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MUTINY IN THE ABOLITION CAMP. BEN WAFE AND WINTER DAVIS-LEADING ABOLITIONISTS-DENOUNE LINCOLN'S TYRANICAL USURPA-TIONS AND HOLD HIM UP TO THE REPROBATION AND SCOPE. OF ALL FREE MEN- HIS PLAN OF RECONSTRUCTION AT-TACKED-" OLD ABE" AND THE GOVERN-MENT" NOT

TO THE SUPPORTERS OF THE GOVERNMENT We have read without surprise, but not without indignation, the proclamation of the

IDENTICAL,

President of the 8th of July, 1864. The supporters of the Administration are responsible to the country forits conduct ; and it is their right and duty to check the enroachments of the Executive on the authority of Congress and to require it to confine itself to its proper sphere,

It is impossible to pass in silence this proclamation without neglecting that duty ; and, having taken as much responsibility as any others in supporting the Administration, we are not disposed to fail in the other duty

of asserting the rights of Congress. The President did not sign the bill "to guarantee to certain States whose Govern ments have been usurped a republican form of Government," passed by the supporters of his administration in both Houses of Congress after mature deliberation, The bill did not, therefore, become a law

and it is, therefore, nothing. The proclamation is neither an approval nor a veto of the bill; it is, therefore, a doc-

nment unknown to the laws and Constitution of the United States. So far as it contains an apology for not signing the bill, it is a political manifesto

against the friends of the Government. So far as it proposes to execute the bill which is not a law, it is a grave Executive usurpation.

It is fitting that the facts necessary to enable the friends of the Administration to appreciate the apology and the usurpation be spread before them.

The proclamation says :

And whereas the said bill was presented to the President of the United States for his approval less than one hour before sine die djournment of said session, and was not igned by him---

If that be accurate, still this bill was pre sented with other bills which were signed. Within that hour, the time for the sine die adjournment was three times postponed in rebeliion to their proper practical relation , chosen in either of those States, a sinister | ed. in the Uhion, which plan expresses the sense of Congress upon that subject, and which plan it is now thought fit to lay before the people for their consideration-

By what authority of the Constitution ? In what forms ? The result to be declared by whom ? With what effect when ascertained ?

Is it to be a law by the approval of the people without the approval of Congress at the will of the Presidident ?

Will the President, on his opinion of the popular approval, execute it as law ? Or is this merely a device to avoid the serious responsibility of defeating a law on which so many hearts reposed for security ? But the reasons now assigned for not an proving the bill are full of ominous signifi-

cance. The President proceeds :

Now, therefore, I ABRAHAM LINCOLN, President of the United States, do proclaim, declare, and make known, that, while I am (as I was in December last, when by proclamrtion [propounded a plan for restoration) to be inflexibly committed to any single plan every other Department of the Government

of restoration ---That is to say, the President is resolved that the people shall not by law take any securities from the rebel States against a renewal of the rebellion before restoring

their power to govern us. His wisdom and prudence are to be our sufficient gua rantces !

He further says:

And, while I am also unprepared, to de clare that the Free State Constitution and Governments already adopted and installed in Argansas and Louisiana shall be set aside and held for nought, thereby repelling and discouraging the loyal citizens who have set up the same as to further effort -"

That is to say, the President persists in recognizing those shadows of Governments in Arkansas and Louisiana, which Congress formally declared should not be recognizedwhose Representatives and Sebators were repelled by formal votes of both Houses of Congress which it was declared formally should have no electoral vote for President and Vice President.

They are the mere creatures of his will. They cannot live a day with out his support.

They are mere obligarchies, imposed on the people by military orders under the forms of election, at which generals, provost-marshals, soldiers and camp followers were the chief actors, assisted by a handful of resident citizens, and urged on to premature action by private letters from the President.

In neither Louisiana nor Arkansas, before Banks' defeat, did the United States control half the territory of half the population. In Louisiana, General Banks' proclamation can

light will be cast on the motives which in duced the President to " hold for naught" the will of Congress than his Government in Louisiana and Arkansas. The Judgment of Congress which the

Presideut defies was the exercise of an authority exclusively vested in Congress by the Constitution to detec mine what is the established Government in a State, and in ts own nature and by the highest judical authority binding on all other departments of the Government.

The Supreme Court has formally declared that under the fourth sestson of the fifth article of the Constitution; requiring the U.S. to guarantee to every State a republican form of government, "it lesis with Congress to decide what government is the established to proceed according to the bill one in a State ;" and " when Senators and

Representatives of a State are admitted into the councils of a Union. the authority of the Government under which they are appointed, as well as its republican character, is recognized by the proper constitutional auevery other Department of the Government and could not be questioned in a judical tribunal. It is true that the contest in this case did not last long enough to bring the mattet to this issue : and, as no Senature or

Repres entatives were cleated under the au thority of the government of which Mr Eorr the head, Cong ress was not called upon to decide the controversy. Yet the right to decide is placed there."

Even the President's proclamation of the in of December, formaily declares that Whether members sent to Congress from any State shall be admitted to seats, constiutionally rests exclusively with the respectve Houses, and not to any extent with the

Executive," And that is not the less true because wholly inconsistent with the President's assumption in that proclamation of a right to nstitute and recognize State Governments

n the rebel States, nor because the Presi dent is unable to perceive that his recogni tion is a nullity if it be not conclusive on Congress.

Under the Constitution, the right to Seua ors Representatives is inseperable from State Government. If there be a State Government, the night

s absolute. If there be no State Government, there can be no Senators or Representatives chosen.

The two Houses of Congress are expressly declared to be the sole judges of their own members. When, therefore, Senators and Represen-

After this assignment of his reason for preventing the bill from becoming a law, the President proceeds to declare his purpose to execute it as law by ms plenary dictatorial power. He savs :

Nevertheless. I am fully satisfied with the vstem for restoration contained in the bill as one very proper plan for the loyal people give the Executive aid and assistance to any such people to soon as the military resistence to the United States shall have been suppressed in any such State, and people thereof shall have sufficiently retuined to their obediance to the construction and the laws of he United States ; in which cases Military Governors will be appointed, with directions

A more studied outrage on the legislative authority of the people has never been perpetrated.

Congress passed a bill ; the President re fused to approve it, and then by proclamation puts as much of it in force as hs sees fit, and proposes to execute those parts by officers unknown to the laws of the United States and not subject to the confirmat on of the Sena te !

The bill directed the appointment of Provisional Governors by and with the advice and consent of the Senate.

The President, after defeating the law, proposes to appoint without law, and with out the advice and consent of the Senate Military Government for the rebel States !

usurpation in Louisiana, and he defeated the free. bill to prevent its limitation. Henceforth we must regard the following

"! States : EXECUTIVE MANSION. WASHINGTON, March 15, 1864. His Excellency, Michael Hahn, Governor of

Louisiana : Until further orders, you are hereby invested with the powers exercised hitherto by the Millitary Government of Louisiana. Yours,

ABRAHAM LINCOLN This Michael Hahn is no officer of the United States, the President, without law without the advice and consent of the Senate by a private note not even countersigned by the Secretary of State makes him dictator of Louisiana !

The bill provided for the civil administraion of the laws of the State-till it should be in s fit temper to govern itself-repealing all laws recognizing slavery, and making all mon equal before the law.

voters by registering, the proclamation by guess; the bill exacts adherence to existing territorial limits, the proclamation admits of others; the bill governs the rebel States by law, equalizing all before it, the proclamation commits them to the lawless discretion of military Governors and provost marshals; the bill forbids electors for President, the procla-

proclamation, another; the bill ascertains

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mation and deteat of the bill threaten us with of any State choosing to adopt it : and that I civil war for the admission or exclusion of am, and at all times shall be, prepared to such votes: the bill exacted evolution of dam. such votes; the bill exacted exclusion of dangerous enemies from power and the relief of the nation from the rebel debt, and the prohibition of slavery forever, so that the suppression of the rebellion will double ovr resources to bear or pay the national debt. free the masses from the old domination of the rebel leaders, and eradicate the cause of the war; the proclamation secures neither of

these guaranties. It is silent respecting the rebel debt and the political exclusion of rebel leaders ; leaving slavery exactly where it was by law at the ou break of the rebellion, and adds no guaranty even of the freedom of the slaves he

undertook to manumit. It is summed up in an illegal oath, without. a sanction and therefore void.

The oath is to support all proclamations of the President during the rebellion having reference to slaves.

Any Government is to be accepted at the hands of one- tenth of the people not contravening that oath.

Now that oath neither secures the abolition of Slavery nor adds security to the free-He has already exercised this d c atorial dom of the slaves the President declared

It does not secure the abolition of slavery : for the proclamation of freedom merely proprecedent as the Presidential law of the reb- fessed to free certain slaves while it recognized the institution. Every Constitution of the rebel States at the outbreak of the rebellion may be adopted without the change of a letter ; for none of them contravene that proclamation ; none of them establish slavery.

It adds no security to the freedom of the slaves. For their title is the proclamation, of free-

dom. If it be unconstitutional, an oath to support it is void. Whether constitutional or not, the oath is without authority of law. and therefore void.

If it be valid and observed, it exacts no enactment by the State, either in law, or Constitution, to add a State guaranty to the proclamation title; and the right of a slave to freedom is an open question before, the State courts on the relative au thority of the State law and the proclamat ion.

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by the aotes of both Houses ; and the leas intimation of a desire for more time by the President to consider this bill would have secured a further postponement.

Yet the Committee sent to ascertain if the H AVING resumed the proprietors provide above Hotel, the undersigned will spare no effort to inder the house an agreeable place of sojourn for all who may favor it with their custom. Win. H. CCRTRIHHT. Win. H. CCRTRIHHT. bill, who had anxiously waited on him to ascertain its fate, had already been informed that the President had resolved not to sign it.

> The time of presentation, therefore, had nothing to do with his failure to approve it The bill had been discussed and considered for more than a month in the House of R. p. resentatives, which is passed on the 4th o May; it was roported to the Senate on the 27th of May without material amendment. and passed the Senate absolutely as it came from the House on the 24 of July.

Ignorance of its contents is out of the question.

Indeed, at his request, a draft of a bill substantially the same in all material points, and identical in the points objected to by the proclamation, had been laid before him for his consideration in the winter of 1862-1863.

There is, therefore, no reason to suppose the provisions of the bill took the President by surprise.

On the contrary, we have reason to be lieve them to have been so well known that this method of preventing the bill from be coming a law without the constitututional responsibility of a veto, had been resolved on long bet re the bill passed the Senate. We are informed by a gentleman entitled to entire confidence, that before the 22d of June in New Orleans it was stated by a member of Gen. Bank's staff, in the presence of other gentlemen in official position, that Senator Doolittle had written a letter to the department that the House reconstruction bill would be staved off in the Senate to a period too late in the session to require the President to veto it in order to defeat it. and that Mr, Lincoln would retain the bill, if necessary, and thereby defeat it.

The experience of Senator Wade, in his various efforts to get the bill considered in the Senate, was quite in accordance with that plan, and the fate of the bill was accurately predicted by letters received from New Orlerns before it had passed the Senate Had the proclamation stopped there, it would have been only one other defeat of the will of the people by an Executive perversion of the Constitution.

Rut it ? is further. The President says And whereas the said bill contains, among other things, a plan for restoring the States

.....

didly declared : "The fundametnal law of the State is marshall law."

On that foundation of freedom, he erected what the President calls " the free Constitution and Government of Lousiana."

But of this State, whose fundamental law was martial law, only sixteen parishes out of forty-eight parishes were held by the United States; and in five of the sixteen we held only our camps.

The eleven parishes we substantially held had 123,185 inhabitants; the residue of the State not held by us, 575,617.

At the farce called an election, the officers f Gen Banks returned that 11.346 ballots were cast; but whether any or by whom he people of the United States have no legal assurance; but it is probable that 4,000 were cast by soldiers or employees of the United States, military or municipal, but none according to any law, State or National, and 7,000 ballots represent the State of Louisiana.

Such is the free Constitution and Governnept of Louisiana ; and like it is that of Arkansas, Nothing but the failure of a military expedition deprived us of a like one in the swamps of Florida ; and before the Presiden. tial election, like ones may be organized in very rebel State where the United States have a camp.

The President by preventing this bill from becoming a law, holds the electoral votes of the rebel States at the dictation of his personal ambition.

If those votes turn the balance in his fay in s it to be supposed that his competitor, defeated by such means, will acquiesce ?

If the rebel majority assert their suprema cy in those States, and send votes which elect an enemy of the Government. will we not repel his claims ? And is not that civil war for the Presi-

lercy, inaugurated by the votes of robel States ?

Seriously impressed with these dangers. Congress, " the proper Constitutional authority," formally declared that there are no State Governments in the rebel States, and provided for their erection at a propper time; and both the Senate and House of Representatives rejected the Senators and Representatives chosen under the authority of what the President calls the free Constitution and Government of Arkansas.

The President's proclamation " holds for nought" this judgment, and discards the auhority of the Sapreme Court, and strides headlong towards the anarchy his procamation of the 8th of December inaugurated.

atives are admitted, the State Government. under whose authority they were chosen, is conclusively established ; when they are reected, its existence is exclusively rejected and denied ; and to this judgment the President is bound to submit.

The President proceeds to express his the law ! unwillingness " to declate a constitutional competency in Congress to abolish slavery in States" as another reason for not signing the

But the bill nowhere proposes to abolish lavery in the States. The bill did provide that all slaves in the

llid

s silent.

ebel States should be monumitted. But as the President had already signed hree bills manumit ing several classes of

laves in States, it is not conceived possible hat he entertained any scruples touching that provision of the bill respecting which he

He had already himself assumed a right by by proclamation to free much the larger

number of slaves in the rebel States, under the authority given him by Congress to use military power to suppress the rebellion : and it is quite inconceivable that the President should think Congress could yest in nim a discretion it could not exercise itself.

It is the more unintelligible from the fact that, except, in respect to a small part of Virginia and Louisiana, the bill covered ionly what the proclamation covered-added a Congressional title and judicial remedies by law to the disputed title under the prcclamation, and perfected the work the President professed to be so anxious to accoun-

plish. Stavery as an institution can be abolished only by a change of the Constitution of the

United States or of the law of the States ; and this is the principle of the bill.

It required the new Constitution of the State to provide for that prohibition, and the President, in the face of his own proclamation does not venture to object to insisting ou that condition-yet he defeated the only pro-

vision imposing it ! But when he describes himself, in spite of this great blow at emancipation, as "sincerely hoping and expecting that a constitutional

amendment abolishing slavery throughout the nation may be adopted," we curiously inquire on what his expectations rest, after the vote of the House of Representatives at

the recent session, and in the face of the political complexion of more than enough of the States to prevent the possibility of its adoption within any reasonable time : and why he did not indulge his sincere hobes

These beneficent provisions the Presiden has annulled. People will die, and marry and transfer property, and buy and selfand to these acts of civil life courts and officers of the law are necessary. Congress log islated for these necessary things and the President deprives them of the protection of

The President's purpose to instruct his Military Governors "to proceed according to the bill"-a makeshift to calm the disappointment its defeat has occasioned-is not merely a grave usurpation but a transparent delusion.

He cannot ' proceed according to the bill" after preventing it from becoming a law. Whatever is done will be at his will and. pleasure, by persons responsible to no law and more interested to secure the interests and execute the will of the President than of the people ; and the will of Congress is to be "held for rought," "unless the loyal people of the rebel States choose to adopt it."

If they should graciously prefer the strin gent bill to the easy proclamation, still the registration will be made under no legal sanction ; it will give no assurance that a majority of the people of the States have taken the oath ; if administered, it will be without legal authority, and void ; no indictment will lie for false swearing at the election, or for admitting bad or rejecting good votes ; it will be the farce of Louisiana and Arkansas acted over again, under the forms of this bill, but not by authority of law.

But when we come to the guarantees of future peace which Congress meant to enact the forms, as well as the substance of the bill, must yield to the President's will that none should be imp sed. .

It was the solemn resolve of Congress to protect the loyal men of the nation against three great dangers (1) the return to power of the guilty leaders of the rebellion, (.) the continuance of slavery, and (3) the burden of the rebel debt.

Congress required assent to these provirefused, it was to be dissolved.

The President "holds for naught" that resolve of Congress, because he is unwilling "to be inflexibly committed to any one plan of restoration," and the people of the United States are not to be allowed to protect them. selves abless their enemies agree to it.

The order to proceed according to the bill is therefore merely at the will of the rebel States ; and they have the option to reject it accept the proclamation of the 8th of Decem ber, and demand the President's recognition! Mark the contrast ! The bill requires a with so large an installment of the blessing majority, the proclamation is satisfied with If electors for President be allowed to be as his approval of the bill would have secur. one tenth ; the bill requires one cath, the

If the oath binds the one-tenth who take it, it is not exacted ef the other nine tenths who succeed to the control of the State Government, so that it is annulled instantly by the act of recognition.

What the State courts would say of the proclamation, who can doubt ? But the master would not go into court-

he would seize his slave. What the Supreme Court would cay, who can tell?

When and how is the question to get, there ?

No habeas corpus lies for him in a United States court, and the President defeated with this bill its extension of that writ to this case.

Such are the fruits of this rash and fatal act of the President-a blow at the friends of his adminis; ration. at the rights of humanity, and at the principles of republican government.

The President has greatly presumed on the forbearance which the supporters of his Administration have so long practiced, in view of the arduous conflict in which we are engaged, and the reckless terocity of our political opponents.

But he must understand that our support is of a cause and not of a man ; that the authority of Congress is paramount and must be respected; that the whole body of tr Union men of Congress will not sabm it be impeached by him of rash and uncon to stitutional legislation ; and if he wishes support, he must coufine himself to him our ecutive duties-to obey and execute the ser. and Bot make the laws-to suppress by arms rebellion, and leave political re-organ armed neation to Congress.

If the supporters of the Governr to insist on this they become resprintible for Annt fail the usurpation which they fail to to bake, and are justly liable to the indig nation of the people whose rights and security, con mitted to their keeping, they sa crifice. Let them consider the remedy for these sions by the Convention of the State; and if Geurpations, and, having found it, fearlossly execute it.

> B. F. WADE, Chairman Senate Committee. H. WINTER DAVIS. Chairman Committee House of Repre

del ton

sentatives on the Rebellious States

It has appeared in evidence, that Mr. Chase allowed every Republican member of Congress the privilege, of bringing a woman to Washington to be placed in some sort of employment in his department. This was accommudating. truly Some bard-hearted Copperhead calls Chase the keeper of the Inter Chargements anothing