Miscellaneous.

THE OUTGOING ADMINISTRATION.

PRESIDENT JOHNSON'S VALEDICTORY

Farewell Address of the Retiring President to the People of the United States—Review of the Closing Administration—The Policy of the Past, &c.

WASHINGTON, March 3, 1869.—President Johnson, as one of his last official acts, issues the following:

ADDRESS TO THE PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES.

The robe of office, by constitutional limitation, this day falls from my shoulders, to be immediately assumed by my successor. For him the co-operation and forbearance of the American people in all his efforts to administer the government within the pale of the federal constitution are sincerely invoked.

Without ambition to gratify, party ends to subserve, or personal quarrels to avenge at the sacrifice of the peace and welfare of the country, my earnest desire is to see the constitution as defined and limited by the fathers of the republic again recognized and obeyed as the supreme law of the land, and the whole people, North, South, East and West, prosperous and happy under its wise provisions.

Surrendering the high office to which I was called four years ago, at a memorable and terrible crisis, it is my privilege, I trust, to say to the people of the United States a few parting words in vindication of an official course so ceaselessly assailed and aspersed by political leaders to whose plans and wishes my policy to restore the Union has been obnoxious.

In a period of difficulty and turmoil almost without precedent in the history of any people, consequent upon the closing scenes of a great rebellion, and the assassination of the then President, it was, perhaps, too much on my part to expect of devoted partisans, who rode on the waves of excitement which at that time swept all before them, that degree of toleration and magnanimity which I sought to recommend and enforce, and which I believe, in good time, would have advanced us infinitely further on the road to permanent peace and prosperity than we have thus far attained.

Doubtless had I, at the commencement of my term of office, unhesitatingly lent its powers or perverted them to purposes and plans outside of the constitution, and become an instrument to schemes of confiscation, of general and oppressive disqualifications, I would have been hailed as all that was true, loyal and discerning, as the reliable head of party, whatever I might have been as the Executive of the nation. Unwilling, however, to accede to the proposition of extremists, and bound to adhere, at every personal hazard, to my oath to defend the constitution, I need not, perhaps, be surprised at having met the fate of others whose only reward for upholding constitutional right and law have been the consciousness of having attempted to do their duty, and the calm and unprejudiced judgment of history.

At the time a mysterious Providence assigned to me the office of President, I was by the terms of the constitution the commander-in-chief of nearly a million of men under arms. One of my first acts was to disband and restore to the vocations of civil life this immense host, and to divest myself, so far as I could, of the unparalleled powers then incident to the office and the times. Whether or not in this step I was right, and how far deserving of the approbation of the people, all can now on reflection judge, when reminded of the ruinous condition of of public affairs that must have resulted from the continuance in the military service of such a vast number of men.

The close of our domestic conflict found the army eager to distinguish itself in a new field by an effort to punish European intervention in Mexico. By many it was believed and urged that, aside from the assumed justice of the proceeding, a foreign war, in which both sides would cheerfully unite to vindicate the honor of the national flag, and further illustrate the national prowess, would be the surest and speediest way of awakening national enthusiasm, reviving devotion to the Union, and occupying a force concerning which grave doubts existed as to its willingness, after four years of active campaigning, at once to return to the pursuits of peace.

Whether these speculations were true or false, it will be conceded that they existed, and that the predilections of the army were for the being, in the direction indicated.—Taking advantage of this feeling, it would have been easy, as the commander-in-chief of the army and navy, and with all the power and patronage of the Presidential office at my disposal, to turn the concentrated military strength of the nation against French interference in Mexico, and to inaugurate a movement which would have been received with favor by the military and a large portion of the people.

It is proper, in this connection, that I should refer to the almost unlimited additional powers tendered to the Executive by the measures relating to civil rights and the freedmen's bureau. Contrary to most precedents in the experience of public men, the powers thus placed within my grasp were declined as in violation of the constitution, dangerous to the liberties of the people, and tending to aggravate rather than lessen the discords naturally resulting from our civil war. With a large army and augmented authority it would have been no difficult task to direct at pleasure the destinies of the republic, and to make secure my continuance in the highest office known to our laws.

Let the people whom I am addressing from the Presidential chair, during the closing hours of a laborious term, consider how different would have been their present condition had I yielded to the dazzling temptation of foreign conquest, of personal aggrandizement, and the desire to yield additional power. Let them, with justice, consider that if I have not unduly "magnified mine office," the public burdens have not been increased by my acts, or other, and perhaps thousands, or tens of thousands, of lives sacrificed to visions of false glory! It cannot, therefore, be charged that my ambition has been of that ordinary or criminal kind which, to the injury of the people's rights and liberties, seeks to grasp more and unwarranted powers, and to accomplish its purposes panders too often to popular prejudices and party aims.

What, then, have been the aspirations which have guided me in my official acts? These acts need not at this time an elaborate explanation. They have been elsewhere comprehensively stated and fully discussed, and become a part of the nation's history. By them I am willing to be judged, knowing that, however imperfect, they at least show the impartial mind that my sole ambition has been to restore the Union of States, faithfully to execute the office of President, and to the best of my ability to preserve, protect, and defend the constitution.

I cannot be censured if my efforts have been impeded in the interests of party factions, and if a policy which was intended to reassure and conciliate the people of both sections of the country, was made the occasion of inflaming and dividing still further, those who only recently in arms against each other, yet as individuals and citizens were sincerely desirous, as I shall ever believe, of burying all hostile feelings in the grave of the past.

The bitter war was waged on the part of the government to vindicate the constitution and save the Union; and if I have erred in trying to bring about a more speedy and lasting peace, it certainly has been burthened and enmities, and to prevent troubles in the South, which, retarding material prosperity in that region, injuriously affected the whole country. I am quite content to rest my case with the more deliberate judgment of the people, and, as I have already intimated, with the distant future.

The war, all must remember, was a superpendent and overpowering calamity. Neither side understood the other, and had this simple fact and its conclusions been kept in view, all that was needed was accomplished by the acknowledgment of the terrible wrong, and the expression of better feelings and earnest endeavors at atonement shown and felt in the prompt ratification of the constitutional amendments by the Southern States at the close of the war. Not accepting the war as a confessed lesson, the action on the part of those who inaugurated it was an error which not only time can cure, and which, even at this late date, we should endeavor to palliate.

Experiencing, moreover, as all have done, the frightful cost of the arbitrament of the sword, let us in the future cling closer than ever to the constitution as our only safeguard. It is to be hoped that not until the burdens now pressing upon us with such fearful weight are removed, will our people forget the lessons of the war, and that regardless of bering them from whatever cause, peace between sections and States may be perpetuated.

The history of late events in our country, as well as of the greatest governments of ancient and modern times, teaches that we have everything to fear from a departure from the letter and spirit of the constitution and the undue ascendancy of men allowed to assume power in what are considered desperate emergencies. Scylla, on becoming master of Rome, at once adopted measures to crush his enemies; and to consolidate the power of his party, he established military colonies throughout Italy, deprived of the full Roman franchise the inhabitants of the Italian towns who had opposed his usurpations, confiscated their lands and gave them to his soldiers, and conferred citizenship on a great number of slaves belonging to those who had proscribed him, thus creating at Rome a kind of body-guard for his protection. After having given Rome over to slaughter and tyrannies beyond all example over those opposed to him and the legions, his terrible instrument of wrong, Scylla could yet feel safe in laying down the insignia of power so dreadfully abused, and in mingling freely with the families and friends of his myriad victims.

The fear which he had inspired continued after his voluntary abdication, and even in retirement his will was law to a people who had permitted themselves to be enslaved. What but a subtle knowledge and conviction that the Roman people had become changed, discouraged and broken in spirit could have induced this daring assumption? What but public indifference to consequences so terrible as to leave Rome open to every calamity which subsequently befell her could have justified the conclusions of the dictator and tyrant in his startling experiment? We find that in the time which has since elapsed human natures and exigencies in governments have not greatly changed. Who, a few years past, in contemplating our future, could have supposed that in a brief period of bitter experience everything demanded in the name of military emergency, or dictated by caprice, would come to be considered as mere matter of course? That conscription, confiscation, loss of personal liberty, the subjection of States to military rule and disfranchisement, with the extension of the right of suffrage merely to accomplish personal ends, would receive the passive submission, if, not acquiescence of the people of the republic? It has been clearly demonstrated by recent occurrences that encroachments upon the constitution cannot be prevented by the President alone, however devoted or determined he may be, and that unless the people interpose there is no power under the constitution to check a dominant majority of two-thirds in the Congress of the United States.

An appeal to the nation, however, is attended with too much delay to meet an emergency. While, if left free to act, the people would correct, in time, such evils as might follow legislative usurpation, there is danger that the same power which disregards the constitution will deprive them of the right to change their rulers, except by revolution. We have already seen the jurisdiction of the judiciary circumscribed when it was apprehended that the courts would decide against laws having for their sole object the supremacy of party, while the veto power lodged in the Executive by the constitution for the interests and protection of the people, and exercised by Washington and his successors, has been rendered nugatory by a partisan majority of two-thirds in each branch of the national legislature.

The constitution evidently contemplates that when a bill is returned with the President's objections it will be calmly reconsidered by Congress. Such, however, has not been the practice under present party rule. It has become evident that men who pass a bill under partisan influence are not likely, through patriotic motives, to admit their error, and thereby weaken their own organization by confessing it under an official oath. Pride of opinion, if nothing else, has intervened and prevented a calm and dispassionate reconsideration of a bill disapproved by the Executive. Much as I venerate the constitution, it must be admitted that this condition of affairs has developed a defect which, under the aggressive tendency of the legislative department of the government, may readily work its overthrow. It may, however, be remedied without disturbing the harmony of the instrument. The veto power is generally exercised upon constitutional grounds; and whenever it is so applied, and the bill returned with the Executive's reasons, for withholding his signature, it ought to be immediately certified to the Supreme Court of the United States for its decision.

If its constitutionality shall be declared by that tribunal, it should then become a law, but if the decision is otherwise, it should fail, without power in Congress to re-enact or make it valid. In cases in which the veto rests upon hasty and inconsiderate legislation, and in which no constitutional question is involved, I would not change the fundamental law, for in such cases no permanent evil can be incorporated into the federal system. It is obvious that without such an amendment the government, as it existed under the constitution prior to the rebellion, may be totally subverted and overthrown by a two-thirds majority in Congress. It is not, therefore, difficult to see how easily and how rapidly the people may lose, shall I not say have lost, their liberties by an unchecked and uncontrollable majority in the law-making power, and when once deprived of their rights how powerless they are to regain them.

Let us turn for a moment to the history of the majority in Congress which has induced in such utter disregard of the constitution. While public attention has been carefully and constantly turned to the past and excluded sins of the South, the servants of the people in high places have boldly betrayed their trusts, broken their oaths of obedience to the constitution, and undermined the very foundations of liberty, justice and good government.

When the rebellion was being suppressed by the volunteer services of patriotic soldiers, amid the dangers of the battle-field, these men crept, without question, into place and power in the national councils. After all danger had passed, when no armed foe remained, when a furnished and repentant people bowed their heads to the flag and renewed their allegiance to the government of the United States, then it was that pretended patriots appeared before the nation and began to prate about the thousands of lives and millions of treasure sacrificed in the suppression of the rebellion.

They have since persistently sought to fan the prejudices engendered between the sections, to retard the restoration of peace and harmony, and by every means to keep open and exposed to the poisonous breath of party passion the terrible wounds of a four years' war. They have prevented the return of peace and the restoration of the Union, in every way rendered delusive the purposes, promises and pledges by which the army was marshaled, treason robbed and rebellion crushed, and made the liberties of the people and the rights and powers of the President objects of constant attack. They have wrested from the President his constitutional power of supreme command of the army and navy; they have destroyed the strength and efficiency of the executive department by making subordinate officers independent of and able to defy their chief; they have attempted to place the Executive under the power of a bold, defiant and treacherous cabinet officer; they have robbed the Executive of the prerogative of pardon rendered null and void acts of clemency granted to thousand of persons under authority of the constitution, and committed gross usurpation by legislative attempts to exercise this power in favor of party adherents. They have conspired to change the system of our government by preferring charges against the President, in the form of articles of impeachment, and contemplating before hearing or trial that he should be placed in arrest, held in durance, and when it became their pleasure to pronounce his sentence, driven from place and power in disgrace. They have in time past increased the national debt by a reckless expenditure of the public moneys, and thus added to the burdens which already weigh upon the people. They have permitted the nation to suffer the evils of a unsound currency, to the enhancement in price of all the necessaries of life. They have maintained a large standing army for the enforcement of their measures of oppression. They have engaged in class legislation, and built up and encouraged monopolies, that the few might be enriched at the expense of the many. They have failed to act upon important treaties, thereby endangering our peaceful relations with foreign powers.

Their course of usurpations has not been limited to inroads upon the executive department. By unconstitutional and oppressive enactments the people of ten States of the Union have been reduced to a condition more intolerable than that against which the patriots of the revolution rebelled.

Millions of our American citizens can new say of their oppressors, with more truth than our fathers did of the British tyrants, that they have "forbidden the Governors to pass laws of immediate and pressing importance, unless suspended until their assent should be obtained; that they have refused to pass other laws for the accommodation of large districts of people unless those people would relinquish the right of representation in the Legislature—a right inestimable to them and formidable to tyrants only. That they have made judges dependent upon their will alone for the term of their offices and the amount and payment of their salaries." That they have created a multitude of new offices, and sent hither swarms of officers to harass our people and eat out their substance. That they have "affected to render the military independent and superior to the civil power;" "combined with others to subject us to a jurisdiction foreign to our constitution and unacknowledged by our laws." "Quartered large bodies of armed troops among us; protected them by a mock trial from punishment for any murders which they should commit on the inhabitants of these States, imposed taxes upon us without our consent, deprived us in many cases of the benefit of trial by jury, taken away our charters, excited domestic insurrection among us, abolished our most valuable laws, altered fundamentally the forms of our government, suspended our own legislatures, and declared themselves invested with power to legislate for us in all cases whatsoever." This catalogue of crimes, long as it is, is not yet complete.

The constitution vests the judicial power of the United States in one Supreme Court, whose jurisdiction "shall extend to all cases arising under this constitution" and "the laws of the United States." Encouraged by this promise of a refuge from tyranny, a citizen of the United States, who by the order of a military commander, given under the sanction of a cruel and deliberate edict of Congress, has been denied the constitutional rights of liberty of conscience, freedom of the press and speech, personal freedom from military arrest, of being held to answer for crime only upon presentment and indictment, of trial by jury, of the writ of habeas corpus, and the protection of civil and constitutional government.

A citizen thus deeply wronged appeals to the Supreme Court for the protection guaranteed to him by the organic law of the land. At once a fierce and excited majority, by the ruthless hand of legislative power, stripped the ermine from the judges, transferred the sword of justice to the general, and remanded the oppressed citizen to a degradation and bondage worse than death.

It will also be recorded as one of the marvels of the times that a party claiming for itself a monopoly of consistency and patriotism, and boasting of its unlimited sway, endeavored by a costly and deliberate trial to impeach one who defended the constitution and the Union, not only throughout the war of the rebellion, but during his whole term of office as chief magistrate, but at the same time could find no warrant or means at their command to bring to trial even the chief of the rebellion.

Indeed, the remarkable failures in his case were so often repeated that, for propriety's sake, if for no other reason, it became necessary to extend to him an unconditional pardon. What more plainly than this illustrates the extremity of party management and inconsistency on the one hand, and of faction, vindictiveness and intolerance on the other.

Patriotism will hardly be encouraged when in such a record it sees that its instant reward may be the most virulent party abuse and obloquy, if not attempted disgrace. Instead of seeming to "make treason odious," it would, in truth, seem to have been their purpose rather to make the defence of the constitution and the Union a crime, and to punish fidelity to an oath of office, if counter to party dictation, by all the means at their command.

Happily for the peace of the country the war has determined against the assumed power of the States to withdraw at pleasure from the Union. The institution of slavery also found its destruction in a rebellion commenced in its interest. It should be borne in mind, however, that the war neither impaired nor destroyed the constitution, but, on the contrary, preserved its existence and made apparent its real power and enduring strength.

All the rights granted to the States or reserved to the people thereof remain, therefore, intact. Among those rights is that of the people of each State to declare the qualifications of their own State electors. It is now assumed that Congress can control this vital right, which can never be taken away from the States without impairing the fundamental principles of the government itself.

It is necessary to the existence of the States as well as to the protection of the liberties of the people; for the right to select the electors in whom the political power of a State shall be lodged involves the right of the State to govern itself.

When deprived of this prerogative the States will have no power worth retaining. All will be gone, and they will be subjected to the arbitrary will of Congress. The government will then be centralized, if not by the passage of laws, then by the adoption through partisan influence of an amendment directly in conflict with the original design of the constitution.

This proves how necessary it is that the people should require the administration of the three great departments of the government strictly within the limits of the constitution. Their boundaries have been accurately defined, and neither should be allowed to trespass upon the other, nor above all to encroach upon the reserved rights of the people and the States. The troubles of the past four years will prove to the nation blessings if they produce so desirable a result. Upon those who became young men amid the sound of cannon and the din of arms, and quietly returned to the farms, the factories, and the schools of the land, will principally devolve the solemn duty of perpetuating the union of the States, in defense of which hundreds of thousands of their comrades expired, and hundreds of millions of national obligations were incurred. A manly people will not neglect the training necessary to resist aggression, but they should be jealous lest the civil be made subordinate to the military element.

We need to encourage in every legitimate way a study of the constitution, for which the war was waged—a knowledge of and reverence for whose wise checks, by those so soon to occupy the places filled by their sentors, will be the only hope of preserving the Republic. The young men of the nation not yet under the control of party must resist the tendency to centralization, an outgrowth of the great rebellion, and be familiar with the fact that the country is a union of united States, and that when the States surrendered certain great rights for the sake of a more perfect union, they retained right as valuable and important as those which they relinquish for the common weal. These old doctrines, far different from the teachings that led to the attempt to secede, and a kindred theory that States were taken out of the Union by the rash acts of conspirators that happened to dwell within their borders, must be received and advocated with the patriotism of early manhood, or the people will be ruled by corrupt combinations of the commercial centres, who, plethoric from wealth, annually migrate to the capital of the nation to purchase special legislation. Until the representatives of the people in Congress more fully exhibit the diverse views and interests of the whole nation, and laws cease to be made without full discussion, such as belong to some party leaders, there will never be a proper respect shown by the law making power, either to the judicial or executive branch of government.

The generation just beginning to use the ballot box, it is believed, only need that their attention should be called to these considerations, to indicate by their votes that they wish their representatives to observe all the restraints which the people in adopting the constitution intended to impose upon party excess. Calmly reviewing my administration of the government, I feel that, with a sense of accountability to God, having conscientiously endeavored to discharge my whole duty. I have nothing to regret. Events have proved the correctness of the policy set forth in my first and subsequent messages. The woes which have followed the rejection of forbearance, magnanimity, and constitutional rule are deplored by the nation.

It is a matter of pride and gratification, in retiring from the most exalted position in the gift of a free people, to feel and know that in a long, arduous and eventful public life, my action has never been influenced by desire for gain, and that I can, in all sincerity, inquire whom have I defrauded, whom have I oppressed, or of whose band of a four years' war. They have prevented the return of peace and the restoration of the Union, in every way rendered delusive the purposes, promises and pledges by which the army was marshaled, treason robbed and rebellion crushed, and made the liberties of the people and the rights and powers of the President objects of constant attack. They have wrested from the President his constitutional power of supreme command of the army and navy; they have destroyed the strength and efficiency of the executive department by making subordinate officers independent of and able to defy their chief; they have attempted to place the Executive under the power of a bold, defiant and treacherous cabinet officer; they have robbed the Executive of the prerogative of pardon rendered null and void acts of clemency granted to thousand of persons under authority of the constitution, and committed gross usurpation by legislative attempts to exercise this power in favor of party adherents. They have conspired to change the system of our government by preferring charges against the President, in the form of articles of impeachment, and contemplating before hearing or trial that he should be placed in arrest, held in durance, and when it became their pleasure to pronounce his sentence, driven from place and power in disgrace. They have in time past increased the national debt by a reckless expenditure of the public moneys, and thus added to the burdens which already weigh upon the people. They have permitted the nation to suffer the evils of a unsound currency, to the enhancement in price of all the necessaries of life. They have maintained a large standing army for the enforcement of their measures of oppression. They have engaged in class legislation, and built up and encouraged monopolies, that the few might be enriched at the expense of the many. They have failed to act upon important treaties, thereby endangering our peaceful relations with foreign powers.

Their course of usurpations has not been limited to inroads upon the executive department. By unconstitutional and oppressive enactments the people of ten States of the Union have been reduced to a condition more intolerable than that against which the patriots of the revolution rebelled.

Millions of our American citizens can new say of their oppressors, with more truth than our fathers did of the British tyrants, that they have "forbidden the Governors to pass laws of immediate and pressing importance, unless suspended until their assent should be obtained; that they have refused to pass other laws for the accommodation of large districts of people unless those people would relinquish the right of representation in the Legislature—a right inestimable to them and formidable to tyrants only. That they have made judges dependent upon their will alone for the term of their offices and the amount and payment of their salaries." That they have created a multitude of new offices, and sent hither swarms of officers to harass our people and eat out their substance. That they have "affected to render the military independent and superior to the civil power;" "combined with others to subject us to a jurisdiction foreign to our constitution and unacknowledged by our laws." "Quartered large bodies of armed troops among us; protected them by a mock trial from punishment for any murders which they should commit on the inhabitants of these States, imposed taxes upon us without our consent, deprived us in many cases of the benefit of trial by jury, taken away our charters, excited domestic insurrection among us, abolished our most valuable laws, altered fundamentally the forms of our government, suspended our own legislatures, and declared themselves invested with power to legislate for us in all cases whatsoever." This catalogue of crimes, long as it is, is not yet complete.

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Happily for the peace of the country the war has determined against the assumed power of the States to withdraw at pleasure from the Union. The institution of slavery also found its destruction in a rebellion commenced in its interest. It should be borne in mind, however, that the war neither impaired nor destroyed the constitution, but, on the contrary, preserved its existence and made apparent its real power and enduring strength.

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We need to encourage in every legitimate way a study of the constitution, for which the war was waged—a knowledge of and reverence for whose wise checks, by those so soon to occupy the places filled by their sentors, will be the only hope of preserving the Republic. The young men of the nation not yet under the control of party must resist the tendency to centralization, an outgrowth of the great rebellion, and be familiar with the fact that the country is a union of united States, and that when the States surrendered certain great rights for the sake of a more perfect union, they retained right as valuable and important as those which they relinquish for the common weal. These old doctrines, far different from the teachings that led to the attempt to secede, and a kindred theory that States were taken out of the Union by the rash acts of conspirators that happened to dwell within their borders, must be received and advocated with the patriotism of early manhood, or the people will be ruled by corrupt combinations of the commercial centres, who, plethoric from wealth, annually migrate to the capital of the nation to purchase special legislation. Until the representatives of the people in Congress more fully exhibit the diverse views and interests of the whole nation, and laws cease to be made without full discussion, such as belong to some party leaders, there will never be a proper respect shown by the law making power, either to the judicial or executive branch of government.

The generation just beginning to use the ballot box, it is believed, only need that their attention should be called to these considerations, to indicate by their votes that they wish their representatives to observe all the restraints which the people in adopting the constitution intended to impose upon party excess. Calmly reviewing my administration of the government, I feel that, with a sense of accountability to God, having conscientiously endeavored to discharge my whole duty. I have nothing to regret. Events have proved the correctness of the policy set forth in my first and subsequent messages. The woes which have followed the rejection of forbearance, magnanimity, and constitutional rule are deplored by the nation.

It is a matter of pride and gratification, in retiring from the most exalted position in the gift of a free people, to feel and know that in a long, arduous and eventful public life, my action has never been influenced by desire for gain, and that I can, in all sincerity, inquire whom have I defrauded, whom have I oppressed, or of whose band of a four years' war. They have prevented the return of peace and the restoration of the Union, in every way rendered delusive the purposes, promises and pledges by which the army was marshaled, treason robbed and rebellion crushed, and made the liberties of the people and the rights and powers of the President objects of constant attack. They have wrested from the President his constitutional power of supreme command of the army and navy; they have destroyed the strength and efficiency of the executive department by making subordinate officers independent of and able to defy their chief; they have attempted to place the Executive under the power of a bold, defiant and treacherous cabinet officer; they have robbed the Executive of the prerogative of pardon rendered null and void acts of clemency granted to thousand of persons under authority of the constitution, and committed gross usurpation by legislative attempts to exercise this power in favor of party adherents. They have conspired to change the system of our government by preferring charges against the President, in the form of articles of impeachment, and contemplating before hearing or trial that he should be placed in arrest, held in durance, and when it became their pleasure to pronounce his sentence, driven from place and power in disgrace. They have in time past increased the national debt by a reckless expenditure of the public moneys, and thus added to the burdens which already weigh upon the people. They have permitted the nation to suffer the evils of a unsound currency, to the enhancement in price of all the necessaries of life. They have maintained a large standing army for the enforcement of their measures of oppression. They have engaged in class legislation, and built up and encouraged monopolies, that the few might be enriched at the expense of the many. They have failed to act upon important treaties, thereby endangering our peaceful relations with foreign powers.

Their course of usurpations has not been limited to inroads upon the executive department. By unconstitutional and oppressive enactments the people of ten States of the Union have been reduced to a condition more intolerable than that against which the patriots of the revolution rebelled.

Millions of our American citizens can new say of their oppressors, with more truth than our fathers did of the British tyrants, that they have "forbidden the Governors to pass laws of immediate and pressing importance, unless suspended until their assent should be obtained; that they have refused to pass other laws for the accommodation of large districts of people unless those people would relinquish the right of representation in the Legislature—a right inestimable to them and formidable to tyrants only. That they have made judges dependent upon their will alone for the term of their offices and the amount and payment of their salaries." That they have created a multitude of new offices, and sent hither swarms of officers to harass our people and eat out their substance. That they have "affected to render the military independent and superior to the civil power;" "combined with others to subject us to a jurisdiction foreign to our constitution and unacknowledged by our laws." "Quartered large bodies of armed troops among us; protected them by a mock trial from punishment for any murders which they should commit on the inhabitants of these States, imposed taxes upon us without our consent, deprived us in many cases of the benefit of trial by jury, taken away our charters, excited domestic insurrection among us, abolished our most valuable laws, altered fundamentally the forms of our government, suspended our own legislatures, and declared themselves invested with power to legislate for us in all cases whatsoever." This catalogue of crimes, long as it is, is not yet complete.

The constitution vests the judicial power of the United States in one Supreme Court, whose jurisdiction "shall extend to all cases arising under this constitution" and "the laws of the United States." Encouraged by this promise of a refuge from tyranny, a citizen of the United States, who by the order of a military commander, given under the sanction of a cruel and deliberate edict of Congress, has been denied the constitutional rights of liberty of conscience, freedom of the press and speech, personal freedom from military arrest, of

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If by over-excitement and fatigue your nerves have become so weakened that Headache admonishes you something more dangerous may happen, such as

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