

Clearfield Republican



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HON CHARLES R. BUCKALEW.

The anniversary of Washington's birthday was celebrated in this city on the evening of the 23d of February, in an appropriate manner, by the "Democratic Central Club." Mr. Buckalew was invited to be present, but not being able to join in the ceremonies, he sent the following admirable letter. We take pleasure in presenting this letter to our readers, even at this late day, as the position which Mr. Buckalew now occupies as the representative of Pennsylvania in the Senate of the United States, adds additional interest to any emanation from his pen.—*Philadelphia Age.*

DEAR SIR:—In response to your friendly invitation, I have to express some views upon public topics, which may be submitted to your meeting on the 23d inst. And I do this very cheerfully, although I cannot know that my words of mine will deepen popular conviction upon the necessity of overthrowing our rulers, and overthrowing their present policy, or quicken popular zeal for the accomplishment of those important objects.

A conviction that the country is misgoverned, the war mismanaged, and liberty itself in peril, is growing up in the public mind, and thousands are alert, inquisitive, and critical, who gave to government uncalculating and enthusiastic support, founded upon complete confidence, twelve months ago. The day of blind, headlong passion, and of confident, unquestioning trust in our rulers has passed, and the electoral duties of the citizens will now be discharged with more intelligent comprehension than was possible in the earlier months of the war.

The sure result of this will be to perfect the political revolution of the North and West, begun by the late elections, and to exclude the Republican party, with its sectional passions, its fanaticism, its corruption, and its incapacity, permanently from power.

But can this be accomplished in time to save the country? to preserve its unity and its liberty? And if these vital objects can be secured, sooner or later, by the restoration of the Democratic party to power, upon what policy shall that party act in their attainment? These questions are timely, and important enough to occupy the space and leisure now at my command.

Complete control in the State government can be secured to our party in October next. Control of the Federal government can be obtained by it a year later, in the election of President, assuming that the restoration of Congress, now begun, shall go on and be consummated by that time.

The time here mentioned must elapse before power can be completely lodged in safe hands; before the work of reconstructing the Union, and thoroughly reforming the government can be performed. In the meantime, how much of calamity must we undergo? To what measure of evil must we be subjected? The public debt will be swollen enormously; a financial crash may come, sweeping away private fortunes, and crippling public credit and power; and it is not impossible that, in an hour of desperation, our rulers may abandon the war, and place the barrier of a bad treaty, or the impatience of a foreign mediation, in the way of reunion. Unquestionably, there are great dangers in the immediate future, and apprehension of evil is timely, and justified by the events of the past two years.—But during this period of danger—of trial and peril—this interval which separates us from the day of relief and security—what shall be the attitude of our party toward the Administration and the war? This question may reasonably be asked by the thousands in this State, and by the thousands in other States, who are willing to join us, and assist in the redemption of the country.

The question may be answered, in part, by referring to the past. The object of the war, was announced in the outset, by a resolution of Congress, which went out North and South, and to foreign countries, as the platform of the government in its prosecution. That resolution announced the object of the war to be the defence and maintenance of the supremacy of the Constitution, and the preservation of the Union, with all the dignity, equality, and rights of the several States unimpaired, and explicitly denied that it was waged in any spirit of oppression, or for any purpose of conquest or subjugation, or purpose of overthrowing or interfering with the rights or established institutions of the Southern States.

This clear and emphatic resolution was accepted and approved by the Democracy, by the Border States, and by conservative

men generally, and thereupon, all the magnificent resources of the country, in men and money, were put at the disposal of the Administration, for the prosecution of the war in accordance therewith, and it has had command of those resources unopposed and almost unquestioned down to this hour.

But the time came when this ground—of a contest for the supremacy of the Constitution and the preservation of the Union—became, in the policy of the Administration, connected with, if not subordinated to, another and different object. The tinsel rhetoric of Sumner, the dictatorial utterance of Greeley, and the rabid violence of Phillips and Garrison, became of more consequence at Washington than the views of the great majority of the people, and the pledged faith of the nation. A policy of emancipation was announced, involving enormous expense, doubling the difficulties of the contest, and in flat contradiction of the solemn declaration upon the object of the war just recited. And this was done by Presidential decree—the fiat of a single man—without authority, and at the instance of men who would be among the very last selected by the American people to advise their rulers.

To this and to all like departures from the Constitution, and from good faith and sound policy, we are, and must remain, unalterably opposed. I say like departures, for the pretence of military necessity, upon which emancipation has been announced, has been extended to other subjects beside the status of the negro, as the Cebates of the day abundantly testify. The seizure of citizens in States untouched by revolt, and their incarceration in distant prisons, remote from citizens who might testify in their favor, and from friends who might intercede for them, is one of the most prominent of these, and deserves all the condemnation it is receiving from the people.

The Father of his Country, the anniversary of whose birth you celebrate, had no conception of a doctrine of military necessity as a substitute for the Constitution and laws of the land; nor of those undefined, unlimited powers, now asserted to exist in the President, as Commander in Chief of the army and navy of the United States, and of the militia of the States when called into actual service, nor can we recognize them except as baseless pretensions, to be put down with strong public disapprobation, at the earliest possible moment. Washington's views of military jurisdiction and conduct in time of insurrection were given to the army sent by him to quell the revolt in Western Pennsylvania in 1794, when he admonished them, "that every officer and soldier will constantly bear in mind that he comes to support the laws, and that it would be peculiarly unbecoming in him to be in any way the infractor of them; that the essential principles of a free government confine the province of the military when called forth on such occasions, to these two objects: first, to combat and subdue all who may be found in arms in opposition to the national will and authority; secondly, to aid and support the civil magistrates in bringing offenders to justice. The dispensation of this justice belongs to the civil magistrates, and let it ever be our pride and our glory to leave the sacred deposit their inviolate."

In the spirit of this admonition, of the constitutional doctrine that "the military shall, in all cases, and at all times, be in strict subordination to the civil power," we must stand opposed to the abuse of the military power in applying it to other purposes than those appointed and regulated by law; as the seizure of private property of non-combatants not legally liable to confiscation; the seizure of herds of negroes, and their support, instruction, transportation, drill and payment, as allies; the suppression of newspapers, or the closing of the mails against them, and the encroachment upon State jurisdiction by the appointment of sundry police officials to exercise powers undefined by, and unknown to the laws. What is asked is, that the military power shall be applied and confined to its appropriate uses; that there shall be no invasion upon liberty by it; in short, that it shall be subjected to the domination of established laws. And we are perfectly persuaded that government will be all the stronger, all the more successful by following this policy and sternly refusing to yield to the temptations which assail those entrusted with authority in revolutionary times. Let our rulers carefully imitate the example of Washington, who exercised military powers in the Revolution with constant respect for the laws and the authority of the Continental Congress, unsettled as the times were, and fruitful of pretences for departure from regular and legitimate action.

In addition to the signal advantage which will be secured to our cause by reversing the policy of the Administration—by establishing other and truer doctrines than those just examined—the Democracy can take into account as one of the agencies for restoring the Union, the powerful and invaluable aid of allies in the Border and Confederate States—men who have gone into revolt reluctantly, or who now stand with divided inclinations, uncertain of the position they shall assume.

The issue of war has always depended as much on the determination and union of the Confederate States as upon the magnitude of the efforts put forth by us against them. Manifestly, therefore, our true policy has been to divide them; to conciliate a part of their population, and to dampen the ardor of the revolutionary spirit by subjecting it to conservative opposition in the very communities where it arose. The subjugation of the South by the mere exertion of physical force against it, assuming it to really united and in earnest, is a work of extreme difficulty, and requires an amount of wisdom and vigor which our administration has failed to exhibit. In a war of invasion upon the South, most formidable natural obstacles are to be encountered, and also the powers of the enemy, and our strength must be, or be made to be, adequate to overcome both. In short, *allies in the enemy's country* were necessary to certain or prompt success, and to secure them all the arts of policy and the means of conciliation within our power, should have been exerted.

But what has been the policy of our rulers? Is it not written in the history of the Crittenden Compromise and the Peace Conference Resolves? In Congressional enactments and in Presidential Proclamations? No concession, no conciliation, but only sheer force to compel complete submission! This policy, at once uncalculating and impassioned, was persisted in until repeated disasters came to exhibit its folly and impotency. Yes! the necessity of allies, utterly scouted in the outset, became demonstrated on the plains of Manassas and in the swamps of the Chickahominy. The course of events taught us that assistance would be useful, if not indispensable, to the great work of subduing rebellion and restoring the integrity of the Union.

Recognizing this truth, the men in power have turned their attention to the negroes—the subject race of the South—and propose to arm and employ them as allies in the war. This experiment is likely to be carried out, to be fully tested, and to produce results which, to say the least, will be instructive to future times.

In marked contrast to this desperate experiment, conservative men look for reliance and aid to the white race—our own stock and kindred—and propose to secure their co-operation in restoring the Union by a policy of conciliation and by the example of a return by our own government to a true constitutional rule, uninfluenced by fanatical passion, and regardless of all State and individual rights as established by our fathers. In their policy, the conservative element along the border and in the South is to be encouraged and developed, not repelled, spurned and insulted!

Great allowance is doubtless to be made for an Administration charged with the conduct of a great war. The difficulties to be surmounted are great and often the course to be pursued is but a choice between evils. At such a time, a generous mind will not seek occasion for offence and can overlook small points of objection in reviewing public affairs.

But the subject now brought into debate by the policy of government is fundamental and vital; it is impossible to be indifferent to them, and it would be unmanly to evade them. Frank, full, open debate upon them, will lead to useful conclusions, and give due direction to our efforts as citizens of a broken and afflicted country.

It results from what has been said, that the Administration now in power may expect from the great mass of those politically opposed to it, acquiescence in a legitimate exercise of the powers with which it is invested, whether relating to the war or to internal administration. But they will claim and exercise the right of discussing the wisdom and constitutionality of its policy, and will resist by all lawful means any attempt to pervert the war from its true object, or use the war power as an instrument for introducing arbitrary rule amongst us.

And they will labor to prepare the way for the complete re-union of the States upon their accession to power; or, if (in contradiction of their fears) such re-union should previously be established by arms, then to confirm it and render it real, cordial and perpetual.

Let it be distinctly understood that the

great mass of the Democratic party and the conservative men of the country have never agreed, do not now agree, and have no intention of agreeing in future to a dissolution of the American Union founded by Washington and his compatriots, and that they will not cease in their efforts for its complete restoration in its original, pristine vigor. But to accomplish this, they, unlike their opponents, will use all legitimate means of restoring and not physical force alone. This may be boldly and openly announced everywhere, and ought to be accepted everywhere as the only reasonable and patriotic ground upon which a party can stand that desires and intends to save the country.

The Administration has deliberately cast away all means of restoration except physical force, and has called into existence great and unnecessary obstacles to success, until, notwithstanding the immense difference of apparent strength between the parties to the war, its issue hangs trembling in the balance.

"Out of this nettle danger" we may yet "pluck the flower safety." We may hope that the remaining months of Mr. Lincoln's term will be got past without complete exhaustion, and the point of time arrived at when a vigorous and truly great party, clean-handed from the past, thoroughly Union, upright, just, patriotic and brave, will assume possession of the powers of government. And then this party, with old history identified with the glories of the country binding to it sympathy and affection in every quarter, with no selfish, local or fanatical passion to weaken or mislead it; with a generous, even-handed, impartial, time-tried creed, conforming to the Constitution, and springing naturally from its principles—this party, thus qualified to speak to the whole land, and be heard with affection and reverence, can and will command these wild waves of human passion to be still, and, rejecting alike the fanaticism of Boston and of Charleston, will re-bind these great States together in enduring bonds of sympathy and interest.

I am, dear sir, very truly yours,
G. R. BUCKALEW.

BLOOMSBURG, Feb. 20, 1863.

DISSENT.—It is manifest that Mr. Sewall thinks the American people have lost their reason: in a recent letter to Lord Lyons he boasts that his countrymen will submit to outrages that the people of England would spurn if attempted by their Sovereign. Hear him:
"My lord, I can touch a bell on my right hand, and order the arrest of a citizen in Ohio. I can touch the bell again, and order the imprisonment of a citizen in New York; AND NO POWER ON EARTH BUT THAT OF THE PRESIDENT CAN RELEASE THEM. CAN THE QUEEN OF ENGLAND, IN HER DOMINIONS, DO AS MUCH?"

Over eighty thousand laborers of Ohio have petitioned the General Assembly to pass a law excluding, in the future, negro and mulatto immigration into the State.

Just think of it—over eighty thousand "copperheads" among the laborers of Ohio. Shouldn't wonder if they all had votes too. What an awful thought!

The *Logan Courier*, printed at Lincoln, Ill., says that the use of the Baptist Church in that place for the funeral of a soldier whose remains had been brought from Tennessee, was denied because the soldier was a democrat! "God help such Christians!" exclaims the *Courier*.

Mrs. John C. Breckinridge, according to a circulating item, has "cut up her wedding dress and made a flag, which has been presented to the Twentieth Tennessee Regiment, in her husband's brigade, for distinguished services.

The recent draft in Michigan caused quite a lively emigration to Canada.—From Clinton county, the *St. Johns Republican* states, out of forty-one who were drafted, not over one-third are within the Sheriff's grasp.

Gen. Pillow stated in a speech in Alabama, that Gen. Sherman recently wrote to him, offering to return to him all his slaves, if he would abandon the Confederate service.

A lazy woman is the most worthless and troublesome piece of furniture a man can have. If she knows nothing about domestic duties she is not a help-mate, but an encumbrance.

In a hot summer, when there is most thirst, there are fewest brooks. So you see we have an overwhelming majority; and what is still more, every private, except 3, signed them. This shows where Abolitionism is in the army. Other Companies in the regiment are with us in sentiment, but not so bold in action.

Write your name by kindness, love and mercy, on the hearts of the people you come in contact with year by year, and you will never be forgotten.

THE VOICE OF THE ARMY.

Resolutions Representing the Real Sentiments of Company E, 149th Reg't P. V. CAMP NEAR BELLE PLAIN, VA., March 22, 1863.

Whereas, An effort has been made by a certain party in the North to obtain the moral influence of the Army in the field in support of a political principle which should, and can only be, decided by the people in their sovereign capacity at the ballot-box. And Whereas, The commanding officer of the 149th P. V., has, without due notice and process, imposed a set of resolutions upon us, the principles of which we cannot endorse and sustain:

Therefore Resolved, That we are in favor of a vigorous prosecution of the war, for a restoration of the Union, the Constitution, and the authority of the laws—AND FOR NO OTHER PURPOSE.

Resolved, That we consider the attempt to accomplish any thing further by force of arms as a dangerous precedent, subversive of the rights of the people, and contrary to the letter and spirit of the Constitution; and that we consider it our duty to frown upon every attempt to intimidate the free action of the people of the loyal States on any subject pertaining to the political condition of the country.

Resolved, That we are opposed to the Emancipation Proclamation of the first of January, 1863, as an uncalculated and illegitimate proceeding; which has proved disastrous to our cause, as well as subversive of the principles of a republican form of government.

Resolved, That the efforts of certain persons in the North to obtain the real sentiments of the people North and South, in a General Convention, are conciliatory in their influence; and are destined to produce beneficial results, if properly respected by the Administration.

Resolved, That while we earnestly and anxiously desire a return of peace, yet we are not so slavishly attached to it as to be willing to accept it on any terms; nor indeed can we accept any thing short of a restoration of the Union and a recognition of the supremacy of the Constitution and the laws.

These being our real sentiments, we hereunto affix our names.

William Carr, George W. Luzier,
Charles Larrimer, Henry Hummel,
Jas. H. Dougherty, D. Breen Bernard,
Abednego Crain, Hiram H. Hawk,
John R. Ball, Frank Freel,
William Pierce, Christian Lanich,
Edward Goss, John W. De Haas,
William H. Ike, David Cramer,
James H. Bush, William F. Kruis,
Wm. L. Taylor, John H. Mason,
John H. Ogden, Peter Curley,
Oliver Smith, Nathan Waring,
B. B. McPherson, James Lucas,
Jas. A. R. nehart, Daniel S. Keplhart,
Chas. H. Garrison, James W. Joss,
B. F. Carr, Milton S. Lawhead,
Wm. H. Philips, John Macomber,
George W. Ardrey.

Messrs. Editors:—The foregoing resolutions were gotten up by our Company to let the friends at home know that we are not altogether bamboozled out of our liberty of speech, and compelled, *volens volens*, to bear the cross of Abolitionism. We are in favor of serving our country as long as such service tends to support constitutional liberty; but when the Government sinks into a *one man power*, (if such event should ever happen, and we are fearful that it may be close upon us,) we will then be in favor of that *one man* do the fighting to support his Government. We are here to fight for a restoration of the Union, and if the President will be good enough to us to let us finish the job before he makes another contract, we will very cheerfully give him the tools and let him fight the irrepressible conglomeration Abolition humbug till he's sick of it. And if our "shoulder strap" patriots wish to assist, they shall have the privilege granted most willingly, with this proviso; that they pay their own expenses, for we would not like to be taxed to support an army of such extravagant proclivities. But Messrs. Editor, while we make these resolutions to place ourselves fairly on the record, it must be borne in mind, that we do not wish to influence thereby any person, let him be of what party he may, for we hold that the Army is the servant of the People, and instead of us compelling them by force to obey our dicta, we are subject to their direction and control.

You may think the list of names to the resolutions are few for a Company. But you must remember that our Company is small—only mustering in all 45 men—so you see we have an overwhelming majority; and what is still more, every private, except 3, signed them. This shows where Abolitionism is in the army. Other Companies in the regiment are with us in sentiment, but not so bold in action.

Messrs. Editors:—I beg leave in these few lines to give you some of my views on the great question that is before the people of this war-torn country. We have a great political question to settle. The Abolitionists all think that slavery must go down, because it is the sole cause of this righteous war; and the Democrats throughout the country think that Abolitionism is the sole cause of this unholy war, and that it must go down. Now let us be careful, and draw our conclusions fairly—that we may "give unto Caesar the things that are Caesar's." 1. For one, am opposed to the forcible abolishment of the institutions of the South—retrograding our Col. Meade's speech. I think it has a bad influence on the principles of free government and will have a tendency to blast the hopes of the liberty-loving people throughout the world. The sad intelligence will fly to foreign lands, that in America one State must be a slave to another, and liberty to enjoy their constitutional rights is played out.

Now I think the Abolition party is the sole cause of this hellish war; for before the Abolitionists were, slavery was, and we enjoyed peace; but as soon as the crazy Abolitionists came on the stage trouble commenced, and now, if Abolitionism was dead, peace would again return to bless our unhappy land.

So you can readily see what my views are about tearing up the institutions of the South. I think each State has a perfect right to regulate such things, and the people of other States have no right to trouble themselves about it. The whole cause of this war was the constant slang and continual meddling of the crazy headed Abolitionists. They went into the South, and caused trouble among the servants of Southern men; and if I had been pestered like they were, with the Abolition faction, I would have got out of patience too. But the South was not right at all times; they were too fast in plunging us into this war; they might have waited one year, and if the present Administration had deprived them of their rights, then I would have thrown my life with them. But, says one, the Abolitionists would have got every thing, and they could have done nothing. There appears to be more truth than fiction in this, since we know what the Abolitionists have done. Before this war they sent thousands to Kansas to wrest it from the South; and sent old John Brown to Virginia to get up an insurrection; and since that they have forcibly freed the slaves in the District of Columbia; and finally, to show their real design, they abolished slavery throughout the South by proclamation—all verifying the Southern expectation. I once ventured to say, that the party now in power, would not violate the Constitution—but I said what was not true. I came here to sustain our Government. It was; and it now appears that the institutions of the South are more like what we came to fight for, than the forcible abolishing of slavery, and paying for a lot of worthless blacks.

I am satisfied that the party in power don't want this war to close till they break up the good old Government, and make a *one man power*—or something similar.

The idea of calling us "Copperheads" is a novel one. I am willing to be called by that name, for the copperhead is the most dangerous snake there is. When *Little Mac*—one of the copperhead species (as the cowardly Blacksakes call him)—got after the Rattlesnake he soon made the Rattlesnake "git." The South call themselves Rattlesnakes; we are the dangerous and deadly Copperheads; and the Black Republicans are the Blacksakes, whose character it is to get among the toad species and devour them. A boy, with a switch, can chase it all through the meadow. But all hands off the Copperhead—it is not to be trifled with. "Nuff sed" about snakes.

The officers of this regiment say there should be no peace party—but all war meetings. They thus evidence that they want the war to last. That a private, and want the South back without more bloodshed, I can't see how it will be easier to settle this trouble after killing off hundreds and thousands more of the poor privates, than now. If we were killing the leaders it might do some good. But the men that make the trouble stand aloof.—If I could kill such men as Horace Greeley and Jeff Davis, I would think I was doing good; but to kill poor innocent privates is not according to justice and mercy. I, for one, am in favor of bringing the States together on equal terms; and the plans of Gov. Seymour and Vallandigham are better and safer than the Abolition plan of whipping them in. It would be better to give them their constitutional rights, and thereby save all the lives of the innocent privates.

(For the Republican.)

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