

# THE JEFFERSONIAN.

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No paper discontinued until all arrearages are paid, except at the option of the Editor.  
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JOB PRINTING,

OF ALL KINDS,  
Executed in the highest style of the Art, and on the most reasonable terms.

S. HOLMES, JR.,

ATTORNEY-AT-LAW, AND GENERAL CLAIM AGENT.  
STROUDSBURG, PA.

Office with S. S. Dreher, Esq.

All claims against the Government prosecuted with dispatch at reduced rates.  
An additional bounty of \$100 and of \$50 procured for Soldiers in the late War, FREE OF EXTRA CHARGE.  
August 2, 1866.

DR. A. REEVES JACKSON,  
PHYSICIAN AND SURGEON,

Begs leave to announce that, in order to prevent disappointment, he will hereafter devote THURSDAY and SATURDAY of each week exclusively to CONSULTATIONS and SURGICAL OPERATIONS at his office.—Parties from a distance who desire to consult him, can do so, therefore, on those days.  
Stroudsburg, May 31, 1866.—1f.

Furniture! Furniture!  
McCarty's New Furniture Store,  
DREHER'S NEW BUILDING, two doors below the Post-office, Stroudsburg, Pa. He is selling his Furniture 10 per cent. less than Easton or Washington prices, to say nothing about freight or breakage.  
May 17, 1866.—1f.

DINING-ROOM FURNITURE in Walnut, Oak and White Ash, Extension Tables, any size you wish, at McCARTY'S new Ware-Rooms.  
May 17, 1866.—1f.

ROSE AND GILT FRAMES made to order. A fine lot of Oval Frames on hand  
J. H. McCARTY.  
May 17, 1866.—1f.

IF YOU WANT A GOOD PARLOR Suit in Rose, Mahogany or Walnut, McCARTY has it.  
May 17, 1866.—1f.

IF YOU WANT A GOOD MELODEON, from one of the best makers in the United States, solid Rosewood Case, warranted 5 years, call at McCARTY'S, he would especially invite all who are good judges of Music to come and test them. He will sell you from any maker you wish, \$10 less than those who sell on commission. The reason is he buys for cash and sells for the same, with less than one-half the usual per centage that agents want.  
J. H. McCARTY.  
May 17, 1866.—1f.

UNDERTAKING IN ALL ITS BRANCHES.

Particular attention will be given to this branch of the subscriber's business. He will always study to please and consult the wants and wishes of those who employ him. From the number of years experience he has had in this branch of business he cannot and will not be excelled either in city or country. Prices one-third less than is usually charged, from 50 to 75 finished Coffins always on hand. Trimmings to suit the best Taste in the country. Funerals attended at one hour's notice.  
J. H. McCARTY.  
May 17, 1866.—1f.

Saddle and Harness  
Manufactory.

The undersigned respectfully informs the citizens of Stroudsburg, and surrounding country, that he has commenced the above business in Fowler's building, on Elizabeth street, and is fully prepared to furnish any article in his line of business, at short notice. On hand at all times, a large stock of  
Harness, Whips, Trunks, Valises, Carpet Bags, Horse-Blankets, Bells, Skates, Oil Cloths, &c.  
Carriage Trimming promptly attended to.  
JOHN O. SAYLOR.  
Stroudsburg, Dec. 14, 1865.

Gothic Hall Drug Store.  
William Hollinshead,  
Wholesale and Retail Druggist.  
STROUDSBURG, PA.

Constantly on hand and for sale cheap for cash, a fresh supply of Drugs, Medicines, Paints, Oil, Glass, Putty, Varnish, Kerosene Oil, Perfumery and Fancy Goods; also

Sash, Blinds and Doors.  
Pure Wines and Liquors for Medicinal Purpose.

P. S.—Physicians Prescriptions carefully compounded.  
Stroudsburg, July 7, 1864.

TIN SHOP!

The undersigned begs leave to inform his friends and the public generally, that he has now opened a TIN SHOP, on Main street, near the Stroudsburg Mills, opposite Troch & Walton's, formerly R. S. Staples' Store, where he is prepared to manufacture and sell at wholesale and retail, all kinds of

Tin, Copper and Sheet Iron-Ware. ALSO,  
Stoves, Stove Pipe and Elbows.

Old and second hand Stoves bought and sold, at cash rates.  
CASH paid for Old Lead, Copper and Brass.

Roofing, Spouting and Repairing promptly attended to and warranted to give satisfaction. Call and see for yourselves.  
WILLIAM KEISER.  
Stroudsburg, Dec. 8, 1865.

BLANK LEASES  
For Sale at this Office.

## Sheriff's Sale.

BY VIRTUE of a writ of fieri facias (inquisition waived) to me directed, issued out of the Court of Common Pleas of Monroe county, I will expose to sale, at public vendue, on

Saturday, the 1st day of September next, at 2 o'clock in the afternoon, at the Court-House, in the borough of Stroudsburg, the following described Real Estate to wit:

FIRST.—All that certain message tenement and tract of land situate at Fennersville, in Hamilton township, Monroe county, adjoining other land of Joseph Fenner, lands of Jerome Swartwood and John Yinger, other land of the said Fenner, land of George Miller, land of John H. Fenner, other land of said Joseph Fenner, and land of Joseph P. Heller, containing SIXTY ACRES, AND ONE HUNDRED AND FIFTY PERCHES, more or less. Being the message and tract of land first described in a Deed from Henry Fenner and wife, to said Joseph Fenner, bearing date April 1, A. D. 1844, and recorded at Stroudsburg, in Deed Book, Vol. 3, pp. 125.

The improvements thereon are a PLANK TANNERY, two stories high, 38 ft. wide by 115 ft. in length, to which is attached a LEACH HOUSE AND BARK MILL, 26 ft. wide by 60 ft. in length (also two stories high). Together with the Steam and Water Power belonging and appertaining to said Tannery. There are also two BARK SHEDS on said premises near said Tannery. (One of them 26 ft. in width by 100 ft. in length, with Lean to attached. The other of them 26 ft. in width by about 60 ft. in length.) Also a HIDE HOUSE near said Tannery, about 15 by 20 ft. Also, a

### Stone Tavern,

two stories high, 40 by 45 ft., with STONE KITCHEN attached, 20 feet square. A FRAME SHED 40 by 42 feet. A BLACK SMITH SHOP about 20 feet square. A PLANK STORE-HOUSE 21 by 32 feet, a story and a half high, with two small Frame buildings attached thereto, used for the purpose of storing goods. Also a PLANK TAILOR SHOP, one story high, 16 by 24 ft.

Also, a large two-story PLANK DWELLING HOUSE, 24 feet by 40 feet, with PLANK KITCHEN attached, 16 by 24 ft., and Smoke House and Wash House near by. Also, a FRAME BARN with Stone Stabling underneath, 36 ft wide by 52 ft. in length, with two Frame Stables attached thereto, each of them about 35 ft. square. Also, a two-story PLANK DWELLING HOUSE, about 16 by 24 ft., with Kitchen attached, about 16 ft. square. Also, a FRAME STABLE in the rear of said house, about 24 feet square. The land is all improved and in a good state of cultivation. And there is an

### Apple Orchard,

and other Fruit Trees on the premises.—McMichael's Creek runs through this land.  
SECOND.—All that certain lot or piece of land situate in Fennersville, in said township of Hamilton, adjoining the premises first above described, lands of Joseph P. Heller and the Parsonage lot, containing

One Acre and Ten Perches, strict measure. Being the same premises which David Kemmerer and wife, by Deed bearing date the 29th of March, 1850, and recorded at Stroudsburg, in Deed Book, Vol. 4, page 612, granted and conveyed to the said Joseph Fenner. The improvements thereon are a

### Plank Dwelling House,

a story and a half high, about 16 ft. in width by 23 ft. in length, and a FRAME STABLE, about 16 feet square. Land all cleared and in a good state of cultivation.

THIRD.—All that certain message and tract of land situate in said township of Hamilton, adjoining the land first above described, land of George Miller, Daniel Newell, other land of said Joseph Fenner, land of Samuel Andrew, and land of Charles Yinger, containing

Eighty-one Acres and Twenty-seven Perches, more or less. Being the tract or piece of land first described in the Deed from Henry Fenner, Senior, and wife, bearing date the first day of April, A. D. 1844, and recorded at Stroudsburg, in Deed Book, Vol. 3, pp. 13. The improvements thereon are a

### Stone Dwelling House,

two stories high, about 22 ft. by 30 ft. with a CELLAR KITCHEN underneath. A FRAME BARN with Stone Stabling thereunder, about 40 feet in width by 50 ft. in length. The land is all cleared and about TWENTY ACRES thereof are Meadow. There is an excellent

### Apple Orchard,

and other Fruit trees upon the premises, and a well of water near the dwelling house.

FOURTH.—All that tract or piece of land, situate in said township of Hamilton, adjoining the tract last above described, lands of Samuel Andrew, Enos Paul, John Shoemaker, and Daniel Newell, containing

### Twenty-Seven Acres,

strict measure. Being the same premises which Theodore L. Hoeffditz and wife by their deed dated the 27th day of April, A. D. 1847, and recorded at Stroudsburg, in Deed Book, vol. 4, page 178, &c. granted and conveyed to the said Joseph Fenner. This tract of land is all cleared and in a good state of cultivation, and a small brook runs through the same.

FIFTH.—All that certain message and tract of land situate in said township of Hamilton, adjoining the first above described tract of land, land of Jerome Swartwood, and land of George Snyder, containing

### Fifteen Acres, and Eight Perches,

more or less. Being the same premises which Barnett Fenner and wife, by Deed bearing date the 7th day of August, A. D.

1848, and recorded at Stroudsburg, in Deed Book, Vol. 4, page 287 &c., granted and conveyed to the said Joseph Fenner, and the same which Jerome Swartwood and wife, by Deed bearing date the 17th day of May, A. D. 1855, and recorded at Stroudsburg, in Deed Book, Vol. 7, page 194, granted and conveyed to the said Joseph Fenner. The improvements thereon are a

### Grist Mill,

part Stone and part Plank, about 35 ft. wide by 50 feet in length, in which there are four run of Stones, two Water-Wheels, and all other necessary machinery and fixtures in excellent order. A Saw Mill about 16 by 40 feet, and a Carding House attached thereto, about 20 feet by 30 feet. A Frame Dwelling House two stories high, about 20 ft. in width by 45 ft. in length, and a Frame Stable about 25 feet square. The land is all improved, and there is a good Spring of Water near the Dwelling House. McMichael's Creek runs through the premises.

SIXTH.—All that certain message and tract or piece of land situate in said township of Hamilton, adjoining land of John H. Fenner, Anna Stutter, and other land of said Joseph Fenner, and containing

Five Acres and Two Perches, more or less. Being the same premises which Evan Spragle and wife, by deed, bearing date the 16th day of February, A. D. 1865, and recorded at Stroudsburg, in Deed Book, Vol. 13, page 148, &c. granted and conveyed to the said Joseph Fenner. The improvements thereon are a Plank

### Dwelling House,

a story and a half high, and about 20 feet wide by 34 ft. in length. A Log Stable, about 16 ft. by 18 ft. and a Well of Water near the house. The Land is all under cultivation.

SEVENTH.—Also, all that certain tract or piece of land situate in said township of Hamilton, adjoining the last above described tract, lands of Jerome Fenner, George Butts and Henry Wall, and containing

### Four Acres and a Half,

more or less; being part of the second described piece or parcel of land mentioned in the Deed from Henry Fenner and wife to said Joseph Fenner, bearing date the first of April, A. D. 1844, and recorded at Stroudsburg, in Deed Book, Vol. 3, page 12, &c. This land is all cleared and in a good state of cultivation.

EIGHTH.—All that certain Timber lot or tract of land situate in said township of Hamilton, adjoining lands of Jonas Murphy, Sarah Van Buskirk, other lands of said Joseph Fenner, and land of Peter Butz, and containing TEN ACRES, strict measure. This lot is heavily timbered, and McMichael's Creek passes through the same. Being the same premises which Abraham Fethner and wife, by Deed, bearing date the 6th day of December, A. D. 1850, and recorded at Stroudsburg, in Deed Book, Vol. 5, page 114, granted and conveyed to the said Joseph Fenner.

NINTH.—All that other certain Timber lot or piece of land situate in said township of Hamilton, adjoining the land last above described, land of Sarah Van Buskirk, John Marsh and Peter Butz, and containing 3 ACRES and 109 PERCHES, strict measure. Being the same premises which David Kemmerer and wife, by Deed, bearing date the 9th day of September, A. D. 1852, and recorded at Stroudsburg, in Deed Book, vol. 5, pp. 589, &c., granted and conveyed to the said Joseph Fenner. This lot is well timbered with Oak and other Timber.

TENTH.—All that other certain Timber lot or tract of land situate in said township of Hamilton, adjoining lands of Joseph Keller, Charles Lowe, John Williams, and land of Andrew Groner, deceased, containing 22 ACRES and 98 PERCHES, strict measure. Being the same premises which Andrew Groner and wife, by Deed, of the first day of May, A. D. 1864, recorded at Stroudsburg, in Deed Book, vol. 7, pp. 192, &c., granted and conveyed to the said Joseph Fenner.

ELEVENTH.—All that certain tract or piece of land situate in said township of Hamilton, adjoining lands of William Sobers, John Mansfield and Blue Mountain lands, and containing TWENTY-FIVE ACRES, more or less. Being the same premises which John Mansfield and wife, by Deed, bearing date the 8th day of December, A. D. 1864, but not recorded, granted and conveyed to the said Joseph Fenner. And the same which Geo. Shaffer and wife by Deed bearing date the 22nd day of April, A. D. 1854, and recorded at Stroudsburg, in Deed Book, Vol. 7, page 509, granted and conveyed to the said Joseph Fenner. About 15 acres of this tract is heavily timbered with Rock-Oak.

TWELFTH.—All that certain tract or piece of land situate in said township of Hamilton, adjoining lands of George Woodling, Isaac Dieter, Jonas Newhart, Alexander Harps, land late of John Woodling, land of Solomon Rinker, and other land of the said Joseph Fenner, containing 180 ACRES, more or less. Being the same premises which Andrew C. Woodling and wife, by Deed, of the first day of April, A. D. 1865, recorded at Stroudsburg, in Deed Book, vol. 13, page 150, &c., granted and conveyed to the said Joseph Fenner. About 40 acres of this tract are improved, and the residue is well timbered with Chestnut and Oak; a small stream of water passes through the said premises.

THIRTEENTH.—All that certain message and tract or piece of land situate in Hamilton township, adjoining the last above described tract of land, land of Solomon Rinker, Charles Frantz and George Woodling, and containing 101 ACRES, more or less. Being the same premises which Isiah Rinker and wife, by Deed, of the 13th day of April, A. D. 18—, recorded at Stroudsburg, in Deed Book, vol. 13, pp. 152, granted and conveyed to the said Joseph Fenner. About 60 acres of this tract are cleared and under cultivation (of which 10 acres are Meadow), and the balance is well timbered. The improvements are a FRAME DWELLING HOUSE, one and a half stories high, about 24 feet wide by 28 feet long. A Frame Barn with Stone Stabling underneath, about

36 feet wide by 50 feet long. There is an Apple Orchard and other Fruit Trees on the premises, a Spring of Water near the house, and a small stream of water running through the land.

FOURTEENTH.—All that certain message and tract or piece of land situate in the township of Jackson, in said county of Monroe, adjoining lands of Frederick Doll, land late of Michael Zacharias, land late of Jacob Engler, and land of John D. Frailey, and containing 40 ACRES and 79 PERCHES, more or less. Being the same premises which George Zacharias and wife, by Deed, bearing date the 8th day of April, A. D. 1856, and recorded at Stroudsburg, in Deed Book, vol. 7, pp. 366, granted and conveyed to the said Joseph Fenner. The improvements thereon are a Frame Dwelling House, about 18 by 20 feet. A Frame Barn with Stone Stabling thereunder, about 28 ft. square. This tract is nearly all cleared and under cultivation, about one-half thereof being Meadow.

Seized and taken in execution as the property of Joseph Fenner, and to be sold by me for cash.

CHARLES HENRY, Sheriff.  
Sheriff's Office Stroudsburg, PA.  
August 16, 1866.

### TO THE PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES.

Having met in convention, at the city of Philadelphia, in the State of Pennsylvania, this 16th day of August, 1866, as the representatives of the people of all sections, and all the States and Territories of the Union, to consult upon the condition and the wants of our common country, we address to you this declaration of our principles, and of the political purposes we seek to promote.

Since the meeting of the last national convention, in the year 1860, events have occurred which have changed the character of our internal politics and given the United States a new place among the nations of the earth. Our government has passed through the vicissitudes and the perils of civil war—a war which, though mainly sectional in its character, has nevertheless decided political differences that from the very beginning of the government had threatened the unity of our national existence, and has left its impress deep and ineffaceable upon all the interests, the sentiments, and the destiny of the republic. While it has inflicted upon the whole country severe losses in life and in property, and has imposed burdens which must weigh on its resources for generations to come, it has developed a degree of national courage in the presence of national dangers, a capacity for military organization and achievement, and a devotion on the part of the people to the form of government which they have obtained, and to the principles of liberty which that government was designed to promote, which must confirm the confidence of the nation in the perpetuity of its republican institutions, and command the respect of the civilized world.

Like all great contests which rouse the passions and test the endurance of nations, this war has given new scope to the ambition of political parties, and fresh impulse to plans of innovation and reform. Amidst the chaos of conflicting sentiments inseparable from such an era, while the public heart is keenly alive to all the passions that can sway the public judgment and affect the public action; while the wounds of war still fresh and bleeding on either side, and fears for the future take unjust proportions from the memories and resentments of the past, it is a difficult but an imperative duty which on your behalf we, who are here assembled, have undertaken to perform.

For the first time after six long years of alienation and of conflict, we have come together from every State and every section of our land, as citizens of a common country, under that flag, the symbol again of a common glory, to consult together how best to cement and perpetuate that Union which is again the object of our common love, and thus secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity.

In the first place we invoke you to remember, always and everywhere, that the war is ended and the nation is again at peace. The shock of contending arms no longer assails the shuddering heart of the republic. The insurrection against the supreme authority of the nation has been suppressed, and that authority has been again acknowledged, by word and act, in every State and by every citizen within its jurisdiction. We are no longer required or permitted to regard or treat each other as enemies. Not only have the acts of war been discontinued and the weapons of war laid aside, but the state of war no longer exists, and the sentiments, the passions, the relations of war have no longer lawful or rightful place anywhere throughout one broad domain. We are again people of the United States, fellow-citizens of one country, bound by the duties and obligations of a common patriotism, and having neither rights nor interests apart from a common destiny.

The duties that devolve upon us now are again the duties of peace, and no longer the duties of war. We have assembled here to take counsel concerning the interests of peace—to decide how we may most wisely and effectually heal the wounds the war made, and perfect and perpetuate the benefits it has secured, and the blessings which, under a wise and benign Providence, have sprung up in its fiery track. This is the work, not of passion, but of calm and sober judgment; not of resentment for past offenses, prolonged beyond the limits which justice and reason prescribe, but of a liberal statesmanship, which tolerates what it can

not prevent, and builds its plans and its hopes for the future rather upon a community of interest and ambition than upon distrusts and the weapons of force.

In the next place, we call upon you to recognize in their full significance, and to accept with all their legitimate consequences, the political results of the war just closed. In two most important particulars the victory achieved by the national government has been final and decisive. First, it has established beyond all further controversy, and by the highest of all human sanctions, the absolute supremacy of the national government, as defined and limited by the Constitution of the United States, and the permanent integrity and indissolubility of the Federal Union as a necessary consequence; and, second, it has put an end finally and forever to the existence of slavery upon the soil or within the jurisdiction of the United States. Both these points became directly involved in the contest, and controversy upon both was ended absolutely and finally by the result.

In the third place, we deem it of the utmost importance that the real character of the war and the victory by which it was closed should be accurately understood. The war was carried on by the government of the United States in maintenance of its own authority and in defense of its own existence, both of which were menaced by the insurrection which it sought to suppress. The suppression of that insurrection accomplished that result. The government of the United States maintained by force of arms the supreme authority over all the territory and over all the States and people within its jurisdiction which the Constitution confers upon it; but it acquired thereby no new power, no enlarged jurisdiction, no rights either of territorial possession or of civil authority, which it did not possess before the rebellion broke out. All the rightful power it can ever possess is that which is conferred upon it, either in express terms or by fair and necessary implication, by the Constitution of the United States. It was that power and that authority which the rebellion sought to overthrow, and victory of the Federal arms was simply the defeat of that attempt. The government of the United States acted throughout the war on the defensive. It sought only to hold possession of what was already its own. Neither the war, nor the victory by which it was closed, changed in any way the Constitution of the United States. The war was carried on by virtue of its provisions, and under the limitations which they prescribe, and the result of the war did not either enlarge, abridge, or in any way change or affect the powers it confers upon the Federal government, or release that government from the restrictions it has imposed.

The constitution of the United States is to-day, precisely as it was before the war, the "supreme law of the land, anything in the constitution or laws of any State to the contrary notwithstanding," and to-day, also, precisely as before the war, all the powers not conferred by the Constitution upon the general government, not prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the several States, or to the people thereof.

This position is vindicated not only by the essential nature of our government, and the language and spirit of the Constitution, but by all the acts and the language of our government, in all its departments, and at all times, from the outbreak of the rebellion to its final overthrow. In every message and proclamation of the executive it was explicitly declared that the sole object and purpose of the war was to maintain the authority of the Constitution and to preserve the integrity of the Union; and Congress more than once reiterated this solemn declaration, and added the assurance that, whenever this object should be attained, the war should cease, and all the States should retain their equal rights and dignity unimpaired. It is only since the war was closed that other rights have been asserted on behalf of one department of the general government. It has been proclaimed by Congress that, in addition to the powers conferred upon it by the Constitution, the Federal government may now claim over the States, the territory and the people involved in the insurrection the rights of war, the right of conquest and of confiscation, the right to abrogate all existing governments, institutions and laws, and to subject the territory conquered and its inhabitants to such laws, regulations and deprivations as the legislative departments of the government may see fit to impose. Under this broad and sweeping claim, that clause of the Constitution which provides that "no State shall without its consent be deprived of its equal suffrage in the Senate of the United States" has been annulled, and ten States have been refused, and are still refused, representation altogether in both branches of the Federal Congress. And the Congress in which only a part of the States and of the people of the Union are represented has asserted the right thus to exclude the rest from representation, and from all share in making their own laws or choosing their own rulers, until they shall comply with such conditions and perform such acts, as this Congress thus composed may itself prescribe. That right has not only been asserted, but it has been exercised, and is practically enforced at the present time. Nor does it find any support in the theory that the States thus excluded are in rebellion against the government, and are therefore precluded from

sharing its authority. They are not thus in rebellion. They are one and all in an attitude of loyalty towards the government, and of sworn allegiance to the Constitution of the United States. In no one of them is there the slightest indication of resistance to this authority, or the slightest protest against its just and binding obligation. This condition of renewed loyalty has been officially recognized by solemn proclamation of the executive department. The laws of the United States have been extended by Congress over all these States and the people thereof.—Federal courts have been reopened, and Federal taxes imposed and levied, and in every respect, except that they are denied representation in Congress and the electoral college, the States once in rebellion are recognized as holding the same position, as owing the same obligation, and subject to the same duties as the other States of our common Union.

It seems to us, in the exercise of the calmest and most candid judgment we can bring to the subject, that such a claim, so enforced, involves as fatal an overthrow of the authority of the Constitution, and as complete a destruction of the government and Union, as that which was sought to be effected by the States and people in armed insurrection against them both.—It cannot escape observation that the power thus asserted to exclude certain States from representation is made to rest wholly in the will and discretion of the Congress that asserts to. It is not made to depend upon any specified conditions or circumstances, nor to be subject to any rules or regulations whatever. The right asserted and expressed is absolute, without qualification or restriction, not confined to States in rebellion, nor to States that have rebelled; it is the right in any Congress, in formal possession of legislative authority, to exclude any State or States, and any portion of the people thereof, at any time, from representation in Congress and in the electoral college, at its own discretion, and until they shall perform such acts and comply with such conditions as it may dictate. Obviously, the reasons for such exclusion, being wholly within the discretion of Congress, may change as the Congress itself shall change. One Congress may exclude a State from all share in the government for one reason, and that reason removed, the next Congress may exclude it for another.—One State may be excluded on one ground to-day, and another may be excluded on the opposite ground to-morrow. Northern ascendancy may exclude southern States from one Congress; the ascendancy of western or of southern interests, or of both combined, may exclude the northern of the eastern State from the next.—Improbable as such usurpations may seem, the establishment of the principle now asserted and acted upon by Congress will render them by no means impossible. The character, indeed the very existence of Congress and the Union is thus made dependent solely and entirely upon the party and sectional exigencies or forbearance of the hour.

We need not stop to show that such an action not only finds no warrant in the Constitution, but is at war with every principle of our government, and with the very existence of free institution. It is, indeed, the identical practice which has rendered fruitless all attempts hitherto to establish and maintain free governments in Mexico and the State of Southern America. Party necessities assert themselves as superior to the fundamental law, which is set aside in reckless obedience to their behests. Stability, whether in the exercise of power, in the administration of government, or in the enjoyment of rights, becomes impossible; and the conflicts of party, which, under constitutional governments, are the conditions and means of political progress, are merged in the conflicts of arms to which they directly and inevitably tend.

It was against this peril, so conspicuous and so fatal to all free governments, that our Constitution was intended especially to provide. Not only the stability but the very existence of the government is made by its provisions to depend upon the right and the fact of representation. The Congress, upon which is conferred all the legislative power of the national government, consists of two branches, the Senate and House of Representatives, whose joint concurrence or assent is essential to the validity of any law. Of these the House of Representatives, says the Constitution (article I, section 2), "shall be composed of members chosen every second year by the people of the several States." Not only is the right of representation thus recognized as possessed by all the States and by every State without restriction, qualification, or condition of any kind, but the duty of choosing representatives is imposed upon the people of each and every State alike, without distinction, or the authority to make distinctions among them, for any reason or upon any grounds whatever. And in the Senate, so careful is the Constitution to secure every State this right of representation, it is expressly provided that "no State shall, without its consent, be deprived of its equal suffrage" in that body, even by an amendment of the Constitution itself. When, therefore, any State is excluded from such representation, not only is a right of the State denied, but the constitutional integrity of the State is impaired, and the validity of the government itself is brought in question. But Congress at the present moment thus excludes from representation, in both branches of Congress, ten States of the Union,