

three States should not have been represented, although this need not have happened; but better this, a thousand times, than that the Constitution should be repeatedly and flagrantly violated, and public liberty and private right trampled under foot.

Sir, the Constitution not only confides to Congress the right to declare war, but expressly provides that "Congress (not the President) shall have power to raise and support armies;" and to "provide and maintain a navy."

But, sir, Congress was not assembled at once, as Congress should have been, and the great question of civil war submitted to their deliberations.

Sir, the right of blockade—and I begin with it—is a belligerent right, incident to a state of war, and it cannot be exercised until war has been declared or recognized; and Congress alone can declare or recognize war.

But, if on the other hand, he meant to deal these States as still in the Union, and subject to Federal authority, then he usurped a power which belonged to Congress alone—the power to abolish and close up ports of entry;

Sir, upon this point I do not speak without the highest authority. In the very midst of the South Carolina nullification controversy, it was suggested that in the recess of Congress, and without a law to govern him, the President Andrew Jackson, meant to send down a fleet to Charleston and blockade the port.

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analogous of daring executive usurpations, comes the proclamation of the 31 of May, and the orders of the War and Navy Departments in pursuance of it—a proclamation and usurpation which would have cost any English sovereign his head at any time within the last two hundred years.

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duty to issue, the high prerogative writ of habeas corpus—the great writ of right, that main bulwark of personal liberty, commanding the body of the accused to be brought before him that justice and right might be done by due course of law, and without denial or delay; the gates of the fortress, its cannon turned towards, and in plain sight of the city where the court sat and frowning from the ramparts, were closed against the officer of the law, and the answer returned that the officer in command has, by the authority of the President, suspended the writ of habeas corpus.

And thus it is, sir, that the accused has ever since been a prisoner without due process of law; without bail; without presentment by a grand jury; without speedy or public trial by a petit jury of his own State or district, or any trial at all; without information of the nature and cause of the accusation; without being confronted with the witnesses against him; without compulsory process to obtain witnesses in his favor; and without the assistance of counsel for his defense.

And this is our boasted American liberty! And thus it is, too, sir, that here, here in America, in the seventy-third year of the Republic, that great writ and security of personal freedom which it cost the patriots and freemen of England six hundred years of labor and toil and blood to extort and to hold fast from vernal judges and tyrant kings; written in the great charter at Runnymede by the iron barons, who made the simple Latin and uncouth words of the times, nullas liber homo, in the language of Chatham, worth all the classics; recovered and confirmed a hundred times afterwards, as often as violated and stolen away, and finally and firmly secured at last by the great act of Charles II. and transferred thence to our own Constitution and laws, has been wantonly and ruthlessly trampled in the dust.

And, sir, that great writ, bearing by special command of Parliament, those other uncouth and magic words, per statum trecentisimo primo Caroli secundis regis, which no English minister, no king or queen of England dare disobey; that writ brought over by our fathers and cherished by them as a priceless inheritance of liberty, an American President has contemptuously set at defiance. Nay, more, he has ordered his subordinate military chiefs to suspend it at their discretion!

And yet, after all this, he coolly comes before this House and the Senate and the country, and pleads that he is only preserving and protecting the Constitution; and demands and expects of this House and of the Senate and the country their thanks for his usurpations of power; while outside of this Capitol, his myrmidons are clamoring for impeachment of the Chief Justice, as engaged in a conspiracy to break down the Federal Government!

Sir, however much necessity—the tyrant's plea—may be urged in extenuation of the usurpations and infractions of the President in regard to public liberty, there can be no such apology or defense for his invasions of private right.

As to the pretense, sir, that the President has the constitutional right to suspend the writ of habeas corpus, I will not waste time in arguing it. The case is as plain as words can make it. It is a legislative power; it is found only in the legislative article; it belongs to Congress only to do it. Subordinate officers have disobeyed it; General Wilkinson disobeyed it, but he sent his prisoners on for judicial trial; General Jackson disobeyed it, and was reprimanded by James Madison; but no President, no body but Congress, ever before assumed the right to suspend it.

And, sir, that other pretense, of necessity, I repeat, cannot be allowed. It had no existence in fact. The Constitution cannot be preserved by violating it. It is an offense to the intelligence of this House and of the country, to pretend that all this, and the other gross and multiplied infractions of the Constitution and usurpations of power were done by the President and his advisers out of pure love and devotion to the Constitution.

And, sir, when the highest judicial officer of the land, the chief Justice of the Supreme Court, upon whose shoulders, "when the judicial ermine" fell, it touched nothing not as spotless as itself, the aged, the venerable, the gentle and pure minded Taney, who but a little while before had supported to the President the oath to administer to the Constitution and to execute the laws, issued, as by law it was his sworn

been prescribed by law; to the subversion in a part at least of Maryland of her own State government and of the authorities under it; to the censorship over the telegraph, and the infringement repeatedly, in one or more of the States, of the right of the people to keep and to bear arms for their defense. But if all these things, I ask, have been done in the first two months after the commencement of this war, and by men not military chieftains and unused to arbitrary power, what may we not expect to see in three years, and by the successful heroes of the fight? Sir the power and rights of the States and the people, and of their Representatives, have been usurped; the sanctity of the private house and of private property has been invaded; and the liberty of the person wantonly and wickedly stricken down; free speech, too, has been repeatedly denied; and all this under the plea of necessity.

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these marble halls. But in the parks and lawns, and upon the broad avenues of this spacious city, seventy thousand soldiers have supplied their places; and the morning drumbeat from a score of encampments within sight of this beleaguered Capitol, give melancholy warning to the representatives of the States and of the people, that AMID ARMS LAWS ARE SILENT.

Sir, some years hence, I would fain hope some months hence, if I dare, the present generation will demand to know the cause of all this; and some ages hereafter the grand and impartial tribunal of history will make solemn and diligent inquest of this terrible revolution.

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Acts Speak Louder than Words. On the 1st February, 1850, Senator John P. Hale, of New Hampshire, presented two petitions from Isaac Jeffries and other citizens of Pennsylvania, and John F. Woodward and others, praying that "some plan might be devised for the dissolution of the American Union." Mr. Webster, of Massachusetts, was unopposed in his denunciations of the petitions, and suggested that there should have been a preamble to them in these words:

"Gentlemen, members of Congress! Whereas, at the commencement of the session, you and each of you, took your solemn oaths, in the presence of God, and the Holy Evangelists, that you would support the Constitution of the United States—now, therefore, we pray you to take immediate steps to break up the Union and overthrow the Constitution as soon as you can."

Yet this petition received three votes, John P. Hale, of New Hampshire, William H. Seward, of New York, and Salmon P. Chase, of Ohio. The two last are Cabinet Officers. [See Senate Journal, 1st Session 21st Congress, page 129.]

Democratic County Convention. NOTICE is hereby given that the Democratic Electors of the County of Columbia, for the purpose of electing a County Sheriff, a County Treasurer, a County Clerk, and a County Assessor, will meet at the respective places of holding said elections.

PERSONAL. We need money badly, and it will be a very great relief to our friends and patrons will furnish us with a little of the "needful" without delay.

MARRIAGES. At the residence of the bride's father, on Saturday 27th ult., by the Rev. H. A. Hirst, Mr. Peter A. Kline of Elmira, N. Y., and Miss Maria Maria of Terry township, Montico Co., Pa.

DEATHS. In North Haven, in the county of the City of Annapolis, with a long illness, on Saturday 27th ult., at the residence of his father, Mr. Peter A. Kline of Elmira, N. Y., aged about 47 years.

Candidates Department. PRINTERS PER—\$2 EACH. CANDIDATE FOR ASSEMBLY. The Electors of Columbia County—NOTICE is hereby given that the Democratic Electors of the County of Columbia, for the purpose of electing a County Sheriff, a County Treasurer, a County Clerk, and a County Assessor, will meet at the respective places of holding said elections.

CANDIDATE FOR SHERIFF. Peter Shearer, of Bloomington, is authorized to announce, will be a candidate for SHERIFF, at the approaching general election, subject to the decision of the Columbia County Democratic Convention.

CANDIDATE FOR SHERIFF. James H. Peckham, of Bloomington, is authorized to announce, will be a candidate for SHERIFF, at the approaching general election, subject to the decision of the Columbia County Democratic Convention.

CANDIDATE FOR JUDGE. James Evans, of Greenwood township, is authorized to announce, will be a candidate for JUDGE, at the approaching general election, subject to the decision of the Columbia County Democratic Convention.

Special Notices. A CARD TO THE LADIES. Dr. Duponce's Golden Pills for Females. The combination of ingredients in Dr. Duponce's Golden Pills are perfectly harmless. They have been used in the most delicate cases, and have produced the most beneficial results.

The White Hat Clothing Store. The undersigned, having purchased the well known "White Hat Clothing Store," situated on the South West Corner of Fourth and Market Streets, Philadelphia, has the honor to announce that he has taken possession of the same, and is now prepared to receive orders for all descriptions of men's and women's wear, of approved quality, at the lowest prices.

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New Advertisements. Williamsport Dickinson Seminary. FOR BOTH SEXES. THE Fall Session of this Institution, located at Williamsport, Dickinson County, Pa., commences on Monday, August 13th.

Normal Institute and Academy. OF NEW COLUMBIA, LEWISBURG COUNTY, PA. THE first Term of this Institution will commence on Monday, August 13th.

MANHOOD. HOW LOST, HOW RESTORED. Just Published, in a Seal Envelope, A Lecture on the habits, treatment, and radical cure of Gonorrhoea, or venereal disease, in its various forms, including the most dangerous complications of gonorrhoea, such as stricture, prostatic abscess, and other serious affections, which are cured in a short time, and with the least possible expense, thereby restoring all the powers of the system to their normal state.