Reading Gazette & Democrat.

PUBLISHED WEEKLY IN THE CITY OF READING, BERKS COUNTY, PA.--TERMS: $1,50 A YEAR IN ADVANCE.

J. LAWRENCE GETZ, EDITOR.] SATURDAY MORNING, APRIL 25, 1863. [VOL. XXIV.—NO. 1.—WHOLE NO. 1965.

PUBLISHED EVERY SATURDAY MORNING.

Office, *North-West corner of Penn and Fifth street, adjoining the Farmers' Bank of Reading.*

TERMS OF SUBSCRIPTION.

$1,50 a year, payable in advance.
1,00 for six months, in advance.
To Clubs: Four copies for $5, in advance.
Ten copies for 12, "
All papers discontinued at the expiration of the time paid for.

RATES OF ADVERTISING IN THE GAZETTE.

	1t.	3t.	1mo.	3mo.	6mo.	1y.
1 Square, 5 lines, or less,	50	50	75	2,00	3,00	5,00
2 " 10 "	50	1,00	1,25	3,00	5,00	8,00
3 " 20 "	1,00	2,00	2,50	5,00	8,00	15,00
4 " 30 "	1,50	3,00	3,75	7,50	12,00	20,00

[Larger Advertisements in proportion.]

Executors' and Administrators' Notices, 6 insertions $2,00
Auditors' Notices and Legal Notices. 3 " 1,50
Special Notices, as reading matter, 10 cts. a line for one insertion.

Marriage notices 25 cents each. Deaths will be published gratuitously.

All Obituary Notices, Resolutions of Beneficial and other Private Associations, will be charged for, as advertisements, at the above rates.

Advertisements for Religious, Charitable and Educational objects, one half the above rates.

All advertising will be considered payable in cash, on the first insertion.

Yearly advertisers shall have the privilege (if desired) of renewing their advertisements *every three weeks*—but not oftener. Any additional renewals, or advertising exceeding the amount contracted for, will be charged *extra* at one-half the rates above specified for transient advertisements.

Yearly advertisers will be charged the same rates as transient advertisers for all matters *not relating strictly to their business.*

PRINTING OF EVERY DESCRIPTION

Executed in a superior manner, at the *very lowest prices.* Our assortment of JOB TYPE is large and fashionable, and our Work speaks for itself.

BLANKS OF ALL KINDS,

Including PARCHMENT and PAPER DEEDS, MORTGAGES, BONDS, ARTICLES OF AGREEMENT, LEASES, and a variety of Justices' BLANKS, kept constantly for sale, or printed to order.

RICHMOND L. JONES,
ATTORNEY AT LAW,
OFFICE WITH J. GLANCY JONES, ESQ., East Penn Square, south side, Reading.
April 15, 1863-3mo

JESSE G. HAWLEY,
ATTORNEY AT LAW,
HAS REMOVED HIS OFFICE TO NORTH Sixth Street, opposite the Keystone House, Reading.
April 11, 1863-tf

NEWTON D. STRONG,
ATTORNEY AT LAW,
OFFICE IN COURT STREET, NEAR FIFTH, Reading, Pa. [March 14, 1863-3mo

JOHN RALSTON,
ATTORNEY AT LAW,
OFFICE WITH A. B. WANNER, NORTH Sixth Street, (above the Court House,) Reading, Pa.
February 21, 1863-1y

REMOVAL.
WILLIAM H. LIVINGOOD, ATTORNEY AT LAW, has removed his office to the north side of Court street first door below Sixth. [dec 22-tf

Charles Davis,
ATTORNEY AT LAW—HAS REMOVED HIS Office to the Office lately occupied by the Hon. David F. Gordon, deceased, in Sixth street, opposite the Court House. [april 14

Daniel Ermentrout,
ATTORNEY AT LAW—OFFICE IN NORTH Sixth street, corner of Court alley. [aug 13-1y

David Neff,
WHOLESALE AND RETAIL DEALER IN Foreign and Domestic DRY GOODS, No. 25 East Penn street, Reading, Pa. [March 10, 1860.

LIVINGOOD'S
United States Bounty, Back Pay and Pension Office,
COURT STREET, NEAR SIXTH.
HAVING BEEN ENGAGED IN COLLECTING claims against the Government, I feel confident that all who have heretofore employed me will cheerfully endorse my promptness and fidelity. My charges are moderate and no charge made until obtained.
WILLIAM H. LIVINGOOD,
oct 18-tf] Attorney at Law, Court St., Reading, Pa.

DISCHARGED SOLDIERS
CAN NOW OBTAIN THEIR $100 BOUNTY from the U. S. Government, by application to
ABNER K. STAUFFER,
March 7-tf] Collection Office, Court Street, Reading.

ASA M. HART,
(Late Hart & Mayer,)
DEALER IN FOREIGN AND AMERICAN DRY GOODS, CARPETINGS, &c., Wholesale and Retail, at Philadelphia prices. Sign of the Golden Bee Hive, No. 14 East Penn Square. [april 17-tf

P. Bushong & Sons,
MANUFACTURERS OF BURNING FLUID, Absolute, Deodorized and Druggists' Alcohol; also, Pine Oil, which they will sell at the lowest Wholesale prices, at Reading, Pa.
Orders respectfully solicited. [march 12

DR. T. YARDLEY BROWN,
SURGEON DENTIST.
GRADUATE OF PENNSYLVANIA Dental College. Teeth extracted by Francis' Electro Magnetic process, with Clarke's improvement. With this method teeth are extracted with much less pain than the usual way. No extra charge. Office in Fifth street, opposite the Presbyterian Church. [april 2-1y

Dr. G. M. MILLER,
SURGEON DENTIST, FROM THE College of Dental Surgery, Philadelphia. Office: At his residence in Main street, Hamburg, Pa.
Teeth extracted under the influence of Ether, or by the Electro-Magnetic Machine, without extra charge. Scurvy cured.
He has also Patent and other MEDICINES for sale at his office. [may 31

CHARLES LANCASTER,
MEDICAL ELECTRICIAN,
Fourth Street, above Penn, Reading,
January 24, 1863-tf

PENSIONS,
BOUNTIES & BACK PAY.
APPLICATIONS PROMPTLY ATTENDED to. Terms moderate and no charge until obtained.
A. G. GREEN, Attorney at Law,
Jan 31-6mo] Office in Court Street, Reading.

SOLDIERS'
BOUNTY-MONEY, BACK-PAY AND PENSION CLAIMS
PROMPTLY ATTENDED TO BY
A. K. STAUFFER,
Attorney at Law, Office in Court Street,
Jan 31-tf] READING, PA.

WATCHES, GOLD AND SILVER, CLOCKS AND JEWELRY.
RELIABLE IN QUALITY AND AT LOW Prices. WATCH REPAIRING.—Watches put in perfect order and every one warranted for one year.
JACOB LUDEN,
nov 15-6mo] 21 North Fifth Street, Reading, Pa.

F. P. HELLER,
WATCHMAKER, JEWELER,
AND DEALER IN
WATCHES, CLOCKS, JEWELRY,
SPOONS, SPECTACLES, GOLD PENS, &c., Sign of the "BIG WATCH," No. 53½ Ea. Penn Street, above Sixth, north side, Reading, Pa.
Every article warranted to be what it is sold for. Watches, Clocks, Jewelry, &c., repaired with particular attention, and guaranteed. [feb 1-tf

NOTICE.
A PREMIUM WILL BE PAID ON
GOLD, OLD SILVER
—AND—
PAR BANK NOTES
AT THE
EXCHANGE AND BANKING OFFICE
—OF—
G. W. GOODRICH,
READING, Pa.
August 10, 1861-tf]

BALTIMORE LOCK HOSPITAL
ESTABLISHED AS A REFUGE FROM QUACKERY.
The Only Place Where a Cure Can be Obtained.

DR. JOHNSTON HAS DISCOVERED THE most Certain, Speedy and only Effectual Remedy in the World for all Private Diseases, Weakness of the Back or Limbs, Strictures, Affections of the Kidneys and Bladder, Involuntary Discharges, Impotency, General Debility, Nervousness, Dyspepsia, Languor, Low Spirits, Confusion of Ideas, Palpitation of the Heart, Timidity, Trembling, Dimness of Sight or Giddiness, Disease of the Head, Throat, Nose or Skin, Affections of the Liver, Lungs, Stomach or Bowels—those Terrible Disorders arising from the Solitary Habits of Youth—those SECRET and solitary practices more fatal to their victims than the song of Syrens to the Mariners of Ulysses, blighting their most brilliant hopes or anticipations, rendering marriage, &c., impossible.

YOUNG MEN
Especially, who have become the victims of Solitary Vice, that dreadful and destructive habit which annually sweeps to an untimely grave thousands of Young Men of the most exalted talents and brilliant intellect, who might otherwise have entranced listening Senates, with the thunders of eloquence or waked to ecstasy the living lyre, may call with full confidence.

MARRIAGE.
Married Persons, or Young Men contemplating marriage, being aware of physical weakness, organic debility, deformities, &c., speedily cured.
He who places himself under the care of Dr. J. may religiously confide in his honor as a gentleman, and confidently rely upon his skill as a Physician.

ORGANIC WEAKNESS
Immediately Cured, and Full Vigor Restored.
This Distressing Affection—which renders Life miserable and marriage impossible—is the penalty paid by the victims of improper indulgences. Young persons are too apt to commit excesses from not being aware of the dreadful consequences that may ensue. Now, who that understands the subject will pretend to deny that the power of procreation is lost sooner by those falling into improper habits than by the prudent? Besides being deprived the pleasure of healthy offspring, the most serious and destructive symptoms to both body and mind arise. The system becomes Deranged, the Physical and Mental Functions Weakened, Loss of Procreative Power, Nervous Irritability, Dyspepsia, Palpitation of the Heart, Indigestion, Constitutional Debility, a Wasting of the Frame, Cough, Consumption, Decay and Death.

Office, No. 7 South Frederick Street,
Left hand side going from Baltimore street, a few doors from the corner. Fail not to observe name and number.
Letters must be paid and contain a stamp. The Doctor's Diplomas hang in his office.

A CURE WARRANTED IN TWO DAYS.
No Mercury or Nauseous Drugs.

DR. JOHNSTON,
Member of the Royal College of Surgeons, London, Graduate from one of the most eminent Colleges in the United States, and the greater part of whose life has been spent in the hospitals of London, Paris, Philadelphia and elsewhere, has effected some of the most astonishing cures that were ever known; many troubled with ringing in the head and ears when asleep, great nervousness, being alarmed at sudden sounds, bashfulness, with frequent blushing, attended sometimes with derangement of mind, were cured immediately.

TAKE PARTICULAR NOTICE.
Dr. J. addresses all those who have injured themselves by improper indulgence and solitary habits, which ruin both body and mind, unfitting them for either business, study, society or marriage.
THESE are some of the sad and melancholy effects produced by early habits of youth, viz: Weakness of the Back and Limbs, Pains in the Head, Dimness of Sight, Loss of Muscular Power, Palpitation of the Heart, Dyspepsy, Nervous Irritability, Derangement of the Digestive Functions, General Debility, Symptoms of Consumption, &c.
MENTALLY.—The fearful effects on the mind are much to be dreaded—Loss of Memory, Confusion of Ideas, Depression of Spirits, Evil Forebodings, Aversion to Society, Self-Distrust, Love of Solitude, Timidity, &c., are some of the evils produced.
THOUSANDS of persons of all ages can now judge what is the cause of their declining health, losing their vigor, becoming weak, pale, nervous and emaciated, having a singular appearance about the eyes, cough and symptoms of consumption.

YOUNG MEN
Who have injured themselves by a certain practice indulged in when alone, a habit frequently learned from evil companions, or at school, the effects of which are nightly felt, even when asleep, and if not cured renders marriage impossible, and destroys both mind and body, should apply immediately.
What a pity that a young man, the hope of his country, the darling of his parents, should be snatched from all prospects and enjoyments of life, by the consequence of deviating from the path of nature and indulging in a certain secret habit. Such persons MUST, before contemplating

MARRIAGE,
reflect that a sound mind and body are the most necessary requisites to promote connubial happiness. Indeed, without these the journey through life becomes a weary pilgrimage; the prospect hourly darkens to the view; the mind becomes shadowed with despair and filled with the melancholy reflection that the happiness of another becomes blighted with our own.

DISEASE OF IMPRUDENCE.
When the misguided and imprudent votary of pleasure finds that he has imbibed the seeds of this painful disease, it too often happens that an ill-timed sense of shame, or dread of discovery, deters him from applying to those who, from education and respectability, can alone befriend him, delaying till the constitutional symptoms of this horrid disease make their appearance, such as ulcerated sore throat, diseased nose, nocturnal pains in the head and limbs, dimness of sight, deafness, nodes on the shin-bones and arms, blotches on the head, face and extremities, progressing with frightful rapidity, till at last the palate of the mouth or the bones of the nose fall in, and the victim of this awful disease becomes a horrid object of commiseration, till death puts a period to his dreadful sufferings, by sending him to "that Undiscovered Country from whence no traveller returns."
It is a *melancholy fact* that thousands fall victims to this terrible disease, owing to the unskillfulness of ignorant pretenders, who, by the use of that *Deadly Poison, Mercury,* ruin the constitution and make the residue of life miserable.

STRANGERS
Trust not your lives, or health, to the care of many Unlearned and worthless Pretenders, destitute of knowledge, name or character, who copy Dr. Johnston's advertisements, or style themselves, in the newspapers, regularly Educated Physicians, incapable of Curing, they keep you trifling month after month taking their filthy and poisonous compounds, or as long as the smallest fee can be obtained, and in despair, leave you with ruined health to sigh over your own galling disappointment.
Dr. Johnston is the only Physician advertising.
His credentials or diplomas always hang in his office.
His remedies or treatment are unknown to all others, prepared from a life spent in the great hospitals of Europe, the first in the country and a more extensive *Private Practice* than any other Physician in the world.

INDORSEMENT OF THE PRESS.
The many thousands cured at this institution year after year, and the numerous important Surgical Operations performed by Dr. Johnston, witnessed by the reporters of the "Sun," "Clipper," and many other papers, notices of which have appeared again and again before the public, besides his standing as a gentleman of character and responsibility, is a sufficient guarantee to the afflicted.

Skin Diseases Speedily Cured.
No letters received unless post-paid and containing a stamp to be used on the reply. Persons writing should state age, and send portion of advertisement describing symptoms.

JOHN M. JOHNSTON, M. D.,
Of the Baltimore Lock Hospital, Baltimore, Maryland.
may 10-1y]

FRENCH'S HOTEL,
ON THE EUROPEAN PLAN,
CITY OF NEW YORK.
Single Rooms Fifty Cents per Day.
City Hall Square, corner Frankfort St.,
(OPPOSITE CITY HALL.)
MEALS AS THEY MAY BE ORDERED IN the spacious refectory. There is a Barber's Shop and Bath Rooms attached to the Hotel.
Beware of RUNNERS and HACKMEN who say we are full.
Jan 17 1y] R. FRENCH, Proprietor.

NATIONAL HOTEL,
(LATE WHITE SWAN.)
Race Street, above Third, Philadelphia.
THIS ESTABLISHMENT OFFERS GREAT inducements, not only on account of reduced rates of board, but from its central location to the avenues of trade, as well as the conveniences afforded by the several Passenger Railways running past and contiguous to it, by which guests can pass to and from the Hotel, should they be preferred to the regular Omnibus connected with the House. I am determined to devote my whole attention to the comfort and convenience of my guests.
Terms, $1 25 per day.
D. C. SIEGRIST, Proprietor,
Formerly from Eagle Hotel, Lebanon, Pa.
T. V. RHOADS, Clerk. [march 15-tf

LAUER'S BREWERY
READING, PA.
THE SUBSCRIBER respectfully announces to the public that he has recently enlarged his BREWERY to a considerable extent, and introduced steam-power, and is now ready to supply all demands for
SUPERIOR MALT LIQUORS,
For home and distant consumption. His stock of Malt Liquors, warranted to keep in all climates, is as follows:—BROWN STOUT, PORTER, BOTTLING ALE, DRAUGHT ALE AND LAGER BEER.
june 19-tf FREDERICK LAUER.
N. B.—A liberal per centage will be allowed to Agents abroad.

FRESH GROCERIES
—AT—
REDUCED PRICES,
AT THE
Corner of Fifth and Spruce Streets.
March 1 M. KEFFER & SON.

CONSCRIPT ACT.

SPEECH OF
HON. S. E. ANCONA,

OF PENNSYLVANIA, IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, FEBRUARY 28th, 1863,

On the Bill for Enrolling and Calling Out the National Forces, and for other Purposes.

MR. ANCONA: Mr. Speaker, in passing my judgment upon the various measures before this Congress, I have thus far generally refrained from comment upon their character, policy, and effects, confining myself to the simple record of my vote; and choosing rather by that silent yet important record to express my assent to or disapproval and condemnation of the many questions involving the policy of the Administration in the conduct of the war now desolating and distracting our Heaven-favored land, tending to destroy our national unity, the foundation and bond of our country's power and prosperity among the nations, and threatening seriously the destruction of our liberties and inestimable privileges as free American citizens under the Constitution and the law.

In the consideration of the bill (S. No. 511) entitled "An act for enrolling and calling out the national forces, and for other purposes," now before the House for its deliberation and concurrence, I propose to avail myself of my rights as the Representative, in part, of the *patriotic and conservative people of a great State,* to discuss its provisions and to record my solemn protest, in the name and behalf of my constituents, against its passage in the form it is presented.

The preamble or introduction to the bill reads as follows:

"Whereas there now exist in the United States an insurrection and rebellion against the authority thereof, and it is, under the Constitution of the United States, the duty of the Government to suppress insurrection and rebellion, to guaranty to each State a republican form of government, and to preserve the public tranquillity; and whereas for these high purposes a military force is indispensable, to raise and support which all persons ought willingly to contribute; and whereas no service can be more praiseworthy and honorable than that which is rendered for the maintenance of the Constitution and Union, and the consequent preservation of free Government: Therefore," &c.

In view of the policy upon which this war is now conducted, as announced in the proclamations of the President, issued in obedience to and at the behest of the revolutionary element of the Republican party, controlling its organization and directing its action in Congress, represented in the press, forum, and pulpit by such men as Greeley, Phillips, and Beecher, I assert that this preamble is a false pretense, and an attempted imposition upon the people. I deny that it is the purpose of the party in power to either maintain the Constitution or restore the Union. By their acts, not professions, let them be judged.

When the people of the North were aroused to a full sense of the indignity and humiliation the national honor had sustained in the assault upon and reduction of Fort Sumter, there was but one sentiment among the people, without regard to party, as to their duty to sustain the Executive in upholding and maintaining the Federal authority throughout the country. In response to the President's proclamation and call for seventy-five thousand men to assert that authority, to repossess the forts and other public property taken by the insurgents, there was an uprising and rush to arms on the part of the masses without parallel in the previous history of the country or world. It was enough for them to know that that starry flag, emblem of union and liberty, representing a great nation, respected upon every sea, protecting the humblest of her citizens in every land, and carried triumphant and in honor through every contest in which the country united had engaged, had been stricken down and trailed in the dust by the fratricidal hands of its sworn supporters. They hesitated not, though the call came from a President who had not been their choice. There was no longer any controversy as to the causes of the impending war; no question as to responsibility for this dread arbitrament of the sword, which four-fifths of all the people had desired to avert and firmly believed might have been averted by honorable and just conciliation and compromise, such as had been presented and was embodied in the Crittenden proposition. All differences of opinion were cast aside. The maintenance and preservation of the Federal Union—the Constitution, the bond of the Union—in the language of that stern and honest statesman and patriot, Andrew Jackson, "the Union must be preserved," was the universal sentiment of the people. For this purpose, and this only, they offered freely and voluntarily their lives, their fortunes, and all that was most dear, abandoning the comforts of happy homes and occupations, making every sacrifice that a free, brave, and noble race could offer to support the best of human Governments, secured to and bequeathed them by their patriot sires in the toil, privations, and blood of a seven years' revolution. To preserve this unimpaired for themselves and posterity was, as they implicitly believed and trusted, the sole object to be attained in the demand made upon them by the Executive.

With this call for troops came that for the assembling of the representatives of the people and States in Congress, that convened in special session nearly three months after, to consider and act upon such measures as they might deem necessary to the public safety. Every proposition having in view the suppression of the insurrection and restoration of the Federal authority under the Constitution, by force of arms, met with an almost unanimous support at that session. The Executive asked for four hundred thousand men and $400,000,000—Congress grantet him five hundred thousand men and $500,000,000. The extraordinary powers and means exercised and used by the President without authority of law, before the assembling of Congress, were intended to be confirmed as set forth in a preamble and joint resolution proposed in the Senate from its Military Committee, to wit:

"Whereas, since the adjournment of Congress on the 4th day of March last, a formidable insurrection in certain States of this Union has arrayed itself in armed hostility to the Government of the United States, constitutionally administered; and whereas the President of the United States did, under the extraordinary exigencies thus presented, exercise certain powers and adopt certain measures for the preservation of this Government, that is to say: First. He did, on the 15th day of April last, issue his proclamation calling upon the several States for seventy-five thousand men to suppress such insurrectionary combinations and to cause the laws to be faithfully executed. Secondly. He did, on the 19th day of April last, issue a proclamation setting on foot a blockade of the ports within the States of South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Florida, Mississippi, Louisiana, and Texas. Thirdly. He did, on the 27th day of April last, issue a proclamation establishing a blockade of the ports within the States of Virginia and North Carolina. Fourthly. He did, by order of the 27th day of April last, addressed to the Commanding General of the Army of the United States, authorize that officer to suspend the writ of *habeas corpus* at any point on or in the vicinity of any military line between the city of Philadelphia and the city of Washington. Fifthly. He did, on the 3d day of May last, issue a proclamation calling into the service of the United States forty-two thousand and thirty-four volunteers, increasing the regular Army by the addition of twenty-two thousand seven hundred and fourteen men, and the Navy by an addition of eighteen thousand seamen. Sixthly. He did, on the 10th day of May last, issue a proclamation authorizing the commander of the forces of the United States on the coast of Florida to suspend the writ of *habeas corpus* if necessary. All of which proclamations and orders have been submitted to this Congress: Now, therefore,

"*Be it resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,* That all of the extraordinary acts, proclamations, and orders hereinbefore mentioned, be, and the same are hereby, approved and declared to be in all respects legal and valid, to the same intent, and with the same effect, as if they had been issued and done under the previous express authority and direction of the Congress of the United States."

These met with a *quasi* approval in the confirmation and legalization of all those acts substantially, in bills subsequently introduced and passed with but little dissent or condemnation as measures deemed necessary by the exigencies of the occasion, though often extravagant and pressed with undue haste ill becoming the deliberation and dignity of an American Congress. The Administration thus having been clothed with all constitutional, as well as, in the opinion of conservative and true men of the minority, many doubtful prerogatives, untrammeled and almost unlimited as to means, the people, united in the Northern States, looked with confidence to a vigorous, faithful, and successful use of those means to the end that the rebellion might be speedily overthrown, the Constitution as the foundation and basis of the Union preserved intact, and the seceding States thus brought back within its folds as equal and honored members of one great nation.

The sequel is before us. The very first engagement with the insurgents, within hearing of this Capitol, prematurely brought on against the better judgment of the military chieftain of the nation, by the clamor of fanatics, enthusiasts, and maddened partisans, brought defeat, humiliation, and disgrace. The very capital itself was in danger of falling, and, as a consequent and incalculable calamity, the subversion and overthrow of the Federal Government seemed imminent. With renewed vigor and patriotism, notwithstanding the discouragement and depression of defeat, the people responded to the urgent demands of the Administration for volunteers. Pennsylvania, I am proud to say, sir, appreciating the magnitude of the war and the probable demands upon her sons, was, as she had been before, first to come to the rescue and protection of the capital—then, with a noble corps, the Ringgold light artillery, from my own city, in the van, organized, drilled, and disciplined, ready to march at an hour's notice upon the first sound of the tocsin of war, by an intelligent and intrepid officer, who foresaw and appreciated the danger of the coming storm; now, her gallant reserves, ten thousand men, the flower of her youth and manhood, well organized, disciplined, and armed, ready to do battle for the Union, were there within a week.

I may not pass them by here without paying a humble tribute to their efficiency, bravery, and sacrifices in the many terrible conflicts they have participated in, from the first engagement on the Potomac at Drainesville, through the seven days before Richmond, Antietam, and that most disastrous and fruitless destruction of human life at Fredericksburg. A remnant of twenty-five hundred out of ten or fifteen thousand is all that is left in their decimated ranks—a sad spectacle of the waste and horrors of war! Their roll of mourned and honored dead—numbering among them the names of Black, Simmons, Biddle, Jackson, Bayard, and a host of others less conspicuous, but none the less honored—attests their efficiency and gallantry. Their reputation and memories will ever remain dear to fame, and be cherished in the hearts of their countrymen.

The order, system, and discipline, with *esprit du corps,* established in the Army by the genius of McClellan, for a season gave hope. His vigorous and successful campaign in Western Virginia promised like results on a larger scale on the Potomac. And but for the vacillating policy of the Administration, the disorganization and breaking up of the grand army of the Potomac into independent corps or military departments by the civil heads, prompted and encouraged by the malignant partisan spirit of the majority in Congress, aiding in its consummation by its committees on the conduct of the war, and the bloodhounds of the partisan press and pulpit of New York and New England, it is my solemn conviction that victory would have crowned our arms everywhere, that the capital of the confederacy would have fallen, and its junta of conspirators against our common country and most benign and perfect Government been dispersed.

But, sir, it is useless to dwell upon the past folly, blunders, corruptions, and maladministration of the Government, with the war perverted now to an utterly impracticable and hopeless purpose—the emancipation of that inferior race, the negro, destined by nature and its irreversible laws to be subservient to its superior, the white. No presidential edict can accomplish it, and no legislation can, if it were so designed, elevate the poor and degraded African to an equality in social and political privileges. The ignoring of State rights and lines under this bill is clearly unconstitutional. Its scope and many of its provisions tend directly and openly to that end.

I recognize, apart from the objectionable features which are presented in many of its details, but one of that line of measures which seem to be required for the successful carrying out of the general policy of this Administration, and especially to establish that monstrous novelty in American constitutional life, and dangerous assumption, the "*war power,*" the bloody goddess of despotism, at whose shrine you see kneeling the horde of greedy contractors, with all the paraphernalia and circumstance of reality. The Constitution is no longer the highest authority; there is a "higher law" sprung upon the wondering people in that new-fledged "*war power,*" and the "*Union,*" the *old Union,* is regarded as a thing of the past, fit only to be sneered at.

"I will not stultify myself by supposing that we have any warrant in the Constitution for this proceeding. This talk of restoring the Union as it was, under the Constitution as it is, is one of the absurdities which I have heard repeated until I have become about sick of it."

"This Union never shall, with my consent, be restored under the Constitution as it is, with slavery to be protected by it."

Such were the words in which the policy of the Administration was boldly announced on this floor, by the recognized leader of that party, [MR. STEVENS,] and they at once affirm the truth of the charges brought against the party in power, and disclose the secret motive for their many acts leading inevitably to that end.

What is there so objectionable in the old Union, that makes its restoration so distasteful to that party? Why do we justly abhor secession, if we do not want the Union as it was? Why, then, do our fellow-citizens, our sons and brothers in the Army sacrifice life, and health, and limbs for this same old Union, if we would not have it? Sir, the utterance of such sentiments and purposes are at this time and in this place abhorrent to me as the very essence of disunion.

The invasion of the dearest rights of the citizen, by arbitrary arrests and close confinement in military prisons, without charge of offense, without warrant of law, and without speedy trial in public, confronted with accusers, before a jury of his peers; the proposed action of this body to indemnify the authors of these outrages and usurpations, encouraging and, so far as an unconstitutional enactment can, authorizing a continuation of them by the suspension of the writ of *habeas corpus,* have my most unqualified condemnation and determined opposition.

The infamous impositions practiced upon my constituents by the corrupt officials of the party in power in the enrollment of the people and conduct of the late draft of the militia in my State, under the act of Congress of July last; the speculations of and advantage taken by a swarm of cormorants of the necessities and circumstances of many to extort by collusion and favoritism enormous and most unjust fees, was the order for weeks. Even unworthy members of that honorable profession, advocates of the law, were found engaged in these unprincipled and truly "disloyal practices," until the dread of swift-coming and justly deserved retribution of an outraged people caused them to relent and ultimately abandon their nefarious swindling operations. Are we, sir, to have a repetition of these scandalous abuses under and by the sanction of the Representatives of the people here, in the passage of this bill in the form it passed the Senate without division or dissenting vote, as is claimed by its friends? Upon that pretext it was proposed by the gentleman having it in charge, the chairman of the Committee on Military Affairs, to press it to a vote without a reference for consideration to that or to any other committee, without discussion, and without the privilege to amend.

But, sir, to the credit of the faithful few in the minority, they boldly and successfully resisted, with the rights and privileges wisely secured by the rules and parliamentary law to them in all legislative bodies, the perpetration of such a wrong; obtaining first the unconditional privilege of free discussion, and the right of amendment restricted to one short hour, without discussion or explanation. This was conceded, sir, not by me, as the Representative of a stern, honest, conservative, and liberty-loving people, who have reposed, and renewed with unmistakable evidences of approval and confidence in a majority of the popular vote increased by thousands, this sacred trust of guarding their interests, rights, and liberties under the Constitution of their fathers with a jealous eye and eternal, unyielding vigilance. No; with the concurrence of these around me—Democrats, fresh from the people, sustained, indorsed, and approved as faithful Representatives in the late elections—I shall make no concessions, no compromises, enter into or agree to no arrangement by which this bill, with all its odious features, shall have the chance to become a law. I will resist to the last hour of this Congress, now, thank God, approaching the limit fixed by the Constitution for its duration, and the termination of its many ignominious acts, conferring despotic power upon a faithless, corrupt, and imbecile Administration, that has proved false to its solemn oaths, registered in heaven, repeated pledges, and sacred duty; an Administration at once unequal to the emergencies and demands of the times, unable to appreciate their magnitude, and incapable of grasping and successfully wielding the immense powers and resources of a great nation, freely, lavishly placed at its disposal, almost without the restrictions and safeguards of prudent legislation. Yes, I hail with joy and congratulate the country upon this early and final dissolution of a Congress that has been altogether subservient to Executive dictation, and blindly controlled by unlimited patronage and an intense partisan organization, for the enactment of this and numerous other schemes in violation of the Constitution, reason, sound policy, and every principle of enlightened statesmanship and patriotism, destructive as they must inevitably be of public liberty, rendering almost hopeless the restoration of the Union as it was, of many sovereign and independent States, with a common history, one purpose, inseparable interests, and a glorious destiny in the future under one national flag.

I see nothing but an aggravated, hopeless, and interminable revolutionary struggle so long as this policy obtains and holds its unchecked sway, or that anarchy which will bring all its horrors, desolation, and blood to our own doors, in the revolution that its continuance and an attempt to enforce this conscription will almost certainly produce. I would gladly endure all inconvenience of a protracted and continuous session day and night to the 4th of March, to avert this threatening calamity. I would counsel the majority to abandon this bill, or so modify it as to make the requisitions for additional troops through those channels that are contemplated and required by the Constitution and all laws; drafted, if need be, and organized from the enrolled militia of the States, under their own Constitutions and regulated by their own laws; officered by men of their own choice, commissioned by and under the direction of their only legitimate heads, the Governors, and for periods of service not exceeding that already extended from three to nine months.

How can you expect the farmer, the mechanic, and the poor laboring man, with a family dependent upon the production of his farm, wrought out by the sweat of his brow under the genial showers and smiling suns of a beneficent Providence, or on the skill of the other and the toil of the latter, who will be subject to the harsh provisions of this relentless conscription, known only to and enforced under some of the despotic monarchical Governments of the Old World, to be dragged from their homes, their helpless families, by military satraps, for an indefinite service, in a cause and for a purpose they believe utterly wrong, useless, and impracticable? You propose an exemption upon the payment of $300. I shall make an effort to amend the section containing this provision, reducing it to a sum within the reach of the poor man—the man with limited resources and large demands upon his purse and hands by a numerous family or other necessitous and peculiar circumstances.

But, sir, I believe it to be the settled purpose of the majority to secure the passage of this bill beyond the peradventure of loss between the two Houses through material modification and amendment here and non-concurrence by the Senate. In this they will doubtless succeed, for I perceive now with sorrow and indignation, as I have often lamented before when these obnoxious and pernicious measures were pressed through this House, a want of determined, united, and persistent action in support of the few in earnest opposition to this bill, and who have borne the brunt of calumny both in and out of this House, with their motives and purposes slandered and maligned, their actions and words misrepresented, suppressed, or grossly perverted by venal officials through a corrupt partisan press. I would, then, appeal for a speedy return to that original and only sound policy of a war for the restoration of the Union under and by the Constitution. I appeal, sir, in the name of my own immediate constituents, in the name and with the voice of the Democracy and other Union-loving men everywhere, and in behalf of the thousands of brave men, nameless in rank, but, sir, of proud and honorable position, the rank and file of our Army, who have passed through a dozen fierce battles for the Constitution and the Union, as they fondly believed, now despondent and dispirited by the protracted struggle, the inevitable reverses that were consequent to a departure from that original and only practicable object, and interference with and final removal of the General from command whose genius, sterling patriotism, and love of country were only equaled by his noble forbearance and silence under all provocation, and who this day continues to have the unbounded confidence of the Army and the country, notwithstanding the cowardly assaults in secret, and imputations unfounded and unsustained by facts made by partisan malice and envy here or elsewhere.

I demand and make it a condition of my further support of this Administration with the means to prosecute this war, that all these violations of the fundamental laws shall cease; that the rights and safety of the citizen guarantied by that most sacred provision, the writ of *habeas corpus,* shall be respected; that the shameless villains, traitors of the deepest dye, who have in high places, in the confidence and under the protection of the Executive, plundered the public Treasury of millions, for which my people and yours are to be heavily and interminably taxed, shall be turned out, arrested, brought to trial, judgment, and condemnation before the civil tribunals of the country; that the emancipation policy announced in the bulls of September 22 and January 1 shall be revoked and annulled, condemned as it stands in a verdict of the people in the late elections not to be misunderstood, announced in terms not to be lightly disregarded or unheeded save with great peril. I demand, further, that the horde of incompetent political generals, favored parasites of the Administration, drawing their pay, lounging about the hotels, thronging the theaters and houses of prostitution and vice of this city, accursed with their presence, or insulting their superiors and masters the people by assuming to dictate to them a discharge of their civil duties in accordance with their interests and notions, shall be peremptorily dismissed the service they disgrace. And finally, I demand, in the name of the American people, and in behalf of the thousands of faithful, true, and gallant officers, and the brave and patiently suffering rank and file of the army of the Potomac, that General George B. McClellan be restored to supreme and untrammeled command of the entire Army of the United States, as their and my only hope of victory and ultimate peace through negotiation, conciliation, and compromise, not with the leaders of the rebellion nor their present deluded followers, but with the conservative people, who will, when properly encouraged by a magnanimous, Christian spirit and policy in the prosecution of the war to its only legitimate end, the restoration of the Union, be ready to meet us in that spirit in a National Convention, after a suspension of or termination of hostilities, for the adjustment of all subjects in controversy, and the securing of a permanent, honorable, and enduring peace under one and the same Constitution, the old flag, and Union.

THE CONDUCT OF THE WAR.

Since the rebellion began nothing has seen the light which is so calculated to give aid and comfort to the enemy and to dishearten the people of the loyal States as the disgraceful report on "The Conduct of the War" issued by the joint committee of Congress. "Oh, that mine enemy would write a book!" is a proverb of a very old date; and Jeff. Davis may well exult that his enemy has not only written and printed a report, but that he is about to reproduce it in pamphlet form, as if it were not sufficiently humiliating to the nation that it should appear in the newspapers. The committee have been two years at work, and what they have produced at last recalls the fable of the mountain in labor, which brought forth a ridiculous mouse.

The main design of the report is evidently to damage General McClellan; and so one-sided a document never before emanated from a Congressional committee. It is more like the speech of a public prosecutor against a prisoner than the charge of an impartial judge, exhibiting the evidence on both sides without fear, favor or affection. But in their anxiety to injure him they have effectually damaged themselves, and brought reproach upon all in military authority, from the President down to the Brigadier General. For who is responsible for the conduct of the war? Not the subordinate generals, but the authorities at Washington who appoint them. The flippancy with which a committee of civilians give expression to military opinions, and speculate upon what would or might have been had General McClellan done this or omitted to do that, is quite in keeping with their profound ignorance of the subject on which they treat. "Fools rush in where angels fear to tread." They are all like a set of schoolboys playing soldiers when the school master is out. The most burly of them, Ben. Wade, shouts that they are all wrong, and strikes right and left, after the fashion of a bull in a china shop. He hits the tall boys like Lincoln under the fifth rib, and the short boys like McClellan on the bridge of the nose. The military criticisms of Wade & Co. are about as valuable as the prattle of children. But, while their opinions are not worth a rush, the facts which they bring to light present a melancholy picture of the folly and incapacity which have marked the conduct of the war in the Cabinet and in the camp. They represent Abe Lincoln, an Illinois lawyer, playing the part of Napoleon the Great dictating to his marshals. This would be extremely farcical were not the consequences involved of the most tragic nature. The report throughout is a satire on the President. In one portion of it, indeed, a most serious charge is made, namely, to the effect that Mr. Lincoln and the two great men who sit by his side, Halleck and Stanton, let out the secret of Burnside's plan of campaign, so that it reached the enemy and compelled the abandonment of the plan.

The report is as remarkable for what it omits as what it contains. One of the most brilliant and successful battles of the war, that of Hanover Court House, won by McClellan's right wing under Fitz John Porter—a victory from which the capture of Richmond would have followed but for the action of the authorities at the national capital—is completely ignored. No mention is made of the failure at that critical moment of McDowell to advance from Fredericksburg to co-operate with McClellan, though his advance guard had heard the sound of the cannon—a failure caused by the positive orders of the War Department forbidding McDowell to move. McClellan did his part well. The authorities at Washington spoiled all. The omission of all this is a specimen of the character of the report for fairness and impartiality.

As to generalship, the report goes to prove that the safety of Washington when it was not even endangered was sacrificed to everything else; that we have not a man from Abe Lincoln down who is fit to lead 50,000 men; and that in the principal battles in which we had an army of upwards of 100,000 men in the field not more than a portion of them, hardly 20,000, could be brought into action. Thus our generals have always had more troops than they knew what to do with. The decisive battles won by the masters of the art of war, such as Napoleon and Frederic, were the result of a skill which brought to bear their whole force against the enemy. Most of the battles fought in this war have been mere scenes of slaughter without result. The chief cause of failure lies in an ignorant interference at Washington with the generals in the field. The only man who appeared to understand his business in theory and to have made proficiency in the practice of the military art was General McClellan, and he was dismissed just when his talents and capabilities were being developed by experience. It is true he has his faults and that