Whether he be guilty or innocent matters nothing in this connection. Were his crime, if he has committed one, aggravated four fold, it would still have been but a light offence compared with that of those who have taken upon themselves to punish him. Had this thing been done only five years ago, into what blaze of indignation would not the whole nation have been thrown? We should have been told about the Magna Charta that was wrested by the brave old English Barons from King John: of the great Habeas Cornus Act: of the Constitution of the United States. It would have been said that the rights and liberties secured to us by those great instruments were so dear to the American people that they would treat any violation of them as little short of sacrilege. It would have been urged that the principles established by the Constiution had so impressed themselves upon the minds-and the spirit of freedom, which they inculcated had so possessed the hearts of the citizens of the Republic as to render the toleration of any arbitrary act of the Government for a single instant an impossible thing .-And what is more, we should have believed all this as confidently as we be-

For Auditor General. . F. Hartranft, Union, W. W. H. Davis, Dem., eved any indisputable fact. Was it all a sentimental pretence, then, what we Hartranft's majority used to to tell the world about our love For Surveyor General.
J. M. Campbell, Union, of liberty." If not, what has brought J. P. Linton, Dem., about this inexplicable change? We have lived to see the day in which a cit-Campbell's majority, zen could be seized by the military authorities, carried through four or five States and thrown into a prison, within a stone's throw of the National Capitol and all this because he was charged with a crime for which any common law court could have tried bim. We have seen this thing done without even the pretense of military necessity set up to justify it, and the whole country has read the story and gone silently about its business. Democratic and Republican conventions ignore this and kindred matters, and the press scarcely

thinks it worthy of comment. We are told that the Constitution and the Union have been re-established in their pristine integrity and glory. We suppose we must accept this as a fact, but still. desiring some further assurance on this point, we propose, in order to fully satisfy ourselves, to listen, when the time

comes, to one or two Fourth of July Orations. The Radicals Talking Out.

A large audience assembled in Dr. Cheever's church, in New York city, on last Thursday evening to hear addresses on the present condition of our national affairs. Speeches were made by Dr. Cheever, Mr. Gilbert and others, in which abuse of President Johnson and his policy was freely indulged in. The President was represented as the friend of the rebels, the upholder of secession, and a dictator who acted as if he owned the country and could do as he pleased with it.

Mr. Gilbert seemed to be wonderfully anxious about the future prospect of his

party. He said: The action of the ensuing Congress would settle the question of the position of the Southern States in the Union, and he believed the irrepressible conflict would but rage more flercely than ever. If the delegates from Southern States were permitted to construct the contract of the con o occupy their seats in Congress as before here would be a two-fifths greater repre-entation. The slaves before the war had mere would be a two-fifths greater representation. The slaves before the war had but a three-fifths representation. They had now a five-fifths; and this would, as a natural consequence, cause a much larger number of delegates. These would combine with the copperhead party of the North, and the combination would control the entire government. overnment.

We have no doubt the irrepressible conflict will rage until the Republican

party is blotted out of existence. THE Erie Observer very truthfully says, it is a common thing to hear Republicans boast that they are a majority of the people of the Union. The statement is false. The Republican is a minority organization, always has been and always will be. In the North it dominates by a few thousand merely, while the South is a unit against it. Of the whole people of the United States, five-eighths at least despise its principles, scout its pretensions and mistrust its leaders. The fact is lost sight of by many that instead of being any longer a government of the majority, our institutions are at present moulded, and our laws enforced by a usurping minority.

THE Louisville Journal says the Teniessee Senate has passed a resolution leclaring that Jefferson Davis, J. M. Mason, R. M. T. Hunter, Rob't. Toombs, Howell Cobb, John Slidell, and Robert E. Lee are worthy of death, and not fit objects of national clemency. The resolution was passed by a vote of five to one. If it were submitted to the people of Tennessee, or of the United States, it would be rejected by a vote of ten to one.

The Ohio Election. The following is the official vote of hio on the recent State election:

and opened and certified by the State Board of Canvassers. Gen. Cox's total home vote is 221,352; soldier's vote as returned by County Clerks, 2,281. The soldiers' vote as returned by County Clerks, 2,281. The soldiers' vote, as certified by the Board of Canvassers, gives Cox 2,428, an increase of 147 votes—making his total vote 223,880. Gen. Morgan's vote is inreased 3 by the same count, making his entire vote 193,700. This gives Gen

lox 30,080 majority.

It will be seen that the Democracy greatly reduced the enormous majorities which their opponents have had in that State for some years past. There is hope of their carrying the State in the nex

- Gen. Canby has restored the Methodis Episcopal churches of New Orleans to their

Pennsylvania Official Returns A Chanter from Mr. Ruchanan's Rook ... Refutation of Charges made against the President.—Exposure of the Cul-Below we give the official returns he election held in the State of Pennpable Negligence of an Unpatriotic Consylvania October 10th, 1865:

Auditor Gen. Surveyor Ge

COUNTIES

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Delaware ..

CHAPTER VIII.

ABLE THE PRESIDENT TO EXECUTE THE LAWS OR DEFEND THE GOVERN-Ή \$ Campbell. MENT. Ħ We have already seen that Congress, throughout the entire session, refused to adopt any measures of compromise to prevent civil war, or to retain first the Cotton or afterwards the Border 2633 11139 2810 2242 2647 2634 6650 11162 2506 2818 States within the Union. Failing to do this, and whilst witnessing the secession of one after another of the Cotton 1496 States, the withdrawal of their Sens States, the withdrawal of their Sena-tors and Representatives, and the for-mation of their confederacy, it was the imperative duty of Congress to furnish the President or his successor the means 4846 2501 5242 5778 2683 1957 10001 1773 2304 6131 5169 5778 2691 1918 2361 2716 211 of repelling force by force, should this become necessary to preserve the Union. They, nevertheless, refused to perform $\frac{285}{1414}$ 282 1412 1612 this duty with as much pertinacity as they had manifested in repudiating all measures of compromise. 2743 7066 1178 1309 1422 1589 4947 1967 2087 1785 3007 1177 1307 1427 1591 4188 3269 THEY DECLINE TO REVIVE THE AU-THORITY OF THE FEDERAL JUDICIA RY IN SOUTH CAROLINA. 4190 1. At the meeting of Congress a fedral judiciary had ceased to exist in South Carolina. The District Judge, the District Attorney, and the United States Marshal had resigned their offices. These ministers of justice had all deserted their posts before the act of secession and the laws of the United States would 4885 4857 2647 237 3847 1335 539 2051 3670 3496 864 50 2542 and the laws of the United States could no longer be enforced through their agency. We have already seen that 2562 3739 1741 1260 $\frac{2565}{3752}$ 1620 1662 1736 1259 1485

agency. We have already seen that the President, in his message, called the attention of Congress to this subject, but no attempt was made in either House to provide a remedy for the evil. THEY REFUSE THE AUTHORITY TO CALL FORTH THE MILITIA OR ACCEPT VOL-UNTEERS. 2. Congress positively refused to pass a law conferring on the President au-thority to call forth the militia, or accent the services of volunteers, to sup ess insurrections which might occur in any state against the Government of the United States. It may appear strange that this power had not long since been vested in the Executive.— The act of February 28, 1795, (1 Stat. at Large. p. 424), the only law applicable to the subject, provides alone for calling forth the militia to suppress insurrections against State governments, without making any similar provision for suppressing insurrections against the Government of the United States. If anything were required beyond a mere inspection of the act to render this clear it may be found in the opinion of Attor-ney-General Black, of the 20th Novem-ber, 1860. Indeed it is a plain casus omissus This palpable omission, which ought to have been instantly supplied 6922 was suffered to continue until after the 238400 215740 237967 215981 end of Mr. Buchanan's administration, when on the 29th July, 1861, Congress *Mercer County 123 votes for W.H. H. conferred this necessary power on the President. (12 U. S. Stat. at Large, p. 281.) The framers of the act of 1795 either did not anticipate an insurrec tion within any State against the federal government, or if they did, they purposely abstained from providing for it. Even in regard to insurrections 22,660 against a State government, so jealous were they of any interference on the part of the federal government with the rights of the States, that they withheld 215,981

by which he endeavored to impress then

rious step which has been taken since

the commencement of the troubles. *

appearances, has been purely aggressive.

and not in resistance to any attempt to coerce a State or States to remain in the Union." Healso stated the well-known

fact that our small army was on the re-mote frontiers, and was scarcely suffici-

ent to guard the inhabitants against In-

dian incursions, and consequently our forts were without sufficient garrisons.

to Congress in the following language: "But the dangerous and hostile atti-

already far transcended and cast in the

snade the ordinary executive duties al-ready provided for by law, and has as-sumed such vast and alarming propor-tions as to place the subject entirely above and beyond executive control.

The fact cannot be disguised that we are in the midst of a great revolution.

In all its various bearings, therefore, I

ence, possessing the power to meet the

existing emergency. To them exclusively belongs the power to declare war or to authorize the employment of military

force in all cases contemplated by the

power to remove grievances which

night lead to war, and to secure peace

esponsibility."
Congress might, had they thought proper, have regarded the forcible

proper, have regarded the forcible seizure of these forts and other property,

including that of the branch mint at New Orleans, with all the treasure it

ontained, as the commencement of an

aggressive war. Beyond question the

otton States had now committed acts

and union to this distracted country. On them, and on them alone, rests the

Constitution: and they alone pos

responsibility.'

commend the question to Congress

the only human tribunal, under Prov

shade the ordinary executive

"But the dangerous and hostile atti-tude of the Statestoward each other has

Under these circumstances he appeals

rom Congress the power to protect any State "against domestic violence." cept "on the application of the Legis-lature, or of the Executive (when the Mr. Colfax's Bid for the Speakership. The Speaker of the late House is in Washington, two or three weeks in ad-Legislature cannot be convened)." Un vance of the session, exploring the ground and setting his traps for a redent is precluded from acting even upor his own personal and absolute knowledge of the existence of such an insurelection. Saturday night, in response to a serenade, he made a speech which bears evident marks of preparation, though produced with well-affected rerection. Before he can call forth the militia for its suppression, he must first be applied to for this purpose by the apluctance. Mr. Colfax's prospects for the Speakership were already good; but if Mr. Raymond's friends should decide propriate State authorities, in themanne escribed by the Constitution. the duty of Congress, immediately af to present him as a candidate, the superiority of his talents would render ter their meeting, to supply this defect in our laws, and to confer an absolute authority on the President to call forth him, although a new member, a formidable competitor. Mr. Colfax accordingly acts like a prudent general who takes precautions against the turning of militia, and accept the services of volunteers to suppress insurrection against the United States, whenever or his flanks by some unexpected move-ment. The small manœuvers of a truckling politician would not deserve wherever they might occur. This was a precautionary measure which, inde-pendently of existing dangers, ought long since to have formed part of our public comment, if they did not indi-cate the sentiments and temper of the permanent legislation. But no attempt was ever made in Congress to adopt it until after the President's special message of the 8th of January, 1861, and then House on which they are designed to act. of the 8th of January, 1861, and then the attempt entirely failed. Meanwhile the aspect of public affairs had become more and more threatening. Mr. Crit-tenden's amendment had been defeated efore the Committee of Thirteen, on the last day of December; and it was also highly probable that his proposition before the Senate to refer it to a vote of the people of the States would share the

Mr. Colfax is not "a pillar of state" but "a vane on the top of the edifice" showing the direction of the wind. Mr. Ex-Clerk McPherson had preceded him in a bid for re-election nouncing, in advance, his determination to exclude the names of Southern mem bers from his roll. Both Mr Colfar and Mr. McPherson are competent judges of the political views of the new House. The know all the re-elected members, man by man, and have unusual facilities for ascertaining the leanings of the new ones. Their mode of recommending themselves is a con-clusive demonstration that the Radicals are in the descendant, and that the President will be compelled either to modify his policy or postpone the expectation of its success. This is what we charged in the late political canvass, and we lost the election only in consequence of the Republican disguises and denials. True, Mr. Colfax bestows on President

Johnson a lip-service of praise, while opposing his policy in substance; but this is a regular 'part of the Radical programme. It is for their interest to avoid an open rupture and a split in their party; which would lead to a coalition of the reconstructionist Republicans and the Democrats, and bring the Radicals in a minority. But it is observable and markworthy that Mi Colfax commends the President only for what he has done to obstruct the return of the States to their federal relation passing over in express silence all the things he has done to facilitate and forward it. He is blind to all that part of the President's reconstruction policy which does not consist of negatives. He makes the whole merit of the President's measure ures consist in obstructing and preventing the resumption of civil government in the South till Congress could meet and act. According to Mr. Colfax, the commendable parts of the President's plan consist in his saying to the South you shall not come back till you have done certain things; which things, he takes pains to add, though very well in themselves, are quite insufficient to ob struct the too early return of the South. To the President's three requirements, namely, declaring the secession ordi-nances void, adopting the constitutional amendment, and repudiating the rebel debt; to these three Mr. Colfax adds four more which he regards as indispensable. First and foremost on this supplementary list he places the recognition of ne-gro equality, couching it, indeed, in such language as not to make it an open and contemptous slur on the anti-negr suffrage policy of the President. After culling out and praising such features of Mr. Johnson's policy as could be re presented as obstructive, he goes on to describe still further obstructive requirements on which he thinks Conress ought to insist. "First that the Declaration of Independence must be recognized as the supreme law of the land, and every man, black and white, protected in his inalienable and Godgiven rights." Everybody knows the interpretation put by the Radicals upon such allusions to the doctrine of human equality, as set forth in the Declaration of Independence. "Second, the amendments of their State Constitutions which have been adopted by many of their by many of their conventions so reluc tantly, under the pressure of despatches from the President and the Secretary of State, should be ratified by a majority of the people." And so Mr. Colfax goes on enumerating and explaining the things on which he says the President ought to insist but has not. They are merely a set of drags and brakes to retard reconstruction, and brakes to retard reconstruction. keep the South, for an indefinite period, under military rule. Mr. Colfax winds up this part of his speech

control States had now committed acts of open hostility against the federal government. They had always contended that secession was a peaceful constitutional remedy, and that Congress had a practice of the constitution of the gress had no power to make war against a sovereign State for the purpose of co-ercing her to remain in the Union.— They could no longer shelter themselves under this plea. They had by their violent action entirely changed the po-sition they had assumed; and instead of peacefully awaiting the decision of Congress on the question of coercion, they had themselves become the cothey had themselves become the co-ercionists and assailants. This question had, therefore, passed away. No person has ever doubted the right or the duty of Congress to passlaws enabling the President to defend the Union against armed by an indirect rebuke of the President
"The danger now is too much precipi rebellion. Congress, however, still shrunk from the responsibility of passing such laws. This might have been commend-Let us rather make haste slo ly." The Republican House to whom Mr. Colfax thus pays court by echoing what he knows to be their sentiments, able had it proceeded from a sincere desire not to interpose obstacles to a com-promise intended to prevent the effu-sion of fraternal blood and restore the will not deem it prudent to make an open issue with the President on negro suffrage; but they will be fertile in ex-Union. Still, in any event, the time pedients for keeping the South out, on other grounds, until negro suffrage is conceded.—World. had arrived when it was their duty to make at the least contingent provisi for the prosecution of the war, should this be rendered inevitable. This had THE HANOVER CITIZEN understands become the more necessary as Congress would soon expire, and the new Conthat Mr. Joseph S. Gitt will commence gress could not be convened for a considerable period after the old one had ceased to exist, because a large portion surveying, next week, a route for a rail-

road between Wrightsville, York county, and New Oxford, Adams county, of the representatives had not been elected. These reasons, however, proto connect at the former place with the roads running to New York, and to be duced no effect The President's special message (Con. Globe, p 316) was referred, two days after its date (January 10), by the House extended from the latter place to the West and South-west.

of Representatives to a special commit-tee, of which Mr. Howard, of Michigan, was chairman. Nothing was heard from this committee for the space of twenty days. They then, on January 30, through Mr. John H. Reynolds, of New York, one of its members reported a bill (Con. one of its members, reported a bill (Con. Globe, p. 645, bill of H. R., No. 698) enabling the President to call forth the militia or to accept the services of volunteers for the call for the services of volunteers for the services for the services of volunteers for the services for the services of volunteers for the services for the ser CONGRESS PASSES NO MEASURES TO ENunteers for the purpose of protecting the forts, magazines, arsenals and other property of the United States, and to "recover possession" of such of these as "has been or may hereafter be unlawfully seized or taken possession of by any combination of persons what-ever." Had this bill become a law, it would have been the duty of the Presient at once to raise a volunteer or mili tia force to recapture the forts which had been already seized. But Congress was not then prepared to assume such a responsibility. Mr. Reynolds accordingly withdrew his bill from the considera-

> days, and only a fortuight before the close of the session, the Committee on Military Affairs, through Mr. Stanton, of Ohio, their chairman, on February 18 reported another bill (Con. Globe, p. 1,-001. bill 1,003, H. R.) on the subject, but of a more limited character than that which had been withdrawn. It is emarkable that it contains no provision touching the recovery of the forts and other property which had been already seized by the delinquent States. It did no more than provide that the powers already possessed by the Presi-lent, under the Act of 1795, to employ the militia in suppressing insurrections against a State Government, should be extended to the case of insurrections against the authority of the United States," with the additional authority to "accept the services of such volunteers as may offer their service for the purpose mentioned." Thus all hostile action for the recovery of the forts already seized was excluded from the bill ready seized was excluded from the bill, It is difficult to conceive what reasonable objection could be made to this bill. except that it did not go far enough and embrace the forts already seized; and more especially when it was reported we may recollect that the Confederate Congress had already been ten days in ession at Montgomery, Alabama, and had adopted a provisional constitution. Notwithstanding all this the House refused to act upon it. The bill was iscussed on several occasions until Tuesday, February 26. On that day a motion was made by Mr. Corwin, of motion was made by Mr. Corwin, of Ohio, to postpone its consideration until Thursday, February 27. (Con. Globe 1,232.) Mr. Stanton, the reporter of the bill registed this motion retains ill, resisted this motion, stating that such a postponement would be fatal to it. "It will," said he, "be impossible fter that to have it passed by the Senate" (before March 4). He therefore demanded the ayes and noes, and, notvithstanding his warning, Mr. Corwin's motion prevailed by a vote of 100 to 74, and thus the bill was defeated. It may be proper to observe that Mr. Corwin, whose motion killed the bill, was a confidential friend of the President elect, then present in Washington, and

vas soon thereafter appointed Minister to Mexico. NO APPROPRIATIONS PROPOSED FOR THE DEFENSE OF THE GOVERNMENT. But even had Congress passed this ll, it would have proved wholly inefficient for want of an appropriation to carry it into effect. The treasury was empty; but had it been full the Presilent could not have drawn from it any even the most trifling sum, without a previous appropriation by law. The union of the purse with the sword, in the hands of the executive, is wholly inconsistent with the idea of a free government. The power of the legislative oranch to withhold money xecutive and thus restrain him from dangerous projects of his own, is a necessary safeguard of liberty. This exists every government pretending to be b. Hence our Constitution has declared that "no money shall be drawn from the treasury but in consequence of appropriations made by law." - It is therefore apparent that even if this bill had become a law, it could not have een carried into eff t by the Presiden without a direct violation of the Constiution. Notwithstanding these insuperable obstacles, no member of either House throughout the entire session, ever ever proposed to raise or appropriate a single collar for the defense of the government against armed rebellion. uly refused to grant the President the authority and force necessary to suppress insurrections against the United States, but the Senate by refusing to confirm his nomination of a collector of the customs for the port of Charleston, effect-ually tied his hands and rendered it im-possible for him to collect the revenue same fate. South Carolina and Florida had already seceded, and the Cotton States had called conventions for the within that port. In his annual mes purpose of seceding. Nay, more, several of them had already seized the forts, magazines, and arsenals within their limits. Still, all this failed to produce sage he had expressed the opinion "that the same insuperable obstacles do not lie in the way of executing the [existing] laws for the collection of cusany effect upon Congress. It was at this crisis the President sent his special toms on the seaboard of South Carolina as had been interposed to prevent the message to Congress (8th January, 1861.) administratration of justice federal authority within the interior of that State." At all events he had dewith the necessity for immediate action. He concealed nothing from them. termined to make the effort with the na Whilst still clinging to the fading hope that they might yet provide for a peaceful adjustment of our difficulties, and val force under his command. He trust-ed that this might be accomplished without collision; but if resisted the the force necessary to attain the object must be applied. Accordingly, while informing Congress "that the revenue strongly recommending this course, he says: "Even now the danger is upon us. In several of the States which have still continues to be collected as heretonot yet seceded, the forts, arsenals, and magazines of the United States have been seized. This is by farthe most sefore at the custom house in ('harleston,'' he says that "should the collector un-The seizure of this property, from all

fortunately resign, a successor may be appointed to perform this duty." THE SENATE REFUSES THROUGHOUT THE ENTIRE SESSION TO APPOINT A COL LECTOR FOR CHARLESTON. The collector (William F. Colcock) continued faithfully to perform his du-ties until some days after the State had seceded, when at the end of December he resigned. The President. ately afterward, on the 2d of January, nominated to the Senate, as his succes sor, Mr. Peter McIntire, of Pennsylvania, a gentleman well qualified for the office. The selection could not have een made from South Carolina, because no citizen of that State would have accepted the appointment. The Senate, throughout their entire session, never acted upon the nomination of Mr. Mc-Intire; and without a collector of customs duly appointed, it was rendered impossible for the President, under any law in existence, to collect the revenue. CONGRESS REFUSES AUTHORITY TO COL-

LECT THE REVENUE BY FORCE. But even if the Senate had confirmed Mr. McIntire's nomination, it is extremely doubtful whether the President could lawfully have collected the revenue against the forcible resistance of the State, unless Congress had conferred additional powers upon him. For this purpose Mr. Bingham, of Ohio, on the 3d January, 1861 (Con. Globe, p. 236, bill H. R., No. 910), the day after Mr. McIntirely, porning to the State. McIntire's nomination to the Senate reported a bill from the Judiciary Com-mittee further to provide for the collection of duties on imports. This bill embraced substantially the same pro visions, long since expired, contained in the act of 2d March, 1833, commonly called "the Force bill," to enable Gen. Jackson to collect the revenue outside o Charleston "either upon land or on board any vessel." Mr. Bingham's bill was permitted to slumber on the files of the House until the 2d March, the last day but one before Congress expired (H. Journal p. 485), when he moved for a suspension of the rules, to enable the House to take it up and consider it, but his motion proved unsuccessful. Indeed, the motion was not made until so late an hour of the session that even if it had prevailed, the bill could not have passed both Houses before the final adjournment. Thus the President was ment. Thus the Freshuent was looked without a collector of customs, and most probably without any law which a collector could have carried into effect, had such an officer existed. Mr. Bings ham's bill shared the fate of all othe legislative measures, of whatever character, intended either to prevent or to confront the existing danger. From the persistent refusal to pass any act enabling either the outgoing or the incoming administration to meet the contingency of civil war, it may fairly be inferred that the friends of Mr. Lincoln, in and out of Congress, believed he would be able to settle the existing difficulties with the Cotton States in a peaceful manner, and that he might be embarrassed by any legislation contemplating the neity of a resort to hostile measures. CONGRESS ENDS, LEAVING THE LAW AS THEY FOUND IT.

The Thirty-sixth Congress expired on the 3d March, 1861, leaving the law just as they had found it. They made no provision whatever for the suppres-sion of threatened rebellion, but delib-

olation of duty which compelled Presi deht Lincoln to issue a proclamatio convening the new Congress, in special session, immediately after the attack on Fort Sumter. Urgent and dangerous emergencies may have arisen, or may hereafter arise in the history of our country, rendering delay disastrous, such as the bombardment of Fort Sumter by the Confederate Government, which would for the moment justify the President in violating the Constitution, by raising a military force with out the authority of law, but this only during a recess of Congress. Such extreme cases are a law unto themselves. They must rest upon the principle that it is a lesser evil to usure, until Congress can be assembled, a power withheld from the Executive, than to suffer the Union to be endangered, either by traitors at home or enemies from abroad. In all such cases, however, it is the Presider duty to present to Congress, immediately after their next meeting, the cause which impelled him thus to act, and ion of the House on the very day it was reported. On his own motion it was re-committed, and thus killed as soon as it ask for their approbation; just as, on a like occasion, a British minister would aw the light. It was never heard of ask Parliament for a bill of indemnity Then after another pause of nineteen It would be difficult, however, to conceive of an emergency so extreme as to justify or even excuse a President for thus transeending his constitutional powers whilst Congress, to whom he could make an immediate appeal, was in session. Cerainly no such case existed during the administration of the late President.-On the contrary, not only was Congress actually in session, but bills were long pending before it for extending his authority in calling for the militia, fo enabling him to accept the services o in calling for the militia, for volunteers, and for the employment of the navy, if necessary, outside of ports of entry for the collection of the revenue, all of which were eventually rejected.
Under these circumstances, had the President attempted, of his own mere riesuent attempted, or nis own mere will, to exercise these high powers, whilst Congress were at the very time deliberating whether to grant them to him or not, he would have made himself included the control of the

and the legislative branch of the Gov-The Mexican Question from a French Standpoint.

self justly liable to impeachment. This

would have been for the Executive to

set at defiance both the

ernment.

The appointment of General Logan as Minister to Mexico is made the occasion of an article in the Courrier des Etats
Unis, the organ of Imperial French sentiment in this country. The Courrier
expresses its astonishment at the appointment of General Logan as "Minister to a defined Particles." expresses its astonishment at the appointment of General Logan as "Minister to a defunct Republic, whose seat is nowhere," and thinks it "very certain that Mr. Logan will not set out for a destination which he will seek in vain on any map." The act is the more astonishing, the Courrier says, because there was no "pressure of Congress," and no "exigency of public opinion calling for it"—and it accomplishes only the end-of "insulting France and the Mexican Empire, without serving in Mexican Empire, without serving in the least the defunct Republic to which the embassador is accredited." The Courrier compares the sending of a Minister to the "Republic" of Mexico, under present circumstances, to the Confederate States, "when naught remained to it but Galveston," and suggests the action of France in the case. by asking how the supposed procedure would have been regarded by the Gov-ernment of the United States. In noticing the late emphatic declara-

ion of General Grant with reference to Maximilian, the Courrier says: It is impossible for us to pass without remark symptoms fatal to the good understanding between this country and France."
"What," the Courrier enquires, "would the citizens of the United States have said if Marshal Bazaine, during the war of secession, had publicly expressed the hope to see the Federal armies defeated by the South?" The Courrier repudi ates all idea of alarming the country, but states that "there are more reason than there should be for a greatestrange-ment between France and the United States. They should explain them-selves, however, once for all, for the two countries have an equal interest in knowing to what their mutual intentions will lead. The French Government has borne patiently many little provocations, but we deceive ourselves if we imagine it would sell its honor cheaply if it is called into the ring." These remarks of the Courrier are worthy of thought and consideration.— They no doubt express the sentiments entertained by the Imperial French party in Mexico; and as Napoleon is not in the habit of expressing his opin-ions until the time for action arrives, they afford the only means of arriving at probable conclusions as to his manner of looking at and estimating the course adopted by the United States Government. In that view they will be held important until we have news from France as to the opinion of the French Government upon the appointment of General Logan as Ministerto "a defunct Republic," as the Courrier calls the par-

"West Virginia."

ty opposed to Maximilian in Mexico.

"West Virginia."

It is a Republican paper from which we take the following paragraph:
Several Virginia papers are discussing the feasibility of reuniting the State by the absorption of West Virginia. The subject has come up in consequence of the attempt of the State of West Virginia to get possession of the counties the attempt of the State of West Virginia to get possession of the counties of Berkeley and Jefferson, against the wish of the inhabitants, by the same fictitious process by which the State was originally divided. If there is any legitimate process by which the two Virginias can be consolidated into one, Congress will readily give its assent. Two Virginia Senators will thus be got rid of. In fact Congress would not have consented to the division of the State if he result of the war had been foreseen It was an act of faithlessness and des peration

have already got sick of their job.

In more than one quarter among the
Republican journals we have noticed he cool avowal, that could the men in Congress have foreseen what stripe of politicians would be elected to the Senate and Congress from "West Virginia." that so-called State would never have

The partizan majority in Congress

It does not modify or excuse the dishonest character of that proceeding, that in point of fact the pretended State does not, and never did exist. Its creation under the circumstances is in di-rect and open violation of an express provision of the Constitution; and the Republicans in Congress and in the Lin-coln Cabinet who connived at this violation of the Organic Law have succeeded only in upholding a fraud, the fruits of which they have latterly found exceeding bitter, but they have to swallow the dose, for it was a dish of their own cooking. It seems they are now ready to undo the wrong they have done in this matter. It is a pity their repen-tance is not induced by any higher prin-ciple than that which impelled them to he commission of the wrong.-Hartford Times.

Mrs. Lincoln and Her Husband's Monu-

[From the Chicago Tribune.] We published the other day a news paragraph that Mrs. Lincoln had or-lered in Zwickan, Germany, a monument for the grave of her husband, our late lamented President. The paragraph, according to our recollection, first appeared in the London correspondence of the Cincinnati Gazette. We now learn that there is no foundation for the statement. Mrs. Lincoln has ordered no monument for the grave of her husband, nor does she intend to do so. She has left that work in the hands Lincoln Monument Association at Springfield.

Mrs. Lincoln is residing at the Clifton House in this city. Since the decease of her husband she has made her permanent abode in Chicago, living in great retirement, and devoting herself the education of heryounger son. Her eldest son, Robert, is completing his studies in the law office of Scammon, McCagg & Fuller. The other, so well known to all frequenters of the White House by the familiar name of "Tad" —a bright, fun-loving boy—is attending one of our public schools.

WE PUBLISH this morning a mastervexposition and history of what is called The Monroe Doctrine. It is from the pen of no less a personage than Ex-President Buchanan, the most accomplished nd wisest of our retired states Much as politicians and rivals have abused Mr. Buchanan during the past eight years, none of them deny him uneight years, none of them deny nint di-common abilities and an unblemished character, which is a good deal to as-sert of a public man in our time. The upon The Monroe Doctrine is sent forth in an unpretending dress, and sion of threatened rebellion, but delibated all who read it, can readily comprehend a question, about which we hear somemoney for this purpose. It was this vi- I thing daily.—Norfolk (Va.) Post.