and he says, "Father, the State has sece-ded." "The State seceded! What! this is a great Union and a great country, ment of treason, and the honorable Sended." "The State seceded ! What ! this is a great Union and a great country, Gone out of the Union ! Oh, we'll see and we can afford great sacrifices for it, ators who think this joke is an answer to about that When is the United States ? and Table and Table and great sacrifices for it, about that. Where is the United States? and I will submit to this and be a Union Where are the United States officers? man still." Then after war is over, after We shall have a halter cout these fel-lows necks before they know what they are doing. Seceded ! Gone out of the we have do fignominy is heaped upon him. fellow bustles about, and while he is bust- being tried, they are convicted without fact; and yet we are told this is no punling about another son comes in and says, being heard; their apologies are not con-ishment. I ask again, and I defy gentle-inter have taken all the forts except sidered; they are not considered in court; men to put their finger upon a single Sumter, and all the United States officers they are not considered in the legislative instance where our race submitted to this are out of commission, every one; those hall; this old man is not allowed the poor or submitted to it long. Impose that up-that were true were frightened, and those privilege of a friend from his district to on the southern States, pass this bill of who did not want to give up their offices come here and offer the little apologies have been threatened, and they have all be may have for himself and his children. resigned; there is no United States officer in South Carolina." What then ? Where is your Government there to protect this islate for our fellow citizens ! This is the man? He may have been a member of cement with which we propose to bind your Congress. He may have taken an this Union again! This is the way we oath to support the Constitution twenty expect to extend the hand of fellowship times. He may have been a member of to the Union men of the South ! This is this body. What is he told? Where is the thing we expect will secure to our that kind. No, Mr. President, let us treat he to go? He says, "I will see about children and to our children's children a these people fairly, let us give them their this." getic man, and he comes up here to Con- it ! I hear gentlemen taking airings in gress, and he finds Congress sitting at history; we were treated to a dish of it this end of the avenue, he finds the Presi-dent sitting at the other end, and he tells to read Prendegast's History of the Cromthem "South Carolina has seceded; you wellian Settlement in Ireland. Read the are out of possession; you cannot protect | Partition of Poland. Read the suppresanybody; the whole people there are at sion of all rebellions, and read where this the mercy of these accessionists. What operation has been performed successfulare you going to do?" What did you do at either end of the avenue ?

Mr. Howard. Ask Mr. Buchanan. Mr. Cowan. Yes, and ask that Congress that sat here, too; ask that Congress did it pass any bill to authorize him to when they conquered a people whom they put down the insurrection; did it make any wished to unite to themselves they improvision? The history of that Congress posed conditions, whether they said, "You is written." "Well," the old man says, must do this and you must do that, you "I cannot do any good here; these peo- must pass under the yoke." Never, nevple seem to be all demented; they have er. If the Romans intended that a conforgotten what the Government was organized for; they have forgotten its mission. They seem to think it has no func- gave them all the rights of Roman citition, that it is to remain seated here and zens; and what was their argument? do nothing, and that the people will still " They will love us the better, the better maintain their allegiance to it as against | we treat them, and they will hate us the State governments and confederate gov. worse the worse we treat them." ernments; however, this will be all right yet." He goes down home and tells the mental principle, a principle fundamental boys and everybody that things will be in the hearts of Englishmen, I hope, and better after a little; that there is a new their descendants; fundamental in our his-President coming in; that Congress and the old President are fighting and have damental in our beliefs, fundamental as got to loggerheads; one will not do this our religion; it is that no man is to be conand the other will not do that, and both victed without being heard. How can are waiting for some new advent.

is done then? The new President finds to put the word "voluntarily" in. Do himself here without an army, without a you propose to punish a man who was navy, without a treasury, everything de- compelled to commit a crime involuntarimoralized, everything at sixes and sevens and for six weeks neither he nor his Cab- the rebellion. inetknew what todo. What is the old man cannot stand it any longer; my neighbors that a man shall not be elected to office ! Knights of the Golden Circle, and it is like that, but I do not see very well what our race submitted to that long. else you are to do ; if this thing shall suc-John goes in and takes a colonelcy; Jim That is one instance. goes in and is made a major, and Ben is after they have been in the toils. Well, let us follow it a little further. mation. What is that proclamation? try cannot be President they are puuish-Why that he is a sinner, a man who has ed! Is that so? violated a great moral law of God in the universe in owning slaves, and that his did not teach me so; our people all around think of that. What would he say to his here did not believe so. Our people wife and children in explanation of that? to and then after doing all this I am to be ted me without hearing me, convic-tod, true as I have been to the Gonstitu-tion and the laws and the flag, that I am I am reminded by my learned friend I am reminded by my learned friend

messenger comes in, a son, if you please, a sinner and to be bereft of my property? from -Wisconsin [Mr. Doolittle] that we We'll see about that." The old and upon them; they are punished without That is an American citizen, a true man,

> ly of putting down a rebellion and healing the wounds caused by it, and ask whether this is part of the machinery that was resorted to there. Go to Roman history; read it from end to end, and see whether quered people should live with them they made them their equals immediately; they

Then, Mr. President, there 'is a fundatory, fundamental in our traditions, funyou tell what a man has to say who was The 4th of March comes round. What engaged in the rebellion? You refused ly? And ye t you do if he engaged in

Gentlemen tell us it is no punishment to do in the mean time ? The stern old pa- to say that a man shall have no voice and triot, good Union man, says, "Never shall not be eligible to office. That might mind; things will come right yet; after do to tell some of the verdant, virtuous awhi'e these people at the North will get districts out through the country, but it started and then we will be set all right; is a very singular speech here in the Unithe traitors will be published and we shall ted States Senate, composed of forty or be protected." In the meanwhile one of fifty men who have been all their lives the boys comes in and says, "Father, I strnggling for offices, and have got very have got tired of being called a traitor; I high ones at last. No punishment to say are joining companies and regiments: and What kind of ideas of punishment must are joining companies and regiments; and What kind of ideas of punishment must I am sometimes actually in danger of be-ing mobbed when I go out; here are vig-punishment consists alone in pulling teeth for the public Avenue, Montrose, Pa. [Jan. 1, 1866.] lance Committees and Precipitators and or emashing thumbs in the thumb screw, BRLINGS STROUD, CHARLES L. BROWN. or nutting boots on the log ? Is that the hardly safe for a man to go out; but they only kind of punishment you can inflict have offered to make me colonel if I will on a man? Is there not such a thing as take command of a regiment. I do not setting a mark upon him, the punishment see that we have hope at all: Mr. Lincoln of the first murderer, sending him out to is not going to do any better than Mr. wander through the world like the man Buchapan; here we have waited a whole in the novel who had no shadow? Is it month and he has not done a thing; there no punishment to put a wolf's head of have been no supplies thrown into Sum- this kind upon a man, to single him out, ter, no troops sent there, no strengthening set him apart in the community, and laof that post; this is a foregone conclu- bel him " traitor, inelligible ?" Do you sion ; can we look any longer to the Fed- know any men of our breed on the earth eral Government? Four months have that ever submitted to that long? I already passed ; I guess I'll take the co- should like some gentleman to consult his lonelcy?" The old man says, "I do not history and find when and where men of Mr. Howard. I refer the Senator to ceed and you are not in it, of course you the Constitution of the United States, will be damned forever and spotted as a which declares that none but a natural Tory down to the latest generation, per-born citizen of the United States shall be BANKERS, Montrose, Pa. Successors to Post, Cooper hans: I mess you had batten on in ?? closted President of the United States shall be haps; I guess you had better go in." elected President of the United States Mr. Cowan. Oh, that is a capital joke, made a captain, and so on; and about the Mr. President. Now, we have been bam time that is done they fire on Sunter boozled and fed on that kind of stuff for and the North is on fire. Armies are in the last four years. That is an answer to the motion to go down and rescue these men argument ! I ask the honorable Senator argument! I ask the honorable Senator if he believes there is a sane man in the world who thinks that has anything to do with my argument. It has anything to do ille and vicinity. EX-Office in the office of De. Lect. Boards at J. Hosford's. Before our armies get within one hundred | with my argument. It has no more remiles of this old man to protect him, to semblance to the case I put than hawk has stand between him and the secessionists, to a hand saw-not a bit. Because all he finds posted up on the wall a procla- the people who are not born in this coun-

quirk is to stand in the face of a great fact covering eleven States of the Union. voted for it. We ourselves made it a part of the punishment of treason. It is in the book; I need not read it. That is a instance where our race subfinited to this or submitted to it long. Impose that upon on the southern States, pass this bill of attainder through the medium of an affendment to the Gonstitution, and the seeds of rebellion are there, and they will grow with it; and if redemption cannot come the children of the men you render the constitution and the will themselves make a might y army, an is army not to be conquered in a cause of that kind. No, Mr. President, let us treat these people fairly, let us give them their rights under the Constitution and the law, not by bills of attainder or examples to the constitution.
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in any not to be conquered in a cause of the law, not He is an active, vigorous, ener- future for the great Republic. Think of rights under the Constitution and the post facto laws, not by making a law as amendments to the Constitution. If we can maintain the Union at all, we can maintain it in that way. If we cannot maintain it in that way we cannot maintain it at all.

I am aware, Mr. President, that this is foregone conclusion. I am aware that it was decided that something must be done, and I know how difficult it was to get that something into being, to get that unlicked bantling into shape. I know how long the period of parturition has lasted. And, Mr. President, I am afraid, too, that if it had not been from pride or preconceived opinions it would have been strangled by its own mother at the instant of its birth. I believe she would have been glad to get rid of it if it had not been for that pride. But it is here, it is to go through, it is to be proposed to the people; but relying upon the people, upon the sense of the people, I have no fears for the result.

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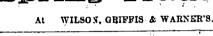
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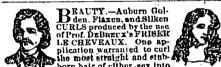
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eris, carriages, milroad cars, church pews, arm chair, for promenade and house dress, no the skirt can be folded when in use to occupy a small place as easily and con-veniently as a slik or muslin dress. A lady having enjoyed the pleasure, comfort and great convenience of wearing the duplex elliptic steel spring skirt for is single day will never afterwards willingly dispense with their use. For children, misses and young halies they are superior to all others. The Hoops are covered with 2 ply double twisted thread and will wear twice as long as the single yarm covering which is used on all single steel hoop skirts. The three bottom rods on every skirt are also double steel, and twice or double covered (oprevent the cover-ing from wearing off the rods when dragging down stairs, stone steps, etc., etc., which they are constantly subject to when in use. All are made of the new and elegant corded tapes, and are the best quality in every part, giving to the wearer the most graceful and perfect shape possible, and are economical skirt ever made. WEETS, BRADLEY & CARY. Proprietors of the Invention, and sole manufacturers, br Chambers, and 79 & 81 Roade streets, N, Y. For sale in all first-class stores in this city, and thro-out the United States and Canada. Havana de Cuba Mexico, South America, and the West Hulies.

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Mr. Howard. I do not think so.

Mr. Cowan. I do not think so either. slaves that he owned, that he looked Nobody believes that that is any punishupon as his property, that he believed ment or any stigma or anything else apon were his property, that had come to him from his father, if you please, were freed. "Now," says he, " that may be; but I to him, by law or otherwise, "You shall always thought that when a man com- not sit upon a jury; you shall not sit in the mitted a sin he ought to know it, I do Legislature; you shall not wear the ermine not understand slavery to be a sin in it- of a judge; you shall not be Governor of self. My father did not teach me so, my your State or Senator from that State," mother did not teach me so, the church I should like to know what he would

thought slavery in itself was indifferent; "How does it come that our father canthat if a master took a hundred negroes not be a judge, so good a lawyer as he is? and made them happier than they were How does it come that he cannot go to before, wiser than before, better than be- the Senate of the United States, eloquent fore, it was a virtue, and if he took them | and learned as he is, and superior to the and made them worse it was a sin; and men whom we are obliged to send?"who dares tell ine that Thave been a sin- What would be his answer?... "My chil-ner in this behalf? And what kind of dren, I have committed no crime; my protection is this that a Government is to name shall come down to you pure and afford me to allow the country to be cov- unspotted as it did from my own father; ered with war and desolation for months but I am the victim of a law which conon account of its neglect at the outstart, demned me without hearing me, convicand then after doing all this I am to be ted me without a trial, and punished me told, true as I have been to the Constitu- not even by name, but by class."



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