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PRINCIPLES, not MEN.

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LETTER FROM THE SEAT OF WAR. SPEECH OF HON. S. A. DOUGLAS.

CAMP PIERCE, VA.
November 8, 1861.

DEAR REPUBLICANS:

When I last wrote you it was under the conviction that our forces were about to be moved from their present encampment, although I had no idea of our intended destination. Our march had been issued to prepare for two days, and be ready to march on early morning next morning; and in the innocence of my heart I supposed that we would certainly move at the time indicated. Instead, however, we are still in our old quarters, and no longer under marching orders of any kind. For the past ten days we have been preparing our rolls to be in readiness for the payment, who is expected along some day soon.

The weather is at last becoming inclement, and various speculations are indulged in about where or how we are to spend the winter. Rumors prevail that we are to cross the Potomac before going into winter quarters, but I consider them without foundation. We can winter where we are if supplies can be furnished us, as well as any where else, and are just as likely to remain here as go forth.

The destination and operations—more particularly the success of the Naval Expedition which sailed from Annapolis last week will probably have some influence on our future movements, and we are anxiously waiting to hear from it.

There is nothing going on now along our lines except the ordinary routine of camp duty; which, as the weather has become chilly and rainy, is made less pleasant than it was some time ago. I had a bout of sickness on last Friday and Saturday night, that added considerably to the experience of a soldier's life. A storm of wind and rain commencing on Friday night about 8 o'clock, and continued until the following evening, and I enjoyed the full benefit of it during the entire night. At ten o'clock it had reached its greatest violence, and being posted in the reserve guard of the picket line, a commanding eminence, with no shelter that the rain did not penetrate in the minutes after the storm began, I had to stand with my back to the storm for ten long hours without the privilege of making a fire, as that would have betrayed our position, and exposed us to the fire of the enemy if they had approached our lines. Our party was thoroughly drenched long before morning, and when relieved at eight o'clock in the morning, and cold, hungry and wet we returned to camp, about a mile and a half distant. And yet during the entire time I scarcely heard a complaint from one of my gallant comrades except at being denied the privilege of a fire, when there were no indications of an enemy near us. The storm was truly a terrific one, and many of the camps, the men were driven from their tents by the water flooding them or the wind blowing them down.

An amusing instance is related of a private of the 6th Maine regiment, encamped about a mile on our left, who, as he emerged from the ruins of his frail habitation, which had suddenly collapsed over him, was heard to exclaim in the bitterness of his misery, "It's the Union, it's the War, and it's Jim Jones for being such a fool as to come a way down here to be caught in such a predicament."

The resignation of Gen. Scott, and the appointment of Gen. McClellan to the Chief Command, has given general satisfaction to the army, and great hopes are entertained of the success of our armies under the young hero of Western Virginia.

I shall not weary your readers with a long letter, having so little to write about; but will close by congratulating the citizens of your county upon the complete success of their Fair. The intelligence of which was the most gratifying piece of news I have received in a long time. If anything happens you shall hear from me—likewise if nothing happens.

Yours, &c.,
"SOLDIER."

Mrs. F. D. Flanders, wife of the editor of the Franklin Gazette, published at Malone New York, has heroically assumed the editorship of her husband's paper, he having been arrested for Lincoln treason, and incarcerated in Fort Lafayette. She has issued a stirring appeal to the citizens of Franklin county, and all who are in favor of the Constitutional right of free speech and a free press. Mrs. Flanders is a lady of considerable talent, and true heroism, and wields an able pen.

A gentleman of Westchester county New York, lost, at the recent battle near Leesburg, three sons and two nephews, all members of the Tammany Regiment.

ON THE STATE OF THE UNION.

Delivered in the United States Senate, January 3rd 1861.

CONCLUDED.

"I have also inserted a provision confining the right of suffrage and of holding office to white men, excluding the African race. I have also inserted a provision for the colonization of free negroes from such States as may desire to have them removed, to districts of country to be acquired in Africa and South America. In addition to these, I have adopted the various provisions contained in the proposition of the Senator from Kentucky, in reference to fugitive slaves, the abolition of slavery in the forts, arsenals, and dockyards in the slave States and in the District of Columbia, and the other provisions for the safety of the South. I believe this to be a fair basis of amicable adjustment. If you of the Republican side are not willing to accept this, nor the proposition of the Senator from Kentucky, [Mr. CRITTENDEN] pray tell us what you are willing to do? I address the inquiry to the Republicans alone, for the reason that in the committee of thirteen, a few days ago, every member from the South, including those from the cotton States, [Messrs. DAVIS and TOombs], expressed their readiness to accept the proposition of my venerable friend from Kentucky [Mr. CRITTENDEN] as a final settlement of the controversy, if tendered and sustained by the Republican members. Hence, the whole responsibility of our disagreement, and the difficulty in the way of an amicable adjustment, is with the Republican party."

At first, I thought your reason for declining to adjust this question amicably, was that the Constitution, as it stands, was good enough, and that you would make no amendment to it. That position has already been waived. The great leader of the Republican party, [Mr. SEWARD] by the unanimous consent of his friends, brought into the committee of thirteen, a proposition to amend the Constitution—happily, therefore, as you are willing to amend the instrument, and to entertain propositions of adjustment, why not go further, and relieve the apprehensions of the Southern people on all points where you do not intend to operate aggressively? You offer to amend the Constitution, by declaring that no future amendments shall be made which shall empower Congress to interfere with slavery in the States?

Now, if you do not intend to do any other act prejudicial to their constitutional right and safety, why not relieve their apprehensions by inserting, in your own proposed amendment to the Constitution, such further provisions as will, in like manner render it impossible for you to do that which they apprehend you intend to do, and which you have no purpose of doing, if it be true that you have no such purpose? For the purpose of removing the apprehensions of the Southern people, and for no other purpose, you propose to amend the Constitution, so as to render it impossible, in all future time, for Congress to interfere with slavery in the States where it may exist under the laws thereof. Why not insert a similar amendment in respect to slavery in the District of Columbia, and in the navy yards, forts, arsenals, and other places within the limits of the slaveholding States, over which Congress has exclusive jurisdiction? Why not insert a similar provision in respect to the slave trade between the slaveholding States? The Southern people have more serious apprehensions on these points than they have of your direct interference with slavery in the States.

If their apprehensions on these several points are groundless, is it not a duty you owe to God and your country to relieve their anxiety and remove all causes of discontent? Is there not quite as much reason for relieving their apprehensions upon these points, in regard to which they are more sensitive, as in respect to your direct interference in the States, where they know and you acknowledge you have no power to interfere as the Constitution now stands? The fact that you propose to give the assurance on the one point and preposterously refuse to give it on the other, seems to authorize the presumption that you do intend to use the powers of the Federal Government for the purpose of direct interference with slavery and the slave trade everywhere else, with a view to its indirect effects upon slavery in the States; or, in the language of Mr. Lincoln, with the view of its "ultimate extinction in all the States, old as well as new, north as well as South."

If you had exhausted your ingenuity in devising a plan for the express purpose of increasing the apprehensions and inflaming the passions of the Southern people, with the view of driving them into revolution and disunion, none could have been contrived better calculated to accomplish the object than the offering of that one amendment to the Constitution, and rejecting all others which are infinitely more important to the safety and domestic tranquility of the slaveholding States.

In my opinion, we have now reached a point where this agitation must close, and all the matters in controversy be finally determined by constitutional amendments, or war and the disruption of the Union are inevitable. My friend from Oregon, [Mr. BAKER], who has addressed the Senate for the last two days, will fall in his avowed purpose to "evade" the question, and claims to be liberal and conservative; and I must confess that he seems the most liberal of any gentleman on that side of the chamber, always excepting the noble and patriotic speech of the Senator from Connecticut, [Mr. LIXON]; and the utmost extent to which the Senator from Oregon would consent to go, was to devise

a scheme by which the real question at issue could be evaded.

I regret the determination, to which I apprehend the Republican Senators have come, to make no adjustment, entertain no proposition, and listen to no compromise of the matters in controversy.

I fear, from all the indications, that they are disposed to treat the matter as a party question, to be determined in caucus with reference to its effect upon the prospects of their party, rather than upon the peace of the country and the safety of the Union. I invoke their deliberate judgment whether it is not a dangerous experiment for any political party to demonstrate to the American people that the unity of their party is dearer to them than the Union of these States. The argument is, that the Chicago platform having been ratified by the people in a majority of the States, must be maintained at all hazards, no matter what the consequences to the country. I insist that they are mistaken in the fact when they assert that was decided by the people in the late election. The American people have not decided that they preferred the disruption of this Government, and civil war, with all its horrors and miseries, to surrendering one iota of the Chicago platform. If you believe that the people are with this issue, let the question be submitted to the people on the proposition offered by the Senator from Kentucky, or mine, or any other fair compromise, and I will venture the prediction that your own people will ratify the proposed amendments to the Constitution in order to take this slavery agitation out of Congress, and restore peace to the country, and insure the perpetuity of the Union.

Why not give the people a chance? It is an important crisis. There is now a different issue presented from that in the presidential election. I have no doubt that the people of Massachusetts, by an overwhelming majority, are in favor of a prohibition of slavery in the Territories by an act of Congress. An overwhelming majority of the same people were in favor of the instant prohibition of the African slave trade, on moral and religious grounds, when the Constitution was made. When they found that the Constitution could not be adopted and the Union preserved, without surrendering their objections to the slavery question, they in the spirit of patriotism and of Christian feeling, preferred the lesser evil to the greater, and ratified the Constitution without their favorite provision in regard to slavery. Give them a chance to decide now between the ratification of these proposed amendments to the Constitution and the consequences which your policy will inevitably produce.

Why not allow the people to pass on these questions? All we have to do is to submit them to the States. If the people reject them, theirs will be the responsibility and no harm will have been done by the reference. If they accept them, the country will be safe, and at peace. The political party which shall refuse to allow the people to determine for themselves at the ballot box the issue between revolution and war on the one side, and obstinate adherence to a party platform on the other, will assume a fearful responsibility. A war upon a political issue, waged by the people of eighteen States against the people and domestic institutions of fifteen sister States, is a fearful and revolting thought. The South will be a unit, and desperate under the belief that your object in waging war is their destruction, and not the preservation of the Union—that you meditate servile insurrection, and the abolition of slavery in the Southern States, by fire and sword, in the name and under pretext of enforcing the laws and vindicating the authority of the Government. You know that such is the prevailing, and I may say, unanimous opinion at the South; and that ten million people are preparing for the terrible conflict under that conviction.

When there is such an irrepressible discontent pervading ten million of people, penetrating the bosom of every man, woman, and child, and in their estimation, involving everything that is valuable and dear on earth, is it not time to pause and reflect whether there is not some cause, real or imaginary, for apprehension? If there be a just cause for it, in God's name, in the name of humanity and civilization, let it be removed. Will we make guilty, in the sight of Heaven and of posterity, if we do not remove all cause before proceeding to extremities? If, on the contrary, there be no real foundation for these apprehensions; if it be all a mistake, and yet they believe it to be a solemn reality, are determined to act on that belief, it is not equally our duty to remove the misapprehension? Hence the obligation to remove the causes of discontent, whether real or imaginary, is alike imperative upon us, if we wish to preserve the peace of the country and the Union of the States.

It matters not, so far as the peace of the country and the preservation of the Union are concerned, whether the apprehensions of the Southern people are well founded or not, so long as they believe them, and are determined to act upon that belief. If war comes, it must have an end at some time; and that termination, I apprehend, will be a final separation. Whether the war last one year, seven years, or thirty years, the result must be the same—a cessation of hostilities when the parties become exhausted, and a treaty of peace recognizing the separate independence of each section. The history of the world does not furnish an instance, where war has raged for a number of years, between the classes of States, divided by a geographical line under the same national Government, which has ended in reconciliation and reunion. Extermination, subjugation, or separation, one of the three, must be the result of war between the Northern and Southern States. Surely you do not expect to exterminate or subjugate ten million people, the entire pop-

ulation of one section, as a means of preserving the amicable relations between the two sections?

I REPEAT, THEN, MY SOLEMN CONVICTION, THAT WAR MEANS DISUNION—FINAL, IRREVOCABLE, ETERNAL SEPARATION. I see no alternative, but a fair compromise, founded on the basis of mutual concessions, alike honorable, just, and beneficial to all parties, or civil war and disunion. Is there anything humiliating in a fair compromise of conflicting interests, opinions, and theories, for the sake of peace, union, and safety? Read the debates of the Federal Convention, which formed our glorious Constitution, and you will find noble examples worthy of imitation; instances where sagacious and patriotic men were willing to surrender cherished theories and principles of government, believed to be essential to the best form of society, for the sake of peace and unity.

I never understood that wise and good men ever regarded mutual concessions by such men as Washington, Madison, Franklin, and Hamilton, as evidences of weakness, cowardice, or want of patriotism. On the contrary, this spirit of conciliation and compromise has ever been considered, and will in all time be regarded as the highest evidence which their great deeds and immortal services ever furnished of their patriotism, wisdom, foresight, and devotion to their country and their race. Can we not afford to imitate their example in this momentous crisis? Are we to be told that we must not do our duty to our country lest we injure our party; that no compromise can be effected without violating the party platform upon which we were elected? Better that all party platforms be scattered to the winds; better that all political organizations be broken up; better that every public man and politician in America be consigned to the grave of political martyrdom, than that the Union be destroyed and the country plunged into civil war.

It seems that party platforms, pride of opinion, personal consistency, fear of political martyrdom, are the only obstacles to a satisfactory adjustment. Have we nothing else to live for but political position? Most of us have children, the objects of our tenderest affections and deepest solicitude, whom we hope to leave behind us to enjoy the rewards of our labors in a happy, prosperous, and united country, under the best Government the wisdom of man ever devised or the sun of Heaven ever shone upon. Can we make no concessions, no sacrifices, for the sake of our children, that they may have a country to live in, and a Government to protect them, when party platforms and political honors shall avail us nothing in the day of final reckoning?

In conclusion, I have only to renew the assurance that I am prepared to cooperate cordially with the friends of a fair, just, and honorable compromise. In securing such amendments to the Constitution as will expel the slavery agitation from Congress and the arena of Federal politics forever, and restore peace to the country, and preserve our liberties and Union as the most precious legacy we can transmit to our posterity.

REBEL PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION.—On Wednesday last, the election for President and Vice President and also for members of Congress took place in the rebel States. We believe there are no candidates for the two first offices save the present, Davis and Stephens. The electors, chosen on Wednesday, will meet on the first Wednesday of December in Richmond, and there go through the ceremony of counting the vote cast by the several States. The Presidential inauguration is fixed for the 22d of February, the birthday of Washington. The constitution of the "Confederacy" provides that the President shall be elected for six years.

The New York Express, says the moment the Abolitionists are shut up in the North—and the South is relieved of the wild fury inspired by the cry of the Abolitionists for "Insurrection"—South, that moment the South will "subjugate" itself.

If this administration does not give relief from this fright, the next will. The demoniac energy which now inspires the South is only the offspring of the Abolition cry for emancipation, which can only result in an insurrection. Take off the Abolitionists, and Secession will die a natural death, even in South Carolina.

HOW TO KNOW TRAITORS.—Some of our negro-loving exchanges are publishing a series of paragraphs, purporting to describe the men in the North who may be set down as traitors to their country. We have very little faith in any of the political receipts thus given, and, therefore, present one of our own, which we have never known to fail: Whenever you meet a man who has more love for the African than the Constitution, you can rest assured that his pretended loyalty to the whole Union means only one-half of it.—Greenbury Dem.

TRANSPORTATION RESUMED.—The Wheeling Press states that transportation was resumed on Monday at all points between that city and Cumberland, Md., over the Baltimore and Ohio railroad.

GEN. McCLELLAN.—Governor Yates, of Illinois, has issued a proclamation declaring the seat in Congress, recently held by Brigadier General McClellan vacant, and ordering an election on December 3d to fill it.

SENTENCE.—The county Court of Blair county sentenced Lucy Robeson, a colored girl, to one year's separate and solitary imprisonment in the Western Penitentiary for the crime of concealing the body of her illegitimate child.

A VISIT TO FORT WARREN.

Appearance and Condition of the Eight Hundred Prisoners—The Soldiers from Hatteras, &c.

We find the following in the Boston Traveler:

The eight hundred political prisoners and prisoners of war recently sent from the forts in the New York harbor are now getting settled down into their new quarters at Fort Warren. They are still needing many things, which, in consequence of the advent of such an unexpectedly large number, have not been provided. Colonel Dimmick, the veteran commander of the fort, is doing all in his power to render their situation as comfortable as circumstances will permit, and though many may grumble at the condition in which they are placed, none will find fault with their custodian.

The political prisoners and the officers among the prisoners of war are quartered on the west side of the fort, the former south and the others north of the main entrance. The headquarters of the commander of the fort are in apartments immediately south of the political prisoners, and the hospital close by, in the southwest corner of the fort. The great body of the prisoners of war are quartered in the casemates on the north side of the fort.

Each of these three classes of prisoners are allowed to converse freely among themselves, but they can have no conversation with another class. They are allowed to have newspapers, and to write to and receive letters from their friends. Letters, to them, however, have to pass through the hands of Col. Dimmick, and be opened by him. Their correspondence is not very extensive, although quite a number of letters are received and sent out daily.

The prisoners are allowed every freedom consistent with safe keeping. When the weather permits, they come out in front of their quarters, and walk about or stand in groups, smoking and conversing like a party of do-nothings in front of a fashionable hotel. Their walks, however, are limited, except in company with some person of the garrison.

Of course the garrison and the few persons admitted into the fort, on business, are most interested in the movements of the political prisoners. They occupy the most prominent position in the fort, and in the mind of the nation, and undoubtedly are most anxiously watched by the commander. One of the most noticeable of the rebels Marshall Kane, of Baltimore, a fine looking, well-dressed gentleman, above the middle height, his bustles about in a Scotch cap, with his pant legs within his boots, and by a stranger might be mistaken for the principal person in the garrison.

He converses freely with the officers stationed at the fort, and evidently is not much discontented with his position. Mayor Brown, of Baltimore, a quiet, tidy gentleman, evidently does not like his position. Col. Tyler, (who fought at Bull Run, and was afterwards arrested when on a visit to Cincinnati,) is another noticeable person, very tall, gaunt, and wearing a beard of magnificent proportions. He is evidently in not very good health. Ex-Gov. Morehead, of Kentucky, is a fine looking man, past the middle age, tall and portly, and does not hesitate to express his contempt for the "sabbard Yankees." His imprisonment is taken anything but satisfactory. Wm. Pierce, of New Orleans, (arrested in Boston,) does not seem to be disheartened by his imprisonment, and is apparently in good health.

Commodore Barron, of Fort Hatteras, notoriety, comes out in full uniform, bespangled with gold, and glittering with all the insignia allowed to his rank in the "Confederate navy." Col. Pegram, who surrendered to Gen. McClellan in Western Virginia, is of rather small stature, without ostentation, but looks like a man of ability and courage. The other officers among the prisoners of war do not strike the visitor as being worthy of notice. Most of them are without any insignia to indicate that they have been soldiers. They are all quiet, and submit with apparent satisfaction to all the requirements of the commander of the fort. The same may be said of the political prisoners, except that some of them occasionally indulge in remarks indicating their feelings of sympathy with secession.

The larger body of the prisoners, and those entitled to the most sympathy, are the non-commissioned officers and privates captured at Fort Hatteras. They are scantily supplied with clothing, many of them sick and discouraged, and large numbers of them are ignorant. The government furnishes them with the same quantity and quality of rations that are furnished to soldiers in service, but they are disappointed, and little inclined to prepare it for use. They are willing to do anything they are told to do, but seem to have insufficient energy to do anything of their own accord. Many of them cannot read or write. They are remarkably quiet and respectful to the officers of the garrison. There is said to be considerable religious feeling among them at the present time. Some twenty of the prisoners of this class were left at New York, being too sick to remove. There are about fifty now in the hospital. A few have the typhoid fever. Several have consumption, having been affected before leaving home, with that disease, which is now aggravated by a change of climate. Many have the bronchitis and pneumonia, and upon entering the hospital the visitor will hear so much coughing that he will think it a derision, till informed that it is all the time the same. Many of the men are also having the measles and the mumps. Only one man in the hospital is now very sick, but several of them

are not likely to live long.

The sick are under the care of Dr. De Witt Clinton Peters, of New York, a surgeon of the army, who was taken prisoner with Col. Reeve's command, in Texas, and is now on parole. He is doing all he can to provide for the sick. He has no beds for them, but has placed them on mattresses raised a few inches from the floor. He is scantily supplied with bedding, hospital stores, and medicines, but the last will come by-and-by, when the "red tape" of the War Department can be unloosed. In some respects the sick are not so well off as at New York, for there medicines were plenty, and the little luxuries so necessary for a sick room were supplied in measure, by the voluntary contributions of the charitable.

The political prisoners are in good health.

All the prisoners who require, are furnished with government rations, which are supplied by Burgess & Talbot, provision dealers in Merriam street. Most of the political prisoners have a supply of funds, Col. Dimmick acting as their banker, and they meet together, and live on whatever they may choose to order. Mr. A. J. Hall, of the Webster House, caters for them. They also make many purchases through the officers of the fort, running to the fort. They can furnish their apartments as luxuriously as they may please, provided, always, that their banks or the funds in hand to pay the damage.

THE NAVAL EXPEDITION.

The great Naval Expedition which sailed from Annapolis, Maryland, a fortnight ago, is made up as follows:

The land forces are under the command of acting Major Gen. Thomas W. Sherman, the second in command is Brigadier Gen. Isaac J. Stevens.

The Artillery consists of a battery of six pieces of rifled cannon under the command of Capt. Hamilton. The only Pennsylvania Regiment accompanying the expedition are the Third and Fourth commands of Col. A. C. Chase and the "Round Head" regiment in command of Col. Deane.

The Naval section is under the full command of Com. Samuel F. Dupont, and consists of 76 vessels and transports.

This is exclusive of the *Scholar*, *Seymour*, *Monk*, *Vandal*, and other vessels of the blockading squadron, which were to have joined the expedition as it passed the points of which they were stationed.

The entire military arm of the expedition may safely be estimated, however, at not less than 20,000 men—for the most part picked troops detailed from General McClellan's command for this particular service.

The Expedition landed at the mouth of Fort Royal River on the coast of South Carolina, and after capturing several small forts also captured the Town of Beaufort, the description of which place we find in the *World* as follows:

Beaufort, which has the deepest and finest harbor on the Southern coast, is a pleasant little village of about a thousand inhabitants, situated sixteen miles inland, and distant fifty miles from Charleston, and thirty-five from Savannah. The landing of a large force in its vicinity is a menace to both these cities, which will compel the rebels to keep a large stationary force for the defence of each, besides confronting us with another at Beaufort. They cannot send detachments from the latter to either of these important cities so quickly as we can dispatch a large force from Beaufort by sea; nor can the troops at one of them be sent to the defence of the other, without leaving it exposed to attack by a new armament which may pounce on it from Fortress Monroe. The rebel troops at Charleston and Savannah must be sufficient, at each of these cities, to defend it from our whole Southern force, which can be wielded either at will, and which will require two rebels to stand ready with three times as many men to meet an attack as would be necessary if the point of landing had been less skillfully selected.

The country around Beaufort, for a great distance back, is a level as any of our Western prairies, which will prevent the rebels, in the battles likely to occur, from fighting with the advantages of ground which have been of such service to them in Virginia. They can make no strong position makes it safe to hazard a battle. On those extensive flats every battalion of our men be at least an even match for every battalion of theirs, and the Union army may count upon an open field and fair fight, in which, ultimately, they have always been victorious.

The important relations of this War to the negro question and the cotton supply most eligible position in all the South for a base of operations. We strike into the heart of the region that produces the most valuable of all the varieties of the staple, known in the market as the Sea Island cotton. This district, or county of Beaufort alone produced, in 1859, 12,573 bales, besides more rice than any other county in the Southern States; the adjoining district of Colleton, on the north-east, 15,000 bales; and the other adjacent regions in the whole South, the plantations being extensive and the slaves numerous in proportion to the white population. In Beaufort district there were in 1859, 5,947 white inhabitants, and 32,257 slaves; in Colleton, 7,423 whites and 47,771 slaves; a disproportion so great, that Southern apprehensions of tenderness point, and to bring the men are also having the measles and the mumps. Only one man in the hospital is now very sick, but several of them