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SPEECH OF

HON. C. L. VALLANDIGHAM.

His Discussion of the Political Issues.

Mr. Vallandigham, on his return home, to Dayton, Ohio, from the New York Convention, was called upon by his Democratic neighbors to give an account of the doings of that body. He proceeded as follows:

As a delegate to the recent Presidential Convention, I report to you, my Democratic friends, officially to-night, the results of its labors, and propose to consider, also, briefly, and without rhetoric, the political situation and prospects.

DEMOCRATIC CANDIDATES.

Not originally a member of that Convention, but called on to aid in its deliberations after its sessions had begun, I wrought with fidelity and earnestness to secure that object which, next to principle, seemed nearest the hearts of the Democracy of Ohio for the last six months—the nomination of Mr. George H. Pendleton. We failed because of reasons not necessary nor proper now to consider. But in all else the labors of the Convention could not have terminated more in accordance with the wishes and purposes of true patriots and Democrats, or better for the country. For President we have nominated Horatio Seymour, an eloquent orator, an able and experienced statesman, an accomplished gentleman, sober and righteous in the enlarged, catholic sense of the term, a man of the strictest pecuniary integrity, the candidate of no "ring" or faction, and one who will neither himself steal, nor permit theft in others. And this, after the larcenous experience of the past seven years, which have mocked and dwarfed the gigantic peculations and corruptions of even Roman or English history, and wherein, as in periods of physical epidemics, every phase and species of public crime and offence speedily assumed the form and type of robbery or theft, is high, exalted eulogy upon any candidate and gives promise of a return to honester times. Nominated, to my personal knowledge, against his will and without a pledge or promise to any one, upon any subject, he is under no obligation of any sort, other than that which binds the patriot and gentleman. And if he be "insane," as little creatures with false, malicious tongues insinuate, I would that the same method were in the madness of all other public men.

For Vice President we have nominated Gen. Frank P. Blair—a civilian and a soldier, bold in the cabinet and brave in the field; ready to take all just and necessary responsibilities; skillful in adapting means to ends, and prompt in executing his purposes; liberal and tolerant of the opinions of others, and in the very midst of the furor of the late civil war, capable, as I well know, of discerning and conceding the highest patriotism of motive in those who differed widest from him.

Such are the candidates put in nomination; and in view of their superior excellencies and qualifications, I may justly say to you that voting for them is the highest exercise of true, genuine "manhood suffrage;" and, moreover, that in my deliberate judgment and deep conviction, this ticket is a winning ticket, and will receive a decided majority of the entire electoral college, even without reckoning upon a single vote from the States lately composing the "Confederate Government."

REPUBLICAN CANDIDATES.

As to the candidates, General U. S. Grant and Schuyler Colfax, who make up the ticket of the Republican party, I have not a word personally of denunciation or detraction to utter against them. I leave that whole style, fashion and system of political warfare to our enemies, and I pray Heaven to put it into their hearts to devote every hour of time and every instrumentality as to manner, through the press and upon the hustings, to it in its widest, amplest scope, and foulest, falsest, bitterest malignity. And I pray further that the war and the things of the war may make up the sole subject of their speeches, their documents and appeals every way to the people, leaving to us as they did last summer and fall in Ohio, the exclusive discussion, in every form, of the great living questions of to-day—Restoration, Negro Supremacy, Taxation, Tariff, Debt, Currency, and whatever else relates to the civil, the political and the material prosperity of the country. These be our topics before the people, while to them are given amplest license to howl on about "Rebels, Copperheads, Ku-Klux, traitors, convicted traitors, the life of the Nation," the glory of the war and all similar subjects of denunciation or of praise. As for my single self, glorying in every word spoken, every vote given, every act done, and every wrong suffered by myself in behalf of right and liberty throughout the war, I am yet not now to be provoked, by any taunt or denunciation, into a discussion of any thing connected with it. It is upon trial along with all its actors and all its sufferers before the grand tribunal of history, and by the judgment therein hereafter to be pronounced, I am content to abide. "Where was Vallandigham during the war?" may be a very pretty and telling rhetorical conundrum in the mouths of "loyal" orators; but it neither restores the Union, maintains the Constitution, upholds liberty, pays taxes, reduces the debt, stops stealing, alleviates distress, nor in any other way reaches the wants and necessities of the people, or tends to bring them relief from burdens too grievous to be borne.

Then, gentlemen, I have no word of personal denunciation for the Republican candidates. I would not detract one jot or tittle from the fullest measure of military glory to which General Grant may be justly entitled. I have not a syllable to utter as to his personal habits. I care not what his name is or may have been, by baptism or usage. I know Ulysses S. Grant only as the candidate of the revolutionary Republican party, and the representative of its principles, its policies and its purposes. We are not choosing the ring-master of a circus, nor the register of a feast, nor the keeper of the royal horses or hounds; nor even the Commanding-general of our armies to wage war; but the Chief Executive officer of a great Republic, to restore peace and prosperity through the arts of statesmanship; and I know Ulysses S. Grant only as the symbol of negro supremacy, debt, hard times, high prices, low wages, gold without taxation for the bondholder, rags and taxes for the people, and an imperial military despotism instead of the simple but beneficent Federal Republic of our fathers. Beyond these, General Grant represents nothing except the cold lava of the burnt out volvano of civil war.

So much then, gentlemen, as to candidates.

And now allow me briefly to consider some of the primary and fundamental differences in principles and policies, between the Republican and Democratic parties.

1. The aim and purpose of the Republican Revolutionary leaders is to centralize the powers of the General Government, so as to establish ultimately an Imperial Republic; which in the judgment of the wisest and best statesmen of America, from the beginning, can here be but another name for a military despotism. To secure this object they began by denying and usurping the just, Constitutional reserved rights of the States. Next they assumed absolute power to exist in time of war in the President, whom they designated "the Government;" and when afterward they quarreled with the Executive, they stripped him of every accustomed and even very many of his clearly Constitutional prerogatives; and finally sought, by a gross abuse of the power of impeachment, to remove him from an office to which little remained except the title and emolument. And when the Supreme Court stood in their way they began, by hostile legislation, to circumscribe and cripple its rightful jurisdiction, and to bring it into contempt with the people by bitter and venomous denunciation of its Chief-Justice.

Upon the other hand, the Democratic party insists, in the language of Jefferson, on "the support of the State Governments in all their rights as the most competent administrations of our domestic concerns, and the surest bulwarks against anti-Republican tendencies, and the preservation of the General Government in its whole Constitutional vigor, as the sheet-anchor of our peace at home and safety abroad."

As to policies or ideas, the two parties differ fundamentally in this; the basis of the present Republican organization is bigotry, hate and revenge. It tolerates no differences of opinion. It would forever fan and keep alive the flames of that civil war which for four long and weary years scorched the hearts and desolated the homes of one-third of the people of the United States. It would cherish forever the hot passions and the bitterness, and the feuds, and discords which in our own midst arrayed neighbor against neighbor, and wrought dissension and strife among those of the same household. It refuses to forget the vile epithets which found no apology, even amid the fury of a bloody conflict, and glibly spits forth from its envenomed lips, "rebel sympathizer, butternut, copperhead and traitor." Professing a religion which is founded on eternal love, it yet builds itself up on immortal hate. Invoking mercy and forgiveness from the God of heaven, it denies all pardon or grace to fellow-men on earth.

But do these, our enemies, realize that they themselves are the very children of political wrath? Have they forgotton the accumulated wrongs and outrages which they heaped upon our heads—the denunciations, the calumnies, the espionage, the mobbings, the arrests, the imprisonments, the exile and the murder and assassination which we, their fellow-citizens, suffered at their hands? It is we, too, who have wrongs to forgive or avenge. It is we who might shut the gates of mercy upon them, and demand a fiery and consuming retribution. Animated by their own relentless spirit, I, too might well exclaim:

> "A plague upon them! Wherefore should I curse them?
> Would curses kill, as doth the mandrake's groan?
> I would invent as bitter-searching terms,
> As curst, as harsh, and horrible to hear,
> Delivered strongly through my fixed teeth,
> With full as many signs of deadly hate,
> As lean-faced envy in her loathsome cave;
> My tongue should stumble in mine earnest words;
> Mine eyes should sparkle like the beaten flint;
> My hair be fixed on end, like one distract;
> Ay, every joint should seem to curse and ban."

But, gentlemen, if such is to be the spirit of our political controversies forever; if there is to be no truce to our passions; if the past is never to be forgotten nor forgiven; if the dead carcass of civil war, with all its engendered griefs and wrongs and hates, is not sometime to be buried out of sight, then welcome the fierce waters of the deluge in which perished the antediluvian world; thrice welcome the fire from heaven which smote and consumed Sodom and Gomorrah, so that in God's Providence a new and a wiser and a better race, worthier of their noble heritage, may repopulate this North American continent.

THE WAY TO PEACE.

Depend upon it, gentlemen, no party whose only cementing element is a sympathy of hatred, can ever be permanent in power, or even in existence.

With large multitudes of men, this spirit of hate was the controlling motive throughout the late civil war, and has continued to govern them at every step in their efforts at reconstruction. But with a smaller, yet far more dangerous class of politicians, the sole aim for the last three years has been the perpetuation of Republican rule, through the negroes of the South. To this basest of motives and purposes, the public good and the pacification of the country have been steadily sacrificed; and, worse yet, all Constitutional limitation altogether disregarded. Signally defeated in their efforts to establish negro suffrage and equality in the North and West, they have now impudently in their platform proclaimed that here each State shall regulate suffrage for itself, while at the South the elective franchise shall be determined by the Congress of the United States. Acting upon the double motive of hate and the desire to maintain partisan supremacy, they have disfranchised a large majority of the white population of the Southern States, and conferred upon the negroes, by act of Congress, the right to vote; and then at the point of the bayonet, have proceeded to establish seven State Governments, controlled by negroes or white adventurers meaner than they—mere sojourners, birds of passage, and very foul birds at that; and have gone through the farce of admitting them into the Union and to the right of representation in the Senate and the House, and a full vote in the electoral college for President. In this manner, gentlemen, they expect to control the legislation and elections of the country. And these ignorant, brutish negroes of South Carolina and Florida, and other States, do now make laws and levy taxes and create public debt for you, white men of Ohio; and they expect to overrule your choice for President. Yes, gentlemen, under these Republican Reconstruction acts, enforced by an army for which you pay heavy taxes out of your beard earnings, half a million of negroes in South Carolina, reinforced by some adventurous white loafers from the North and West, will control as many electoral votes as a million of white men in Ohio. Aye, at this present moment the "Governor" so-called of that State, elected by negroes, under an act of Congress, and through the aid of your army, is a citizen of Ohio, having a legal settlement here; so that if he would become a pauper—and South Carolina is very poor now, and no longer able to enrich her satraps—the proper town authorities in the county of Henry, in this State, could be compelled to maintain him as a public charge. And moreover, General William Warner, a noble confrere of his from Ohio, has, I observe, just been elected a United States Senator from Alabama.

These are the doings of the Republican party, and if not marvellous in your eyes, they are at least costly to your pockets. These are a part of the blessings over which the Chicago platform exults, and a continuance, and, indeed, a multiplication of which they promise upon the election of General Ulysses S. Grant.

RANK INJUSTICE OF THE RECONSTRUCTION POLICY.

Now, gentlemen, suppose for a moment that the case were reversed, and that the South had waged a successful war of conquest upon you here in the West, and had compelled, by force of arms, the introduction of slavery here, and you had surrendered in good faith, under pledge and promise of all other rights within the Union under the Constitution; and that, when you had no further power to resist, a Southern Congress had, at the point of the bayonet, forced constitutions, governments and laws on you against your will, and that victorious and insolent South Carolina has sent up here the meanest and basest of her vagabond "Sand Hill" citizens with carpet bags in their hands, to represent you, the once free, white men of Ohio, in the Senate and House at the Federal capital, and to usurp the places once filled by the Morrows, the McLeans, the Corwins, the Ewings, the Hamers, the Allens of this glorious Commonwealth, what would have been the emotions of wrath and indignation which would have burned within your bosoms! And yet to just such indignities are South Carolina and Virginia and their sister States of the "Old Thirteen," scorched and scarred all over with the flames of the war of 1776, subjected, by the false and degenerate sons of the New England sires, who stood shoulder to shoulder by them in that grand revolutionary conflict, which, in blood and suffering, and with precious treasure, first bought us our liberties.

"Ah, but these men are now rebels and traitors, and you, the Democracy, received them with open arms and gushing hearts into your recent Presidential Convention." Thank God, we did, and by none were they hailed with more cordial welcome than by, not the bloodless though bloodthirsty home loyalists of the war, but by the gallant and noble heroes, the Hancocks, the Franklins, the Ewings, the Blairs, the Slocums, and the Steedmans, who had met them in deadly conflict amid the sulphurous canopy and shock of battle. We mean to have peace indeed; we intend to restore the Union in fact; and to-day we know these men only as our friends, fellow-citizens and brothers—the descendants of the Washingtons, the Lees, the Hamptons, the Sumpters, the Marions, the Prestons, the Haynes, the Laurens and others, who, side by side, stood with the Hancocks, the Adamses, the Starks, the Putnams, the Gates, and the Waynes of the North in the heroic Revolutionary struggle of '76, or with their sons and grandsons in the latter conflict of 1812, or the Mexican war of 1846—Americans all whose fame is the patrimony of the whole country. This is peace; this is Union; this alone is the blessed vision of the seers and prophets of an age gone by: One Constitution, one country, one destiny!

So much for reconstruction. And now, gentlemen, a word upon humbler, yet more practicable and scarce less important subjects.

TAXATION, TARIFF AND REVENUE.

And first to taxation in its double form as—Tariff and Internal Revenue. The sole foundation of the right of Government to appropriate any part of the property of the citizen by taxation, is the necessity of supporting the Government in its several departments, working strictly within the line of their duty; and the only measure of the right is the extent of the necessity, a reasonable economy being the fixed rule by which to terminate that necessity. Every dollar which the Government extracts from the people beyond this, is sheer downright robbery. Now, a protective tariff in its very nature, implies the levying of a tax not for the necessities of the Government but for the benefit of a class. Levied upon articles of manufacture, it is money transferred, by act of Congress, from the pockets of the consumer to the bank account of the manufacturer. And this is robbery. Previous to the war and in Democratic times an average duty of some fifteen per cent. was laid upon imports; and without a dollar of internal revenue collected by the Federal Government, the amount received was ample to pay the then seventy or eighty millions of expenditures. Now, as part of the blessings of Republican rule, a continuance of which you are promised under Gen. Grant, these duties run from a nominal sum or nothing, on raw material, to three hundred per cent. on manufactures, averaging upon the whole list more than forty-five per cent. And of this, one half at least an absolute gift by the Government to the manufacturing interest—a gift taken by robbery from your pockets. Eleven times has the tariff been raised by several acts of Congress since 1860, and we have now just barely, by the adjournment, escaped another elevation. Oh, the choice blessings of Republican rule, which are to be continued and multiplied under Grant!

But the inequity, and iniquity too, of the tariff, is greatly aggravated by the fact that its chief burdens fall upon us of the West. One-half of the proceeds of the tariff go to swell the profits of the Eastern manufacturer, who buying our produce cheap, sells us wares dear, and then investing his rapidly accumulated wealth in bonds, purchased with "greenbacks" at sixty cents on the dollar, escapes taxation, receives his interest in coin, and after his bonded claim against the Government has, in the language of the Chicago platform, been "extended over a fair period of redemption," like the English debt, he or his heir in the tenth generation, expect to be paid in gold at the rate of one hundred cents to the dollar! Oh, the blessings of Republican rule to be continued under Grant! But the West, blinded during the war by the veil of "loyalty," at last is beginning to open her eyes to this enormous wrong piled upon her; and I warn the East, in no sectional spirit, but in all kindness, yet in all earnestness, that the strong patient men of the West, staggering under this burden, are resolved in inexorable purpose, to shake it from their shoulders at every hazard.

I have said that the necessities of government economically administered are the limits of its right to tax. Wherefore, also, it is true that every dollar stolen from the Treasury, and every dollar misapplied from the legitimate purpose of government, is so much robbed from the people. And yet in the very first year of Republican blessings, the year of grace, 1861, we had the testimony upon the floor of Congress, of a leading Republican, that "the Treasury had been plundered well nigh in that single year, as much as the entire current yearly expenses of the Government during Mr. Buchanan's administration." Republican petit larceny was then put into the pulp or embryo; but several years of rapid and vigorous growth, have developed it now into the bone and grizzle of sturdy and gigantic theft and robbery. And to-day the expenditures of the Goverment, legitimate and larcenous, are nearly five times as great as when eight years ago, the power was snatched from the Democratic party, and delivered over to Republican misrule.

THE PUBLIC DEBT.

And now allow me a word as to the public debt. It is a vain thing to day to inquire how this debt came to be contracted, or how much of it was originally necessary and just. It may have been the most essential, the most Constitutional, the most righteous and the most wisely and judiciously managed that ever a people incurred; or it may have been in every particular just the reverse. No matter. It exists, and must be dealt with accordingly. The Democratic and Republican parties both recognizing it, differ widely, radically, in regard to it. The idea or notion of the Democratic party may be best and most significantly expressed by a paraphrase of Dunning's celebrated resolution against the royal prerogative, a hundred years ago, in the British Parliament—*that the Public Debt has increased, is increasing, and ought to be diminished.* The Republican platform declares that it ought to be "extended over a fair period for redemption"—a phrase curiously felicitous in expressing infinite uncertainty of duration. It reminds me of Charles James Fox's answer to his creditors, who vexed with his long delay, ironically proposed that he should execute to them his bonds payable on the day of judgment. "Ah," said he, "just please make them payable the day after." Upon the other hand, the Democratic platform demands "payment of the public debt of the United States as rapidly as possible, applying all money drawn from the people by taxation, except so much as is requisite for the necessities of government economically administered, to such payment." The Democratic party mean that this debt, with all its burdens and all its corruptions of every sort, shall be paid off; and I say to you, gentlemen, that in my firm conviction, Republican Government cannot long endure here even in form and shadow, if this huge mountain of debt is to continue; and that no form of government could exist pure and incorrupt, if this debt is to become permanent.

Upon another subject, gentlemen, the policy of the two parties is in marked contrast. Planting itself upon the fixed principle of all just governments, that taxation ought to be equal, the Democratic party demands that the bonds and other securities of the United States shall be taxed the same as other property. The justice and equality of the proposition are too plain for elaborate argument.—These bonds and securities have every legal element of property in the hands of their holders except taxation. Why, then, the exemption? They now amount, in various forms, to some $2,600,000,000, or about one-fifth of the entire property of the country. And yet this one-fifth, claiming the special care and nurture of the Government, drawing its interest in gold, and in the hands, chiefly, of the wealthiest men, and soon to become exclusively theirs, pays not a dollar of tax in the manner or to the extent which it would pay if it were other property. To-day your capitalist owns a hundred thousand dollars in lands and goods, and pays taxes, income included; State and Federal, accordingly; thus bearing his full proportion of the burdens of the community in which he lives. To-morrow he sells all, and invests in Government bonds, receiving his interest, paid now by other men, his neighbors in taxes, but lo! himself pays not a dime in taxation, save the income tax, deducted virtually and in paper from the golden interest which he receives. And now the entire burden of taxes, remaining just the same as yesterday, fall upon those of the community who own no bonds. And yet the leaders of the Republican party, high in position and influence, have the audacity to tell us that whoever is for taxing bonds is no better than a penitentiary convict! Well, be it so; but there are three millions and more of white American voters in the United States who are resolved that, penitentiary convicts or not, they will have these bonds taxed!

I come now to the mode of paying the public debt, and the subject of currency in general.

Gentlemen, I am a hard money man. I always have been. There is no other real money in the world; and least of all is irredeemable Government paper, money in any proper sense of the term. It is not even the representative of money—but only of Government credit; and varies and must ever vary, with the fluctuations of that credit. And it is by so much a greater evil when a Government seeks to make its own paper, its own credit, its own promises to pay, a legal tender for payments and debts. If the Government were to issue no more paper, or little more than it wanted for taxes, it need not delare it a legal tender. If it issue more, and just in proportion to the excess, no kind or amount of legislation, penal or otherwise, and no number of legal tender clauses, can save it from depreciation. I voted against the legal tender act of 1862. I did not believe it Constitutional then. I do not believe it Constitutional now. Moreover I felt assured that it must sooner or later bring forth its evil fruit, and that abundantly. Government paper could not be made or kept equal to coin; and there is no more mischievous agent of financial distress than a depreciated paper currency. And the evil is greatly aggravated if there be two currencies of unequal value. I concur fully in all that Governor Seymour has said upon this particular subject, and in the purposes of his recent speech as I understand them; and that was to warn the Democracy and the people of the United States not to swing wholly from their ancient hard money moorings, and become too deeply enamored of the green goddess of paper money: to love wisely and not too well; not to accept the extreme medicine of the public debt and currency as their daily bread. I think the caution was timely and well bestowed. I am in favor of one currency, if practicable, and as soon as practicable, and that currency gold and silver. This twenty dollar gold piece which I hold in my hand—Gen. Schenck intimated last fall that I stole it; no matter; it was certainly not from him; and moreover let me tell him that it is not the wages of political prostitution, nor yet of that sin which is political death; pardon the digression—this gold piece is money; not indeed "lawful money," in the language of the legal tender act, but Constitutional money, and the only money known to that instrument. No act of Congress, and no number of penal provisions could persuade me that this twenty dollar legal tender is as good as this twenty dollar gold. This (the gold) is not the representative or substitute for money; It does not say "I promise to pay twenty dollars," but "I am twenty dollars." Now, gentlemen, I should be very glad to make this paper money as good as gold—if I only knew how. I remember in ancient mythology one Midas, who besought the gods for power to turn everything he touched into gold; but I recollect, also, that in the sequel of the story Midas was written down an ass. I know, then, of no way of making your Government paper as good as gold, except either by immensely reducing the volume—somewhere near the standard of taxation—or requiring it to be redeemed on demand in gold at the Treasury of the United States. But neither of these is now practicable. What then? Necessarily we have two currencies for the present—gold and greenbacks; a dollar in coin equal to a hundred cents, and a dollar in legal tender, representing variously from fifty cents to seventy. And now, hard money man as I am, odious as a depreciated, irredeemable government paper, forced upon the people, is to me, I meet the issue squarely. If you have gold enough for all, *let us all have gold*. But if not, and there must be paper for some, *then paper for all*; and in the language of the New York Democratic platform, "one currency for the Government and the people, the laborer and the office-holder, the pensioner and the soldier, the producer and the bond-holder;" and whosoever would have gold, let him buy it in the market at its value in currency. And let us have no petty quibbling about the phrase "lawful money." In the platform it is the antithesis of "coin," and in the entire legislation of Congress upon the subject for six years it means the legal tender "greenback" currency of the country. Redeem, then, in this lawful money—lawful to the plowholder and lawful to the bond-holder—as "rapidly as practicable," all obligations of the Government not expressly upon their face, or by law, made payable in coin. Abolish forthwith your National banking system; take up the bonds which they hold, save twenty millions of interest to the tax payers, and, instead of redeeming three hundred millions of National currency with greenbacks, issue a like amount of greenbacks to supply their place. Here is no inflation; nor is there any, the smallest hazard, of having "too much money," even of "lawful money," in the country. With the disappearance, too, of the present National banking monopoly, we shall secure again old-fashioned specie-paying banks, whose credit shall depend on their solvency, and whose promise-to-pay is redeemable, not in another promise to pay, but in gold and silver, the constitutional money of the land.

CONCLUSION.

I have now, my Democratic friends, finished what I had to say upon the political issues and situation to-day. One word further upon another subject, and I have done.

You hear from every quarter, through the Republican press, the alarm that it is the purpose of the Democratic party to reinaugurate revolution and civil war. Let no man be in the least concerned. Unquestionably it is the fixed purpose of three millions of Democratic voters, with all the intensity which can fire the hearts of men born freemen and scorning to die slaves, if we shall fairly, constitutionally and legally elect a President, to see that he is inaugurated at every hazard. It is our right, and our duty, too, as also it is the duty and right of the Republican party, if they shall legally, constitutionally and fairly elect General Grant. But no man meditates openly or covertly, any thing beyond. No, gentlemen, it is the Republican leaders who are the revolutionists. It is they who are resolved by all means and at every sacrifice of the rights of the States, the liberties of the people, and the peace of the country, to perpetuate their power, would again plunge us into both civil and social war with all its horrors. But to the ballot, and not to the bullet, we now appeal. The people are wearied of the Republican party and of its wrongs and its perfidies, of its debts and its tariffs and its taxations, of its negro governments and military despotisms, of a dishonored Constitution and a broken Union, which four years of war and three years of peace under its conduct and legislation have failed to restore; and they demand and will have a change. And unless every sign and omen by which the political future may be discerned, shall fail, so signal and disastrous will be the overthrow of this party in November, that they themselves will make haste to recognize and hearken to the voice of the people as the voice of God; and as chastened children in silence will submit to the judgment which in mercy to themselves, as to us and to the whole country, shall drive them from the seats of power. No, gentlemen, no; there will be no more civil war in the land; but the sun at high noon, shining on the Eastern front of the Capitol on the 4th of March, 1869, will look down peacefully upon Horatio Seymour, President of the United States.

Mr. Vallandigham was loudly cheered at the conclusion of his speech.

Josh Billings says: I hav noticed that those persons who hav the keenest sense ov misery, hav also the brightest visions of joy; but there iz sum folks whom even molasses kandy won't make happy nor even muskeeters worry.

I don't think there iz enny more excuse for keepin a Shanhigh rooster than there iz in keepin a boss that you've got tew buck up to a second story window tew put the crooper on.

It iz astonishin how very small they ware their pantilunes in Broadway; but I notice the pantilunes are plenty big enuff for the legs.

When I see an old miser in the midst ov his wealth, I konsider him just about as happy as a fly who has fell into a quart bowl ov molasses and kant git out.

The expenses of the war and naval departments last year were $5,500,000 more than during the first year of the war. This is Grant's peace establishment. Grant wants this kind of "peace." He and his friends enjoy it.

Dry Goods, Groceries, Etc.

GREAT EXCITEMENT

ON SECOND STREET, CLEARFIELD.

NEW GOODS AT LOW PRICES.

THE undersigned respectfully invite the attention of the public generally to their splendid assortment of merchandise, which they are now selling

AT VERY LOW PRICES.

Their stock consists in part of

Dry Goods of the Best Quality,

Such as Prints, De Laines, Alpacas, Merino Ginghams, Muslins, (bleached and unbleached,) Drillings, Tickings, cotton and wool Flannels, Satinetts, Cassimeres, Cottonades, Ladies' Shawls, Nubias & Hoods, Balmoral and Hoop Skirts, &c.,

Also, a fine assortment of Men's Drawers and Shirts, Hats & Caps, Boots & Shoes.

all of which

WILL BE SOLD LOW FOR CASH

Hardware, Queensware, Glassware, Groceries and Spices.

IN SHORT A GENERAL ASSORTMENT

Of everything usually kept in a retail store, all CHEAP FOR CASH or approved country produce.

A. K. WRIGHT & SONS.

Clearfield, Nov. 7, 1867.

SOMETHING NEW!

New Store in Madera.

MESSRS. J. FORREST & SON

WOULD respectfully inform the public that they have just opened, in MADERA, Clearfield county, Pa., an entire new stock of

FALL AND WINTER GOODS,

Which they are prepared to sell as cheap as the cheapest.

Their stock consists in part of

Dry Goods of the Best Quality,

Such as Alpacas, Delanes, Prints, Muslins, Cassimeres, Satinets, and Flannels.

Ready - Made Clothing,

Of the best quality, such as Coats, Pants, Vests, Overcoats, Overalls, Shirts, Collars, &c.

Boots, Shoes and Gaiters,

Also of the very best Quality.

A complete stock of Groceries.

In short everything usually kept in a country store.

Consumers, Look to Your Interests!

Call and examine our stock and prices before purchasing elsewhere.

LUMBER AND GRAIN

Of all kinds taken in exchange for goods.

Remember the place, Madera, Clearfield county, Penn's.

J. FORREST & SON.

October 31, 1867-tf.

A REVOLUTION IN BUSINESS

AT CURWENSVILLE,

BY

HARTSOCK & GOODWIN.

THE undersigned having entered into co-partnership in the mercantile business, adopt this method of notifying the public generally, and the citizens of Curwensville and vicinity in particular, that merchandise of all kinds will be sold by us as cheap as the same quality elsewhere in the county. We have a full supply of

DRY GOODS:

Consisting in part of Dress Goods, Muslins, Prints of all shades and styles; together with a full assortment of

NOTIONS, CLOTHING, HATS & CAPS,

Boots, Shoes, Hardware, Queensware.

As well as Tinware, Cedarware, Willowware, Buckets and Brooms; together with a large stock of Groceries; and always a full stock of

FLOUR, FISH, SALT, &c.

In short, we keep a full supply of everything used in this market.

We want all our old customers and as many new ones as can make it convenient, to give us a call before purchasing elsewhere.

DANIEL HARTSOCK.
EDWIN GOODWIN.

Curwensville, Februa y 13, 1868.

Down! Down!!

THE LAST ARRIVAL

AND OF COURSE THE CHEAPEST!

A Proclamation against High Prices!

WE are now opening up a lot of the best and most seasonable Goods and Wares ever offered in this market, and at prices that remind one of the good old days of cheap things. Those who lack faith upon this point, or deem our allegations superfluous, need but

CALL AT OUR STORE,

Corner Front and Market streets,

Where they can see, feel, hear and know for themselves. To fully understand what are cheap goods, this must be done. We do not deem it necessary to enumerate and itemize our stock. It is enough for us to state that

We have Everything that is Needed

and consumed in this market, and at prices that astonish both old and young.

dec20 JOSEPH SHAW & SON.

Groceries at Reduced Prices.

SUGARS—Pulverized, Granulated, Crushed, Sugarhouse.
COFFEE—Old Government Java, Prime Rio, Roasted.
TEAS—Japan, Imperial, Young Hyson, Black.
MOLASES—Lovering's Syrup, Extra, Golden, Sugarhouse.
CRACKERS—Egg Biscuit, Wine, Oyster and Soda crackers.
VINEGAR—White Wine and Pure Cider Vinegar at J. P. KRATZER'S.

Hardware.

FOR BLACKSMITHS—Horse Shoes, Horse Shoe Nails, Nail rod, Files, Rasps.
WAGON MAKERS—Thimble Skeins and Pipe boxes, Fine bolts Wrenches, Carriage bolts.
CARPENTERS—Planes, Saws, Augers, Hatchets, Hammers, Plane bits, Squares.
BUILDERS—Nails, Locks, Hinges, Screws, Door bells, Bolts, Latches, Sash fastners.
LUMBERMEN—Double-bitt Axes, Mill Saws, Cross-cut Saws, Rafting Axes, Drawing Knives.
CABINET MAKERS—Bed screws, Casters, Cupboard catches, Furniture knobs, Drawer locks.
HOUSE KEEPERS—Knives and Forks, Stoves and Pipe, Spoons, Flat Irons, Coffee Mills, Cleavers.
FARMERS—Scythes, Rakes, Spades, Shovels, Forks, Hoes, Grain Scoops, at
Aug. 6th, 1m. J. P. KRATZER'S.

JUSTICES' & CONSTABLES' FEES.—We have printed a large number of the new FEE BILL, and will on the receipt of twenty-five cents, mail a copy to any address. my28