The Pittsburgh Gazette

WEDNESDAY, MARCH. 4, 1868.

"THE LAW is binding on me, Constitution or not, until set aside by the proper tribunal." In that brief sentence, one month ago, General GRANT embodied the true theory of the Federal Constitution, and the fundamental duty of patriotism. It was the great truth which invigorated and sustained the Union arms from Fort Sumter to Appomattox, and which, as we thought, was sufficiently and forever vindicated in the closing victories of '65. Submission to the constituted authority, acquiescence in all legally enacted laws, the right and the correlative duty of appeal to the only constitutional arbitrament of the judiciary,—these plain, primary obligations of each good citizen were never more clearly conceived, or expressed with more plain and direct simplicity, than in those words of Gen. Grant. Had the South accepted that truth in 1861, there would have been no secession, no rebellion, no war, and no necessity for reconstruction. Had the South, last year, attempted either by traitors in and out of office, or by the terrible power for mischief which it has again been able to wield through ANDREW JOHNSON—President by virtue of an assassination—consented to receive this simple truth as its political guide, the ten States would ere this have regained all their practical relations, reconstruction would have been complete in restoration and the union of thirty-seven States, once more bound together upon the broad and lasting basis of Liberty, Justice and the Constitution as it is, would have entered upon the year 1868 standing before the world the freest, the most prosperous, the most powerful and the most enduring republic of all time.

And, now, let us show that we, the loyal citizens of the Union, accept and recognize in this simple truth the pledge of our own obedience to the written law, the plainest and most imperative duty of the hour. Disregard that truth, emulate the bad example of that bad man whom the people are about to hurl down from the high place he has abused, and the days of the Republic are numbered. Accept it, act upon it, each and every citizen who loves his country, and this crisis, which now seems so full of peril, will be stripped of all its terrors, the laws will have universal obedience, and the country will soon emerge from all peril and with an unclouded future. *In hoc signo vincemus!*

THE SPIRIT of the press, of both parties, touching the present matter of impeachment, is fairly under the judgment of our readers this morning, in the extracts which we have collated from leading journals. The Republican papers coincide, as may be seen, with remarkable unanimity, in the opinions which the GAZETTE has already expressed. On the other hand, it is maintained by Democratic journals, as by Messrs. Woodward, Eldridge, Brooks and other Democratic representatives of the debate, 1st, that the President possesses the right to judge of the constitutionality of any law, executing it, or disobeying it accordingly; 2d, that an adverse judgment upon the validity of the Tenure-of-office Law, if rendered at any time prior to the final action of the Court of Impeachment, would have the effect to acquit the Secretary, Executive of Civil legal guilt or official delinquency. The true issue, we scarcely need repeat, is upon the first of these points: the second is entirely immaterial, since no judicial decision—were it probable or possible that such might be rendered—can, now or hereafter, say more than in the past, clothe the President with the solely judicial prerogative, that of pronouncing upon the constitutionality of laws, by justifying him in the extra constitutional function which he has risked so much in assuming. The finding of his judges upon the first point, covering as it does not only the latest offense, but also his two years of both open and secret opposition to the congressional policy of loyal reconstruction in the rebel States, will have an ample effect for all the purposes of loyalty, and to meet all requirements for the public weal.

THE House Impeachment Committee have not yet completed their preparation of the articles which they were instructed to draw up, but probably may be prepared to report to-day. The number and tenor of the Articles which they may present are, of course, entirely unknown, and rumors purporting to give the substance of this report in advance, are merely sensational and entitled to no credit. One of these rumors, which has more of probability than the rest, is to the effect that the Committee will confine their charges and specifications to the acts of Mr. JOHNSON in attempting to gain possession of the War Office, and disregarding the law to the contrary. This, if correct, would place the offense upon his own ground, and puts him at once upon his defense in the alleged invalidity of the law. When he undertakes to establish that defense simply by force of the argument of counsel, and unsustained by competent and timely judicial decisions, he may begin to realize his exact position. The Court of Impeachment takes cognizance only of facts, of enacted laws and of their established judicial interpretations. And any defense outside of these will be of no avail.

THE primary meetings to be held throughout the county to-morrow, for the purpose of electing delegates to the Republican Convention, which will assemble on Monday next, should be attended by every member of the party. The important business to be transacted by the Convention on Monday demands that none other than able, fit and intelligent delegates be sent there to represent the voters of the various Districts, and that not a single Republican will remain away from the primary election.

Aside from the selection of delegates the voters are requested to give expression to their sentiments regarding the proposed change in the manner of making nominations in Allegheny county. Elsewhere we publish the call of the Union Executive Committee for the Convention, which designates the hours for the primary elections to take place in the different wards, boroughs and townships.

THE House having concurred in the Senate amendments to the supplementary reconstruction bill, this has gone to the President for his action, and Mr. JOHNSON will signalize the possibly last hours of his administration by another veto, of which it need only be said in advance that his well known role will be sustained to the last. The main feature of the new bill is that which substitutes a simple majority of the votes cast for the present requirement of a majority of the registration, in the acceptance or rejection by any Southern State of its new Constitution.

ON the day of Mr. STANTON's reinstatement in the War office by the Senate, he prepared a letter of resignation, intending, after three or four days of quiet possession of the office, to forward this letter to the President. That it was not so sent was solely in consequence of the actively hostile attitude which the President instantly assumed, and which in effect forbade the Secretary to make any personal concessions whatever.

THE FREE RAILROAD BILL has gone to a Committee of Conference from the two Houses to settle the disagreements. The Committee will hold its first session on Tuesday next.

PITTSBURGH WEEKLY GAZETTE.

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THE DUE COURSE OF LAW.

The Gran Republic has lived for eighty years. From its feeble beginnings, it has grown, year after year, with a steady progress in population, in territory, in wealth, and in all the material elements of sovereign greatness, until our generation finds it ranking as high as the highest among the first-rate powers of Christendom. The inherent elements of its strength, its constitutional, vital forces, have sustained it triumphantly through several foreign wars and have brought it safely out of an intestine rebellion, the last and severest trial of all, with that vital force unimpaired, with its physical vigor renewed and increased, and with a final and absolute redemption from the one vicious and formidable weakness of its birth. To-day our Republic stands, before the world, more than ever able to defy foreign aggressions and to maintain not only its political independence, but all the rights and the responsibilities of a sovereign State.

All this we owe to the wisdom of our fathers, to the simplicity and purity of the popular institutions which they founded, to the efficient and skilfully practical workings of the social and municipal regulations which they established, to the patriotism and intelligence which has ever taught our citizens to respect the law, and to abide by the constituted authorities, and, more than all, let us say with reverent gratitude, to the Divine blessing which, through all seeming prosperity or adversity, has guided our nation to its deliverance from the thraldom of error and injustice, and blotted out forever the last trace of human slavery.

And now, at last, for the first time in our history as a people, we are about to avail ourselves of that far-reaching wisdom of the fathers which provided for the nation the way to reach and punish a delinquent Chief Magistrate, whose trial for offences against the public weal is to be commenced and prosecuted to its end after the forms and in the mode which they prescribed. The Republic has lived for nearly a century in the trust that the constitutional provisions for an impeachment of its highest officer might, for all time, continue the mere shadow of a possibility, never to be enforced as an immediate relief from an imminent public danger. The representatives of the people find that the President is guilty of high misdemeanors and, taking recourse to the fundamental law so long since provided in that behalf, have impeached him. The law is clear. He has boldly and flagrantly offended it. The penalties prescribed by the law itself for any violation of its terms, are equally clear and positive, so that no convicted offender need hope to escape them. The Constitution expressly provides the tribunal before which he shall be tried. The mode of inquest into all criminal allegations, the manner of their formal embodiment as charges, the presentation of these to the Court of Impeachment and the regular course of proceedings upon the final hearing, are also adequately and minutely prescribed. To this constitutional tribunal the people have now ordered that the offender shall be remitted for a constitutional trial, under all the constitutional forms. It will be the province of that tribunal, under due advisement, to decide upon the truth of the charges or the sufficiency of the defense.

It will not be within the province of that tribunal to decide upon the merits of his plea of the inherent unconstitutionality of any law, unless that plea be supported by the decision of some competent judicial authority, given prior to the alleged offence. Nor if, before the Court of Impeachment shall come to a final judgment, this question of the inherent validity of any law which he has defied, should he decided adversely by any court of competent authority, and in accordance with the avowed opinion of the offender then under trial, would that fact render his offence any the less flagrant, or avail him in mitigation of his sentence, if found guilty. For, though seemingly but technical, his offence would, upon conviction, still stand as fatal, the crime of *lese majestatis*, the highest possible offense against the public safety, and the sentence of his judges must make it known to all citizens, the highest and the lowest, that no one man, be he President, no body of men, though it have a political or municipal organization, shall hereafter dare to usurp the sole province of the Judiciary by assuming to pronounce upon those high constitutional questions which belong only to the Judicial prerogative.

The judgment of the Court of Impeachment will discharge the President if proved innocent, but if he be found guilty will convict him as a violator of the Constitution and the Law, and will inflict a sentence commensurate with his crime. Not even ANDREW JOHNSON, President of the United States, shall with impunity arrogate to himself the interpretation of those laws which it is his first duty as a citizen to obey, and which he is sworn and charged as President to execute.

ANDREW JOHNSON already proposes in some sort, either at his own instance by proceedings under a *quo warranto*, or at the instance of the people acting through an application in behalf of their representatives, to refer the constitutional question to the Court and to take its opinion thereupon. He is too late. He has, in his own mad folly, been blind to his own opportunities. The golden moment for him has gone by, and forever. His hour was when the Senate lawfully restored the War Secretary to his office. Had the President then, acquiescing presently in its action, proceeded, for his own ultimate relief from his fancied grievance, to cause the proper case to be made and submitted for judicial cognizance, he would have been acting wisely, patriotically and with the hearty consent of the people of all parties. But, if he saw this, he failed to improve the opportunity. He turned his back upon the lawful remedy, and flung himself defiantly against the strength of the people. And now no breadth or length of *ex post facto* judicial interpretation declaring the invalidity of the law which he has defied can excuse this man's arbitrary assumption of power, or lessen the magnitude of his offense. For him, all the more that he is the Chief Executive, and for all of us who would be loyal citizens, the letter of the law as enacted shall ever, "constitution or not, be held binding until set aside by the proper tribunal."

We repeat that the case is a simple one. The laws and the Constitution deal abundantly with it. To the lawful tribunal, it is to be remitted by the people, and the people, from the least to the highest, from President to ploughman, of all sections and of all parties, must and *will* abide by the result. In that obedience will be Law, Order, Patriotism and Peace. In resistance would be Rebellion, to be swiftly and sternly crushed.

Furthermore, it is now too late to let this grave matter pass off by making a case for judicial interpretation. We repeat that no amount of such interpretation, be it which way it might, can lessen the offense of him who has dared beforehand to usurp in his own person those judicial functions, to disregard his oath as the Executive, and of his own revolutionary and despotic will, to declare what laws he will or will not obey. If the President, who is bound to obey like the humblest of us, and who is sworn to execute as the highest of us, the embodiment of our power, may do this with impunity, much more might any private citizen refuse a simple obedience to such laws as he may find distasteful to his opinions or unfriendly to his personal interests. The representatives of the people have determined to uphold the power which the people have committed to the legislative branch of the government. They will, further, not flinch from their not less high and solemn *duty to protect and vindicate the Supreme Judiciary* of the nation from such dangerous and revolutionary encroachments by the Executive upon its constitutional prerogatives. *Of the three great divisions of our Government, two stand to day equally assailed by the third. The defense of both has been wisely entrusted by the people to one of them*, with ample powers in law and in fact. And so because this offender is our Chief Magistrate, our sworn Executive, we shall make of his high offence and its just punishment a perpetual example, that hereafter, for all time, it may be known that no citizen stands so high that the law cannot reach him, or so low that the law will not protect him.

In the interest of peace, of business prosperity, of that repose for every element of the public welfare which the people need and must have, we urge upon the National Legislature the speediest performance of its duties. And if the impeachment results in conviction, we shall find that our representatives have grappled with and finally overthrown that man who, as we believe, is and has been, for every hour of his Chief Magistracy, the head and front and life of a deep-laid and continuous plot against the Union and its laws. Let them vindicate at once the law which he defies and the Constitution which he has trampled upon, by submitting him to all their obligations, and, if guilty, to every title of their penalties!

MR. JOHNSON'S PRESENT STATUS.

We concur fully in the opinion expressed by Republican journals that it would be inexpedient and unwise to raise a question now as to the legal right of the President to continue in the discharge of his Executive functions during the pendency of the proceedings for his impeachment. That such a question exists was manifest in the introduction to Congress, some weeks since, of a bill which proposed to suspend, by explicit enactment, the incumbent of any high civil office while under such trial. That bill sleeps quietly in a Committee room, and whatever of expediency or propriety its enactment heretofore might have had, its passage at this juncture is, for obvious reasons, not wisely to be thought of.

On all previous occasions of impeachment before the Senate, cases some six or seven in number, it is known that in each instance the alleged offender has, in point of fact, abstained from the exercise of his official functions while the proceedings were pending.

In the two cases, that of BLOUNT, Senator from Tennessee, impeached in 1797 for complicity in a treasonable intrigue with Great Britain, was the question raised of suspension from office pending trial. In that case the House demanded the sequestration of the offender from his seat in the Senate and the control of the Senate, by a decisive tie vote of the same day, ordering Mr. BLOUNT into the custody of its Messenger, from which he was only released upon filing adequate securities for his appearance at trial. And, on the next day, the Senate expelled him absolutely from its seat, "having been found guilty of a high misdemeanor, entirely inconsistent with his public trust and duty as a Senator." It is to be observed that this expulsion was prior to the sitting of the Court of Impeachment upon his case. No one would deny that the Senate, constituting the entire body of the Impeachment tribunal in the case of impeachment of any civil officer below the grade of the Chief Magistrate, has ample authority, under the precedent, to take steps for securing the attendance of the accused by the usual method of ordering him into custody. It is equally evident that the Senate, as a Senate, had the legal right to pronounce in the case of Mr. BLOUNT, as a Senator, by summarily declaring his guilt to be established and expelling him from its body. Why the same Senate should subsequently proceed, as it did, with what had then become a mere formality—the re-hearing of the case as an Impeachment-tribunal with a finding of guilty—has not been very satisfactorily explained.

The President of the United States is now to be on trial. For his case, and for such case alone, the Constitution adds the Chief Justice to the body of his triers, and to preside over the inquest. And it may be safe to deny that any less authority than that of the fully and legally constituted tribunal to which the charges against Mr. JOHNSON are finally to be remitted, could legally take other order, in the way of preliminary process, than the "summons" which is already expressly required. The impolicy, not to use stronger language, of raising any question as to the President's official status, pending the trial, is quite apparent and the technical difficulties and embarrassments which would attend its decision. That it is unnecessary, is very generally admitted by intelligent and loyal citizens.

The pending proceedings will be conducted to a speedy conclusion, and in the meantime the accused is powerless for any open and forcible resistance to the constitutional authority of the Court of Impeachment, while the simple pendency of the trial itself disarms him of all the moral power and of most of the official influence which he has until now so grossly and recklessly abused. It is useless to hope that this man will follow the example of his predecessor in under arraignment before the highest court known to our laws by forbearing the intermediate exercise of any of his official functions. It must be admitted that his past record, in the way of both personal and official delicacy and dignity, gives no encouragement for that hope. Let him stand, the shadow of a Chief Magistrate, until the finding of the Court shall close this painful scene in our national history!

A NATIONAL CONVENTION of refiners and dealers in petroleum has been called to meet at Pittsburgh on the 4th day of March next. The call emanates from the Petroleum Association of this city, and is at the instance of the trade generally in all parts of the country. Questions of much importance to the interests of refiners and dealers in oil will be considered by the Convention, and it is hoped and expected that the entire trade, which has now become so vast in its resources and commercial influence, will be fully and ably represented in its deliberations.

THE London *Standard* having, besides a lingering fancy for rebel loans, a decided grudge, based on Alabama and Fenian questions, against America, thus bids farewell to Mr. C. F. Adams, a man who would command respect and praise even from a mortal enemy:

"If Mr. Adams is going back to America, he takes our good wishes with him. Amidst the crowd of empty talkers, emptier thinkers, would-be statesmen, and half-bred politicians, who seem now to be having it all their own way in the North and South, Mr. Adams will stand pre-eminent *facile princeps*, by virtue not only of his birth and superior culture, but by his advantage in all the qualities which make men gratefully rulers over their fellows."

DEATH OF GEN. WILLIAM ROBINSON, JR.

The veteran has fallen. Full of years, of services and of honors, he yesterday fell asleep with his fathers, at his residence in Allegheny.

Born upon the spot where he died, December 17th, 1785, he was the first male of Anglo Saxon parentage who had his nativity west of the Ohio river. That vast development of population, of wealth, and of manifold improvement, which now exists between the Allegheny range and the Pacific coast, was all wrought out substantially in his lifetime, and under his eyes. It is not an exaggeration to affirm that so wonderful a spectacular enchantment was never before, in all the cycles of civilization, presented to the contemplation of a mortal.

The companions of his early years were the children of white men of the border and of the Indians. Several times his father and the family were driven from the log hutlin which they abode, and which occupied the site of the present stately mansion, into Fort Du Quesne, which stands an historical monument, degraded from national use to occupancy by an humble household. Of course, his opportunities for education were limited. He learned more from nature than from art. Endowed with a vigorous physical constitution, with a vigorous and analytical understanding, he grew early in manhood into conspicuity and usefulness. Prominent in private and public enterprises, he was identified not only with the growth and expansion of his native city, of which he was the first Mayor, but became influential in broader fields of enterprise, as the Pittsburgh, Fort Wayne and Chicago Railroad Company, which received most important benefits from his experience and judgment.

He was not only a clear-headed business man and general thinker, but at one period was warmly enlisted in public concerns. Intelligent in such matters much beyond the ordinary run of business persons, he acquired facility in composition and became a pungent and lucid newspaper writer. Nor did the fire of his mind or his force and exactness of expression abate with the accumulated infirmities of old age. During the present month he called upon us with an article, written with all the trenchance which characterized his mature manhood, and desired its publication. It was upon a matter of municipal consequence. In the course of the conversation that ensued, he remarked that the first article he wrote for the GAZETTE was published in 1804. We may add, his last article for these columns appeared in February, 1868. The wide span of sixty-three years separated his first literary effort from his last.

He is gone. One of the old landmarks is removed. A link that connected the present with the past, has been broken and cannot be replaced. He has made his march with the great procession that went before him. He cannot be lamented as one who falls in mid-career, with all his usefulness cut short. A life protracted beyond the common lot, filled with activities, crowned with abundant compensations, and lengthened out to the verge of fourscore years and ten, has closed peacefully as the sun descends to rest in the bosom of the western ocean.

WESTERN REPUBLICANS ON CURRENCY AND TAXATION.

The Republicans of Indiana, in their State Convention last week, resolved with entire unanimity, that all property should bear a just proportion of the burden of taxation; that the public debt should be honestly met, and that all bonds should be paid in legal-tenders, or greenbacks, except where the express stipulation is provided otherwise, and with due regard to the proper volume of the currency. They also resolved against contraction, and for the supply of the deficiency of legal-tender currency to the extent required by the business wants of the country.

The Republicans of Ohio will hold their State Convention on the 4th of March, when the same questions will come up for consideration, and, it is not unlikely, will be met by similar resolutions. At the primary meetings for appointment of delegates in many of the Ohio counties, as well as in the editorial of not a few of the local Republican journals, special attention has been already given to the subject. In Logan county, for example, the resolutions, drawn up by Attorney General WEAR, deprecate every form of repudiation, favor the substitution for the present public obligations of "another class of securities which shall be subject to their equal protection and the public credit," and advocating a supply of currency adequate to the wants of the country, which, "to the extent consistent with its express stipulations, should be made receivable as coin, alike on account of private dues and public obligations."

While the expression of opinion has in nearly all cases been equally favorable to the position taken in Indiana, we notice among a few of our Ohio exchanges a decidedly spirited opposition to what is denounced as an endorsement of the Pendletonian theory. But the advocates of no contraction, of equalized taxation and of the redemption of the Five-Twenties in legal-tenders, under proper regulations as required by the interests of business, will be materially strengthened by the success of Gen. Beatty, whose large majority in the late special election in the VIIIth Congressional District is admitted to have been in part, if not wholly, due to his similar position on these questions.

These indications show the strong probability that the Ohio Republicans will join their Indiana brethren on these questions. In both of those States these questions have been made for obvious reasons leading topics for popular discussion of late, and it is our own duty as journalists to note the position to which our friends in those States are evidently tending.

MR. SHERMAN yesterday reported from the Finance Committee of the Senate an amended bill providing for the funding of the national debt. In view of the tide of public opinion setting in against the discharge of the obligations of the Government in gold, Mr. SHERMAN's plan of redemption will prove popular and find favor with many Democrats and Republicans. He claims that the public faith would not be weakened, inasmuch as every dollar of debt will be paid with interest, in that sort of money which is acknowledged by all classes as the currency of the country. He believes something must be done to lighten the burdens left by the war to weigh down industrial interests, and, while his bill does not contemplate injustice to the bondholder so much as justice to the people, he urges that it should be favorably acted upon by Congress. He takes the ground that the obligations entered into in the name of the Government by its officials, while Congress was not in session, are not binding—the Government not being responsible for the representation of its agents—and that to redeem five-twenties in any currency but that in which they were bought, would prove fatal to every commercial and financial interest, depreciating public securities and pressing with tenfold inconvenience the masses of the people.

A CASE IN POINT—RIGHTS OF NEGRO SOLDIERS.

An impregnable ground upon which it is claimed that negroes in the South should have the right of suffrage, is that they stood loyal to the flag of the free against their traitorous masters in the late rebellion, and for this reason should have power to preserve what they helped to defend. They are now constitutionally free, but their freedom will be but a mockery if not allowed to protect it by the ballot.

The following *Virginia statute* of October, 1783, found in Hening's Statutes at Large, Vol. xi, page 303, needs no comment. Intelligent readers can fit it to more than one of the events of the last seven years.

"WHEREAS, It hath been represented to the present General Assembly that during the course of the war (of the Revolution) many persons in this State had caused their slaves to enlist in certain regiments, or corps, raised within the same, having tendered such slaves to the officers appointed to recruit forces within the State as substitutes for free persons, whose lot or duty it was to serve in such regiments or corps, at the same time representing to such recruiting officers that the slaves so enlisted by their direction and concurrence, were free; and it further appearing to this Assembly that, on the expiration of the term of enlistment of such slaves, their former owners have attempted again to force them to return to a state of servitude, contrary to the principles of justice and to their own solemn promise. And whereas, it appears just and reasonable that all persons enlisted as aforesaid, who have faithfully served agreeable to the terms of their enlistment, and have thereby, of course, contributed towards the establishment of American Liberty and Independence, should enjoy the blessings of freedom as a reward for their toils and labors,

"*Be it therefore enacted*, That such and every slave who served as aforesaid, shall, from and after the passing of this Act, be fully and completely emancipated, and shall be held and deemed free; and the Attorney General of the Commonwealth is hereby required to sue in *forma pauperis* for the freedom of every such person, and if found entitled to freedom a jury shall be empannelled to assess his damages.

THE CRAWFORD COUNTY SYSTEM.

An effort will be made in the approaching Republican Convention to change the present delegate system of nominating State and County officers, and to adopt what is known as the "Crawford County System"—that is, to nominate by the popular vote cast at primary meetings throughout the county. In a sparsely populated county that system may do very well, but in our county, with its two cities and numerous boroughs, densely populated, it is easy to foresee the result of adopting it. We have had just cause to complain of the action of our delegates, but faulty as they may prove, the proposed change will be worse.

How easy would it be for an unprincipled candidate to secure control of a few wards and boroughs, and with the aid of his minions, for votes that could be polled, *at such an election*, out run any opposing candidate?

At present the rural districts find it difficult to make themselves felt in convention, and if this popular vote system be adopted they may at once bid farewell to all future nominations. All they need do will be "go it blind" for the nominee, or bolt the party nominations and join with some other organization. Any change will be for the worse, and we cannot afford to "swap horses" at this time. X.

EDITORS GAZETTE: As there is a proposition before the people of Allegheny county to change the mode of making nominations for the Republican party, and as there is not a doubt in my mind but there will be some change made by the next Convention, as the people are heartily disgusted with the present delegate system, after viewing the "Crawford County System," as you published on Saturday, the 22d instant, I think it is the very thing we want, under the following regulations for this county, to-wit:

Let the Executive Committee divide the county, as *already recommended by them*, into three districts, say Pittsburgh, west, Allegheny east, and the Hill side of rivers the third district; each district to be entitled to two members of Assembly and one County Commissioner.

As we only elect one County Commissioner each year, let the Committee in its call for the election designate which district is entitled to the nominee. Under this arrangement let the voters of each district elect by popular vote their two candidates for Assembly, and their other officers for nomination to be voted for by all of the voters of the county. Whichever of the districts is entitled to the County Commissioner, let them nominate him, by popular vote, none others voting, but the voters of that district. Under this arrangement, I think, all will be fairly represented according to the number of voters, and will give satisfaction to all, and certainly will be a great improvement over the present system.

A MEMBER OF THE COMMITTEE.

Method of Impeachment.

In the United States, the impeachment of the President is without precedent. Only once, in 1843, an attempt was made against President Tyler, but it failed. There have, however, been six instances of the impeachment of other civil officers. In 1797, William Blount, a Senator from Tennessee, was impeached for having intrigued to transfer New Orleans to Great Britain; in 1803, John Pickering, Judge of the District Court of the District of New Hampshire, was impeached on four charges, one of which alleged that he was habitually drunkard and intemperate habits; in 1805, the impeachment of Samuel Chase, an Associate Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States, was the cause of great public excitement; in 1830, James H Peck, Judge of the District Court for the District of Missouri, was impeached of high misdemeanors. The latest cases are those of Judge Watrous of Texas, who was impeached in 1857, and of Judge West H. Humphreys of Tennessee, who in 1863 was impeached for complicity in the Rebellion. All these cases constitute a precedent for the impeachment of the President, which will be conducted in a similar manner, except that at the trial of the President, the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States must preside. The main points in the procedure against the President will, therefore, be as follows:

A committee appointed by the House will appear before the bar of the Senate and officially announce the resolution of impeachment. The President of the Senate will appoint a Select Committee to bear the report of the Committee of the House. A report will then be made by the Senate Committee to the Senate. The Senate will take action, and its action will be officially communicated to the House. The Speaker will appoint a Board of Managers to conduct the impeachment; they will carry to the Senate the articles of impeachment. The action of the House will be read to the Senate, which then appoints the time when it will "resolve itself into a Court of Impeachment." Each Senator takes the oath that he will do impartial justice. The Board of Managers of the House being introduced to the bar of the Court, formally present the articles of impeachment. A summons issued to the party accused to answer the articles of impeachment, fixing the day returnable, which is served at least ten days before the return thereof. The day of the trial having arrived, the House, resolving itself into Committee of the Whole, proceeds in a body to the Senate Chamber, and is admitted. The return is read by the Secretary of the Senate. Arrangements are then made for the summoning of witnesses. The trial being completed, each article is read by the Secretary, and the roll called, when each Senator answers "Guilty" or "Not Guilty," two-thirds being required to declare the accused guilty. The decision is given, and communicated to the accused. If found guilty, the President will from that moment be deprived of his office.

The trial of President Johnson will rank in history as one of the most celebrated state trials of all times. Rarely has the world watched the proceedings of a legislative body with so intense an interest as it will watch the action of Congress in this impeachment trial, and the decision of the Senate, whatever it may be, will make a profound impression throughout the world.—*N. Y. Tribune.*

NEWS FROM ABROAD.

—Thirty deaths per diem is the horrid record of the cholera in St. Domingo City.

—The new Record building in London is said to be the only absolutely fire-proof structure in England.

—The Merchants' and Commercial Banks of Montreal have amalgamated, and are hereafter to be known as the Merchants' Bank of Canada.

Dr. Carl Hugen, one of the most illustrious of German historians, is dead. At the time of his demise he was Professor of History at the University of Berne.

—The boiling down of meat for exportation has become a very important branch of Australian trade, and bids fair to become the most important before very long.

—The Suez Canal is to be finished in October, 1869. The total cost will be $77,000,000. Several steam navigation companies are already negotiating for landings at Port Said.

—In mercantile shipping Great Britain is at the head of the list, rating 7,000,000 tons. America follows with 5,000,000 tons. Germany is third and France comes up slowly a bad fourth.

—President Cabral and his Cabinet have fled from St. Domingo to Venezuela. What a blessing it would be if a certain other President and part of his Cabinet would follow President Cabral.

—On the 19th of February the Crown Princess of Prussia presented her people, that are to be, with a fine healthy Prince. The family of the Princess is already nearly as large as that of her august mother.

—London has at last to succumb to the pressure for street railways. Like every other American idea, this one has first been hooted at, then attributed to the inventive brain of some Englishman, and at last adopted.

—London is tired of having the huge droves of Dutch cattle parading the streets, and is about to have a foreign cattle market located besides the Thames, where they can be sold immediately on importation.

—A London tailor who has purchased the right of calling himself Court tailor to the Prince of Wales, has given notice that he will make clothes for no man who does not belong to a family of position or standing in the country.

—In America, champagne is cider, in England, champagne is gooseberry wine. At a late grand ball given by the Mayor of Liverpool, ninety-seven dozen of the delicious fluid disappeared down the throats of happy Englishmen.

—In 1867 the paupers of England and Wales, exclusive of lunatic poor, and vagrants, increased 86,885, and the English journals think that the present state of that country gives reasons for expecting a still further increase this year.

—Two young girls were recently brought before the Staffordshire assizes, who could neither read nor write, had never heard of either God or the Bible, and had never been at school or chapel. They were sentenced on board of canal boats.

—Mr. Hodgkin, an English member of Parliament, has made a speech inveighing the Episcopal ordination question, particularly the idea of inviting American Bishops to assist in it. The Honorable member is letting his spite and envy of things American carry him out of his depth.

—The new flag of the German Confederation is rather oblong in shape and consists of red and yellow in a black cross which divides it into four equal parts. Three of these parts are white, the fourth being the upper left hand corner, is striped with red. The arms of the black cross do not unite in the centre, but enclose a round white medallion in the centre of which is the black eagle of Prussia.

—The mercantile marine of Italy is remarkably diminutive in comparison to that of other countries. In spite of a fine stretch of sea coast and good harbors, there is no perceptible advance in this particular. France, England and Austria are the largest consumers of her manufactures, and most of her carrying. Railways are now being rapidly completed, which will develop large tracts of country heretofore only accessible by tedious journeys from the sea coast. The Pope has refused to render the coin of the States of the Church similar to that of the surrounding kingdom, and has issued a protest against the national result. Italy is evidently not yet a land of very great progress.

A PRAYER.

BY JAMES RUSSELL LOWELL.

God! do not say I have not done this,
But rather wait until the time
Thou hast given to infirmity
Hands to counter Thy pure crime.
Then take me, I will single set
So that my work is done, I believe,
O, let her start! she is by birth
Of a high-bred race that learn to be.
We cannot her more on our poor earth
Than Thou canst need in heaven with Thy
Stars;
She hath her wings already, I
Not doubting that in earth's hell she I day.
Then, God, take me! We shall be near,
More than ever, each to each;
Her soul, with wings, will find more clear
My heavy than my earthly speech;
Her soul will be my angel, I
Her soul and mine shall closer be.

A Picture of Life among the English Poor

The London *Review* tells this sad story:

"A poor woman drowned herself in the Thames last week, as the coroner's jury found, 'while in a state of unsound mind through distress.' Her husband had for six months been unable to make more than six shillings a week, out of which he had to pay 1s. 8d. a week rent, 1s. 2d. for the loan of a barrow to carry on his trade of 'general dealer,' and to support a wife and four children with the remainder. The wife, who was suckling her youngest child all this time, did her share to contribute to their resources. She made slop shirts at a penny a shirt, and for the better sort of shirts she used to get 1d., 1½d., and even as much as 2d. But to earn even this pittance she had to find her own needles and thread. For weeks these poor creatures, who bore the highest character for industry and good conduct, would go without eating meat, and live on bread—and dripping, when they could get it. When the father had no work they lived on nothing and the daughter says that her mother used often to say to her, 'Oh my, Polly, ain't it dreadful; we have got nothing again to eat to-day.' These poor people never applied to the workhouse. They thought of doing so, but relinquished the hope, as the husband said to his wife, that 'Perhaps there will be better luck another day.'"

—An important insurance case is on trial in the Circuit Court of St. Louis. Kilpatrick and Thomas bring suit against the Thames Insurance Company, of Cincinnati, for $5,000 damages, growing out of the burning of the steamer Magnolia here in 1866. The defence is that the boat was set on fire by or through connivance of the owner. The case involves $100,000, $30,000 in Cincinnati companies, $31,000 in St. Louis and $50,000 in foreign companies represented there. A deposition from Mr. Strader, one of the pilots of the Magnolia, was read, to the effect that Marshall offered him (Strader) five thousand dollars to sink the steamer. Mrs. Strader testified that Kilpatrick had offered her three thousand dollars if she would prevent her husband from testifying in the case.

—The Governor of New Foundland having intimated in his address to the Legislature that the question of confederation should come up for consideration, a large meeting was held at St. Johns and resolutions passed deprecating the intention of the Government to introduce the subject. Subsequent action in the House showed a majority of the members unfavorable to any steps being taken in the matter of confederation.

—A foreign mathematician has calculated that half a million people in Paris alone have averaged half an hour each in trying to solve the "Roman Question" puzzle, which is neither more nor less than the double hook puzzle. The time altogether amounts to fifty-seven years of one man's life, working twelve hours a day. Paris is now puzzling its brains over another toy called the "Mexican question."

VOICE OF THE LEGAL PRESS.

(Philadelphia Gazette Supplement.)

Everything is proven, everything is admitted, and Congress has no escape from the choice and the issue which the President has forced upon it, unless it abandons the whole contest forever, and establishes the precedent that *the Executive Department may annul and defy at pleasure the acts of the Legislature.* The Tenure-of-Office bill may or may not be constitutional—of that *The President is not the judge*, but until the courts have otherwise decided, it is the law of the land, and the President *cannot release himself from his obligation to obey it.*

(Boston Advertiser.)

The provision of the act is so distinctly intended to bring him within the purview of this clause of the Constitution, that it is impossible to doubt that he deliberately took his stepin contravention of the act with the set purpose of defying Congress to impeach him.

(Toledo Journal.)

It is not a question between President Johnson and the Republican party which is the issue. It is not whether the policy adopted by Congress is right or wrong that is to be adjudicated upon; but it is to be settled whether the President of the United States can wilfully defy the whole people by assuming the powers of a dictator, and, by a total disregard of law, subvert the great principle of the right of the people to self-government.

(Chicago Tribune.)

If the President's oath makes him the sworn defender of the Constitution, against whom must he defend it? Johnson says Congress—but why limit the defence against Congress? He must defend the Constitution against the Judiciary just as readily as against Congress. The oath makes no exceptions. If that oath be an an hertiy to the President to suspend, disregard or nullify any act of Congress which to him appears to be unconstitutional, then it gives him an equal authority to accept or disregard judicial decisions. The Constitution makes no exceptions. It vests the power to make a law in Congress. It vests the power to interpret a law in the Judiciary. It makes it the duty of the President to execute the laws. If in addition to this the President has the power to revise the legislation of Congress, and execute only such laws as he approves, then he has the same power to revise judicial decisions and execute only such judgments as he thinks are correct. It is only necessary to look at the claim of the President to be convinced of the absurdity. Congress may, as Congress has often done, by oversight or inclination, legislate erroneously. But the authority for so deciding has never been claimed by any President. His duty admits no qualifications. He is sworn to execute the laws, with impeachment hanging upon him, and he seeks now to compromise with the officers of justice. It is not that American citizens people impeach you, Andrew Johnson, as a disturber of the national peace, as a violator of national law—the unscrupulous block of national justice, and the organizer of national ruin.

(State Gazette, Pa.)

Congress is the constitutional representative of the people, and the great law-making power of the Government. As such they have enacted laws, by unprecedented majorities, for the reconstruction of the Southern States. It is the great, first, and sworn duty of the President of the United States to execute these laws. This duty he has not only failed to perform, but month after month and year after year has turned his ingenuity to devise ways and means to defeat these laws, and to defy the will of the people and the representatives of the people who enacted the laws. He has quarrelled with Gen. Grant because the General would not resist the law of Congress, and has given him orders to disobey the commands of his superior the Secretary of War, the more effectually to thwart and defeat the execution of the laws. These are "high crimes and misdemeanors," and impeachments are remedy provided for them by the Constitution of the United States, the highest law of the land. The offences have been committed. Let the lawful and merited punishment be inflicted, and that speedily. The patience and forbearance of a patriotic people are exhausted, and cry aloud for the enforcement of the law.

(Evening Journal.)

The people are ready to sustain Congress in the enforcement of the law against the assaults of the mischievous demagogue at the White House, even though that vindication can come only through the solemn and unwelcome proceeding of impeachment.

(Philadelphia Press.)

Either the President must execute the laws passed by Congress in good faith, which would be carrying out his proper function under our Constitution, or Congress must abandon the field and allow the President to do as he will, in which case representative government ceases.

(Philadelphia North American.)

Technically, the President is now arraigned for a defiance of the Tenure of Office law. But in reality he has set himself to nullify all the Reconstruction laws, and his desperate determination to get possession of the War Department is for that object. * * * It is said that the purpose of Johnson in making this open violation of the law is to force it to an issue in the Supreme Court, and thus obtain a decision as to the constitutionality of the act. But this assumes that he may disregard a law instead of enforcing it, and no such authority has ever before been asserted by any President of this Republic. It is the duty of other men to take such judicial proceedings as will result in a decision by a Supreme Court. That responsibility properly rests upon the party holding the law to be invalid; so that however we may view the case, the conduct of the President is without justification. The act has been done in an open and conspicuous manner, and the evil example is sets of disobedience to law is so important and flagrant, that in a country where the submission to law has been so general and so much of a national trait, we could not for a moment afford to tolerate such an act.

We cannot doubt that the Senate will give to the President a fair and impartial trial, such as is demanded by the nature of the case and the momentous issues at stake. The Senate as it stands is a body eminently worthy of the confidence of the country, and will fulf