

TERMS OF PUBLICATION.
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scription to the paper.
JOB PRINTING of every kind in Plain and Fan-
cy colors, done with neatness and dispatch. Hand-
bills, Blanks, Cards, Pamphlets, &c., of every va-
riety and style, printed at the shortest notice. The
REPORTER OFFICE has just been re-fitted with Power
Presses, and every thing in the Printing line can be
executed in the most artistic manner and at the
lowest rates. TERMS INVARIABLY CASH.

Political.

SPEECH OF THOMAS J. DURANT, Of New Orleans.

An immense gathering of people assembled
in front of the headquarters of the
Union League, in Philadelphia, on Friday
evening 31st ult., to welcome the southern
loyalists attending the Convention. The
assembly was called to order by Hon.
W. D. KELLEY, who after some appropriate
remarks introduced THOMAS J. DURANT, Esq.,
of New Orleans, whose appearance was
welcomed by cheer upon cheer. When or-
der had been partially restored, he said:

Before this powerful gathering of loyal
and patriotic men, I rise, citizens, with the
deepest emotion to express the overpow-
erful sense of gratitude I feel for the warm
reception you have given me on this occa-
sion. I would be doing injustice to myself
did I not now, in the outset, express the
gratitude I feel to those gentlemen who
have awarded me with so much kindness
the great privilege of addressing on this
night so respectable an assemblage of my
fellow-citizens of the State of Pennsylvania.
To you, too, I tender the acknowledg-
ment of my warmest thanks for the greet-
ing you have given me; and I know well
that I am by no means to attribute it to
any flattery which I may have been
tempted to possess, but that I am to at-
tribute it to that noble cause of Unionism
in the South which for the moment finds in
me a most worthy representative. [Ap-
plause.] A great statesman of Pennsylv-
ania—one who illustrated the walks both
of politics and science—one whom Penn-
sylvania sent to the Continental Congress
to lead the immortal Jefferson in framing
that Declaration which has become a char-
acter of human rights—that illustrious Pen-
nsylvanian once said, "Where liberty dwells
there is my country." [Great cheering.]—
I would, escaping from cold and averted
looks to meet with warm greetings, fleeing
from the assassin's knife, which was placed
in my throat and that of every Union man,
I come to the shore of the Delaware
and say with that illustrious statesman,
"Here liberty dwells, and here is my country."
[Cheers.] You must not, I assure
you, citizens, expect to be entertained in
the mode in which you might hope to be
from the flattering introduction I have re-
ceived this evening from my learned friend
who has just addressed you. I propose, on
the invitation of these conspicuous citizens
of Pennsylvania, who have so kindly hon-
ored me, to say something this evening on
the subject they have indicated in their in-
troduction, to say something of that in-
cident which darkened the 30th of July in
New Orleans, and to say something of the
cause that produced that horrid result, and
of the remedy, which, in my judgment,
ought to be provided to prevent the repetition.
In the current of my discourse, it is quite
possible I may say things that perhaps
may be unaccounted to your ears, and it
may fall to my lot to make some remarks
that you may not think altogether correct;
my fellow-citizens, I implore your in-
dulgence in advance, for I assure you that
nothing I do say will be but in obedience
to the conventions dictate of my heart
and judgment.

The events which preceded the 30th of
July in Louisiana have passed into the do-
main of history, and no doubt are familiar
to you all. When, in 1862, that gallant old
king of the modern seas who lately pass-
ed the spot where I am now standing, brought
his fleet before the rebel forts that
were vainly thought protected New Or-
leans, and laid it across the Crescent City
to bring that rebellious population
under his guns, when that was achieved
the flag of the Union once more greet-
ed the gazing gaze of the Union men of
New Orleans, we looked at that flag with
anxiety, and the flag of freedom, as the
symbol of the restoration of our rights,
was passed on and the military chieftain
had been appointed by the late lamented
President to superintend the affairs of
that department was removed, and another
substituted in his place, to whom it seemed
under authority vested in him at
Washington, to call together a convention
of that portion of the people Louisiana
residing in New Orleans and the parishes
immediately surrounding it, for the purpose
of forming a constitution and frame of gov-
ernment under which it was hoped that
Louisiana might ultimately be admitted to
its original position as a sister State of
the Union. This movement, citizens, did
not fully meet the approbation of men who
were still treated as Radicals; and the main
objection to the movement was that it was
an emanation of Executive will, and that
it did not flow from an act of Congress, for
as some said at that time the reconstruc-
tion of the Union and the restoration of the
rebellious States is the business of
the Legislative Department of the General
Government, and not of the Executive.
But their opinions were overruled. The
commanding general of the department, by
the exercise of the military authority which
was vested in him, ordered, as I have said, the convention,
and proceeded to its labors; it framed a con-
stitution, which was submitted to that por-
tion of the people who were within the
lines, was proclaimed as having been
adopted, and the officers elected (I refer to
the executive officers)—the officers who
were elected to administer that government
were ordered upon the discharge of their func-
tions. When that convention adjourned,
it did so with a resolution authorizing its
present president, under circumstances

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specified in the resolution of adjournment,
to call the convention together when the
emergency arose for which the resolution
itself provided. That was the cause, that
the motive, and thus the origin of the re-
convocation of the convention, which was
made the pretext for the wholesale slaugh-
ter of Union men in New Orleans on the
30th of July. After the Governor who
was first elected under that Constitution,
the Hon. Michael Hahn, had been elected
in the Senate of the United States, the Lieut-
enant Governor of the State, Mr. Well,
of the parish of Rapides, succeeded to the
Executive chair. Under instructions, as it
was said, from the Executive at Washing-
ton, he used the full measure of his Execu-
tive patronage to promote the welfare of
those who had most largely striven to re-
store the Government of the United States.
Under his administration every office in
the gift of the Executive was filled with
an incumbent who had served in the
rebel army, or who had done service in the
vigilance committees, or who had made
himself conspicuous in civil life for his ad-
hesion to the Confederate cause; and so
well did this master of policy carry out his
work, that when, in the ensuing fall, the
elections for the Legislature came on, there
was, so far as my knowledge goes (and I
believe that I am correct in what I say),
not one man elected to the Legislature—
not one man who would call himself a
Union man; nay, more, not one who would
not have felt it as a deep offence if any
one had applied that designation to him. Hence
the State was completely under the rule
of the man who had used their best efforts to
return the Government of the United States
and who had plunged Louisiana into the
vortex of a rebellion. Immediately were
seen the natural consequences in the legis-
lation of a body so chosen as the one I
have described. The most oppressive laws
were passed with regard to the labor of the
newly-emancipated people; odious distinc-
tions were made in every direction, and the
whole system of government—executive,
legislative and judicial—was so organized
and constituted that justice or right in the
case of a citizen of African descent or of a
citizen of conspicuous Union sentiments, in
most quarters of the State, could not be
obtained. This condition of things to
many became insufferable, and they turned
their attention to those resolutions to which
I have called your attention, which author-
ized the President of the Constitutional
Convention of 1864 to reconvoke it. When
the idea of reconvoking this Constitutional
assembly was first put forth, and up to the
time when it was in a degree consummated,
the same objection was presented to the
minds of Radical men that had existed
when the convention was originally con-
vened under the orders of the major gen-
eral commanding the department of the Gulf.
They viewed it as an improper thing in it-
self, that a convention should spring from
the executive department of the Govern-
ment; they thought it impolitic that the
Union men of the South should attempt to
march faster than the Congress of the United
States seemed willing to move. [Great
applause.] For it became evident to all
men of sober reflection that in any of the
unconstitutional States the Union men at-
tempted to go farther than the limits as-
signed to them by Congress they would be
exposed to all the evils of rebel vengeance
and executive neglect. They really be-
came exposed to much worse. But you
will perceive, citizens, that none of these
objections, either on the score of legality
or of policy, were or could be made by the
partisans of the executive theory of recon-
struction, because that portion of the peo-
ple and the executive had taken the exact-
ly opposite ground, and it did not lie in
their mouths to make such objections. And
candor compels me also to say that there
was a large body of men among the Union-
ists in Louisiana as well able to judge as
those who were styled most radical, as
well able to grapple with questions of law
as they were, who thought that it was en-
tirely legal to recall that convention into
being. I have never heard that the former
president of that convention, the Hon.
Judge Durell, of the District Court of the
United States in Louisiana, ever objected
to recalling it into being on the ground that
the call would be illegal. The gentleman
who was chosen to preside over the pre-
liminary deliberations, in the absence of
Judge Durell, as a judge of the Supreme
Court of Louisiana, and the adjut-
ant of the State of Mississippi, a life-long resident
of Louisiana, I refer to the name of the
Hon. R. K. Howell; and when I present
his name all who have been in Louisiana
will bear me out when I say I mention the
name of a man of spotless integrity, of
blameless life, of high judicial experience
and legal knowledge. He gave the move-
ment the sanction of his name, and, as I
have said, lent to it the appearance of leg-
ality by presiding over its preliminary
meetings and deliberations. Nor were
there wanting other men who added re-
spectability to the movement. Mr. Hahn,
himself a lawyer of high standing, and
his members could still be secured in at-
tendance, and its only act was to call up-
on the Governor of the State of Louisiana
to issue writs of election for the purpose of
securing a representation of those parishes
which at the time of the original assem-
bling were under the control of the Confed-
erate authorities, and where no elections to
a Union convention could then be held. I
wish now, in the most impressive man-
ner of which I am capable, to direct your at-
tention to a great fact which effectually
disposed of the question of the illegality of
that convention in the mind of the Chief
Executive of the United States, and in the
opinion of every citizen outside the limits

of Louisiana. That was that towards the
end of July, in answer to the request of
this constitutional convention, the Govern-
or of Louisiana, in his official capacity, is-
sued writs of election to fill up the vacan-
cies in those parishes where no elections
had been previously held; and I declare it
in the feeble strength of what reputation I
may have for being able to interpret the
laws of my country, that when the Execu-
tive of a State proclaims an election and
orders his sheriff in a parish or county to
hold it, no power outside of that State can
question his act. [Great applause.] What
would be thought, fellow-citizens, if the
President of the United States should in-
quire of the Governor of New York should
question the right of the Governor of Pen-
sylvania to order an election in his State?
What would be thought if the President of
the United States should inquire of the
Governor of Massachusetts why he ordered
a particular election in the old Bay State?
What answer would be given to such an
interrogatory? It is plain, fellow-citizens,
that there could be but one; that it did
not lie within the province or the function
of him who put the interrogatory to inquire
into the matter at all. [Applause.] A Chief
Magistrate of the Union deals with States
only through their executive or legislative
departments; he can come in contact with
the people with the people and the governor
of a State in no other way. The fourth sec-
tion of the fourth article of the Constitu-
tion of the United States declares that each
State in the Union shall protect each State
in the Union against domestic violence, on
the application of the Legislature, or, if the
Legislature cannot be convened, on the ap-
plication of the Executive; and therefore
it follows as an irresistible conclusion that
even in the emergency of domestic violence
the President of the United States cannot
interpose unless the Legislature, if it be in
convention, or the Governor, in his absence,
shall call upon that high officer so to do.

Now it is known to you all that the hon-
ored Chief Magistrate of this nation has re-
peatedly recognized Louisiana as a State
in the Union; that he has declared the re-
bellion in that State at an end; that he
has proclaimed it restored to all its origi-
nal functions and prerogatives as a State
in the Union, and he has even upbraided
the Congress of the United States because
that body was not prompt enough, in his
opinion, in coinciding with his judgment
and admitting Representatives and Sena-
tors from that State; therefore, any inter-
ference in Louisiana with writs of election
ordered by her chief Executive Magistrate
must, with due deference be it said, be
treated—from that point of view, I say—as
a mere act of Executive usurpation. In the
case of Louisiana, no Executive call had
been made, no Legislature was in session,
and therefore the exigency provided for by
the Constitution had not arisen, and the
question propounded to Gov. Wells by the
President of the United States was a ques-
tion which, within the terms of the Consti-
tution, he had no right to propound. But,
fellow-citizens, what was the consequence?
I trust that I understand too well my duty
as an American citizen to speak in terms
that should be in the slightest degree dis-
respectful of the President of the United
States. I know that here, where every citi-
zen is a part of the Government, a becom-
ing self-respect forbids each one to treat
the Chief Magistrate otherwise than with
courtesy and deference. It is impossible
that he should have meditated any harm.
Has he not himself, citizens, told us fre-
quently—announced to us in terms that
were unmistakable, and which have im-
pressed themselves on our memory—that
he had trodden the paths of glory and
sounded all the depths and shoals of honor;
that he had nothing more to hope for from
his country, and that his career of glory
was run?

[At this point of the speaker's remarks,
the arrival of the Republican Invincibles,
headed by a band of music, compelled him
to defer speaking for several moments.—
The Invincible boys were greeted with
rousing cheers which were repeated again
and again by the vast multitude, which by
this time covered every available inch of
ground in front of the League House. The
speaker finally resumed as follows:—
I was saying, citizens, that in our Repub-
lic, where each man feels that he himself
is part and parcel of the Government, a be-
coming self-respect forbids him to treat the
Chief Magistrate of his country in any other
mode than that of the most courteous
deference. And, indeed, if he were not the
Chief Magistrate, it is our bounden duty to
treat every opponent in debate as an an-
tagonist surely, but not as an enemy.
With his motives we are not concerned, but
with the bearings of his conduct, with the
consequences of his measures we have a
right to make full inquiry, and it is our
duty to criticize them in a spirit of fairness
and candor.

I regret deeply to be compelled to say,
as one who was an eye-witness of those
scenes in New Orleans which have sent a
thrill of horror through the loyal heart of
the nation, that the interposition of the
Chief Magistrate of the country in the af-
fairs of Louisiana, most terribly misun-
derstood by those to whom he addressed him-
self, has produced the terrible results of
the 30th of July.
On that day, citizens, our glowing sun
rose majestically over the city of New Or-
leans; all nature smiled under his bound-
less beams; the Queen City of the valley
of the Mississippi lay there bathed in the
glorious sunlight like a rich diamond in
a monarch's crown, or as the brightest jewel
in the girdle of the Republic. No indica-
tion in the heavens foreshadowed the dark
fatality that was to approach that day.—
The Union citizen, in pursuit of his business
avocations, went to his desk, his workshop
and his store that day. Was there any
thought of apprehension in any man's mind,
that the American flag over New Orleans,
the guarantee of protection, and there stood
an American general with an American ar-
my to shield the Union citizen if any peril
should occur. The Union man, unconscious
of harm, was pursuing the daily business
of his life. But what was that sound that smote
upon his ear? It was like the stifled cry of
a distant multitude. "No; 'twas but the
wind or the car rattling over the stone
street." He thinks again of the flag that
is protecting him, and turns once more to
the business of the day. But hark! that

sound comes again; he starts from his seat;
he listens more attentively. But hark
again! That nearer shout brings faster
to the murderers; the streets are filled
with an infuriated populace; a band of as-
sassin in the garb of policemen, headed by
that prince of murderers, the Mayor of New
Orleans, appears in the streets to reap the
long account of smouldering vengeance. A
procession of citizens peaceably bearing
the American flag attempted to appear upon
the streets to do honor to a convention
which, it was said, was to bestow upon
them the natural rights from which their
race had long been excluded in our country;
they are assaulted in the streets with
murderous weapons and dispersed. The
members of the convention sitting there
had heard these sounds of tumult also, but
were without apprehension; for did not
the American flag float over them, and was
there not an American general there to pro-
tect them? They ordered their sergeant-at-
arms to proceed to the houses of absent citi-
zens to summon their attendance. As he puts
his foot upon the sidewalk, emerging from
the building, a murderous and fratricidal
shot salutes him in the back; he falls wel-
tering in blood. A native of Louisiana, a
gallant man, who had taken up arms under
the flag of our country, and served honor-
ably in a Louisiana Union regiment, falls on
the streets of the city slaughtered when in
the peaceful execution of his duty. A friend
conveys him to his vehicle; he shouts of
the savage mob salutes him as he drives off;
he has not life enough left to now address
you, he hears the cry of the multitude, he
heeds it not; his eye is with his heart, and
that is far away, for he is thinking of
the dear wife and children at home, that
await their dying father; with his expiring
strength he clasps the shoulder of the man
that drives the vehicle, and says, with his
fainting breath, "Give my love to my
dear wife and child." He expires there
before he reaches home. A reverend man,
who opened the proceedings that morning
with prayer, who stood beside him when
now addresses you, on the Fourth of July,
when we commemorated the anniversary
of our nation's birth—this reverend man,
fresh from the service of his Maker, in-
voking a blessing on the leaders of the con-
vention, and descending with the emblem
of peace in his hand to still these furious
men, whom he too little knew—he also
slain in cold blood and treated with
marks of such savage cruelty that you
would scarcely believe it if I had the
tongue to narrate them to you.

Yes, under the blows of these more than
savages, the wretched Horton sunk to the
ground; and barely having time to reach
his home and receive the consolations of his
wife and children—receiving in vain the
best surgical aid—he sinks back, and his
spirit returns to his God who gave it.
But who is that I see dragged by me,
where I saw men slaughtered in front of
my own place of business? Who is that,
bareheaded under the scorching rays of the
almost tropical sun, his hair dishevelled,
his garments torn to fragments, his whole
countenance all streaming with blood—who
is he thus ruthlessly dragged through the
streets with four armed assassins trail-
ing him almost in the dust despite of his
crippled limb? He is the man who had
been Governor of Louisiana, and who had
very Constitution which it is now pretend-
ed was so sacred that nobody could say it
should be changed. It was the very man
who had enjoyed the confidence of Mr. Lin-
coln, your revered Chief Magistrate. [Great
applause.] It was the Honorable Michael
Hahn who was thus ignominiously dragged
through the streets of the city.

But I cannot dilate upon these horrors.—
The public prints have made you all too
familiar with them. Not even the bit-
terest of our foes, I believe, could now tell
them without a tear. I do not wish to
impress it upon your minds, citizens, that
the whole mass of the population of New
Orleans who joined in that confederate
movement were men of this stamp. There
are among them numerous honorable ex-
ceptions—men with whom my life was
safe, and the life of any Union man; but I
tell you, and tell you truly, as I hope to
stand in judgment, that these well-meaning
and honorable men cannot control the
savage element that elevated them to power.
They, in the hands of that mob, have no
power to restrain or disperse; and up to
this moment (and you must blush for the
inhabitants of New Orleans when I say it),
even up to this moment, no meeting of re-
spectable citizens of New Orleans, of for-
mer Confederate sympathies, has yet been
held to denounce these bloody and atrocious
murders. Can it be that they have not
excited sufficient indignation and sym-
pathy here in the free North? I will not
permit myself to believe it; I will not for
one moment so asperse your good name as
to breathe the thought that there is less
sympathy evinced for the sufferers in this
atrocious tragedy because the greater part
of them were men of African descent. For
each one of those mangled victims was
a man as we are. He had hung upon a wo-
man's breast in infancy, and some dear
creature loved him and took him to his
grave when he died in his dying moments
with the same sympathies that your rela-
tives in like circumstances would bestow
on you. [Applause.] And more, the Con-
gress of the United States, in the exercise
of their constitutional powers, has proclai-
med the black man in the South, and every-
where where this flag floats, a citizen of
the United States [great cheering], entit-
led, in the fullest sense of the words, to
the enjoyment of all his civil rights and
privileges as such. Therefore I will not
suppose that one tear less has been shed,
that one sigh less of sympathy has heaved
the bosoms of the loyal North because
the principal subjects of the vengeance of
the infuriated people in New Or-
leans at this time were citizens of African
descent. It cannot be that you sympathize
with them less on that account, for did not
the poet well say,
Greasy locks and black complexion cannot forfeit
nature's claim;
Skins may differ, but affection dwells in white and
black the same.

The speaker stated further, that every
reflecting man must have concluded that
the reconvoction of that convention was
but the pretext for a concerted slaughter
of all the Union men in the city of New
Orleans. This was substantiated by the
manner in which the murders were carried
out and the official reports subsequently
published. He then proceeded to consider
what remedies could be applied for these
evils. The unfortunate men whose circum-
stances permitted were flying from their
homes in the South to seek refuge and hos-
pitality and freedom of thought and discus-
sion here in the North.
How long was this to continue? It was
for the people of the North to answer. He
then reviewed the question of reconstruc-
tion from the different standpoints of the
hour, and closed his interesting remarks
with an eloquent and touching appeal to
his hearers to be true to themselves in this
great struggle.

Upon the conclusion of the above address,
Mr. Durant received the compliment of
three hearty rounds of cheers.
THE UNION STATE CENTRAL COMMITTEE.
This important committee had a large
meeting Monday afternoon, at their rooms
No. 1105 Chestnut street. Reports from the
different counties were received, and all
were of the most gratifying character.
The following address was ordered to be
published:
COMMITTEE ROOMS, No. 1105, Chestnut St.,
PHILADELPHIA, September 3, 1866.
FELLOW CITIZENS.—The superficial obser-
ver might suppose, after the fearful strug-
gles, sacrifices and sufferings of the last
five years, that we could safely relax our
efforts and watchfulness, and, returning to
our individual affairs, permit the machinery
of government to run itself. An intelli-
gent and patriotic survey of the situation,
however, will not warrant any such con-
clusion, but will impress us more than ever
with the truth and wisdom of the adage,
"Eternal vigilance is the price of liberty."
Six years ago the people lawfully elected
Abraham Lincoln President of the United
States. The minority, enemies of our gov-
ernment and country, refused to submit to
their defeat at the polls, and, for the first
time in our history, appealed from the bal-
lot-box to the sword. They defiantly threw
off all the obligations of constitutions and
laws, rushed madly into civil war, and
fought with malignity and desperation for
four long bloody years in the wicked at-
tempt to overthrow and utterly destroy the
government handed down by our fathers.
They did not do this under the pretext that
the State had a constitutional right to secede
from the Union. The same thing had been
attempted by South Carolina in 1863; but,
under the vigorous administration of Presi-
dent Jackson, the effort signally failed,
and the doctrine on which it was based
was repudiated. But in 1860, when the
Democratic party of Cincinnati nominated
James Buchanan for President, they re-
vived the old State rights dogma of seces-
sion, by readopting the Virginia and Ken-
tucky resolutions of 1798 and 1799, as a
part of their platform. And at the Charles-
ton Convention, in 1860, although the party
themselves split into two parts, the one no-
minating Douglas and the other Breckin-
ridge for President, both factions readopted
these same resolutions. These resolutions do
not hold the relations of the States to the
United States as constituting a govern-
ment in the ordinary and proper sense of
the term, but declared to be merely a com-
pact, and that "as in all other cases of
compact among parties having no common
judge, each party has an equal right to
judge for itself, as well of infractions as
of the mode and measure of redress."

Under this free Democratic charter for
rebellion, the election of Abraham Lincoln
was claimed by the rebel States as an "in-
fraction" of the "compact," and they chose
secession and civil war as the "mode"
and the destruction of the Union and of
the government as "the measure of red-
ress." Hence, when the war broke upon
us in all its fury, we found the Democratic
party paralyzed. It was suddenly brought
face to face with the practical application
of its own political creed, by its own politi-
cal friends. Hence, too, the sad demoraliza-
tion and want of loyalty and patriotism
shown by that party during the whole war.
Those of them who preferred their country
to their party and platform, abandoned both
platform and party, and under the flag of
their country manfully rallied to put down
the rebellion, while the leaders and the
mass of the party did otherwise.
They had so repeatedly proclaimed the
right of secession they believed it, and
were everywhere found justifying or ex-
cusing the rebellion, denouncing every
means used to suppress it; predicting the
war a failure, and endeavoring to make
good their predictions, and boldly denying
there was any power in the government to
"coerce a State." The Democratic party
thus acquired a reputation for connivance
at treason and disloyalty to the country,
which justly consigned it to continuous and
overwhelming defeats, until at the close of
the war it had not a Governor or a Legis-
lature in a single loyal State, except little
Delaware and the Legislature of Kentucky.
And since the Philadelphia Convention it
seems to have fallen upon the expedient of
other noted criminals, and resolved to sally
forth under a new name.
Not until April, 1865, were the rebels
finally overcome, and then only by the pow-
er of our armies, which they could no longer
withstand. There was no voluntary
surrender, but their arms were stricken
from their bloody hands. The great con-
spiracy against freedom had failed, and the
armies and people of eleven revolted States
were at the mercy of the conquerors, pro-
fessing a willingness to accept any terms
the victors might impose. Congress had
then recently adjourned, and, under the law,
would not assemble until the following De-
cember, unless convened by the President
in extra session. The occasion seemed to
be one of sufficient novelty and importance
to require a meeting of Congress, but the
President judged differently. He proclaimed
that these States had been deprived of
"all civil government," and the Supreme
Court of the United States declared the
whole population thereof to be "alien ene-
mies."

The President proceeded, by proclama-
tions, by appointment of provisional gov-
ernors and other means, to create govern-
ments for these rebellious States, and up-
on the annual meeting of Congress made
report of what had been done, and recom-
mended the admission of Representatives.
Congress claimed to have jurisdiction over
the whole subject, and proceeded to inquire
whether or not governments had been es-
tablished, and whether, under all the cir-
cumstances, it would be proper to restore
those rebellious people and States to their
former relations and rights in the Union,
without first imposing some terms upon
them as security for the future?

The great question is not whether the
States themselves shall be restored, but
whether they shall have representation in
Congress with or without terms. Our po-
litical adversaries—Democrats, rebels and
their sympathizers, north and south—say
without terms and conditions, and forthwith
Congress, by the almost unanimous vote of
all the members who sustained the war, has
proposed sundry amendments to the Consti-
tution of the United States, to be sub-
mitted to the State Legislatures for ratifica-
tion; and it will be the duty of the Legis-
lature we are about to elect to approve or
disapprove these fundamental changes in
the national Constitution. These amend-
ments are the terms fixed by Congress on
which the States laced in rebellion and
their people can resume their practical re-
lations to the national Union. These terms
may be briefly stated as follows:

1. That all persons born or naturalized
in the United States shall be citizens there-
of; that all citizens shall have equal
protection in the enjoyment of life, liberty
and property.
2. That representation shall be apportioned
among the States according to numbers,
but that classes disfranchised without
cause shall not be counted in fixing the
basis of Federal representation.
3. That all who are guilty of treason and
perjury shall be ineligible to office, unless
the disability be removed by a two-thirds
vote of Congress.
4. That the validity of the national obli-
gations incurred in the war shall not be
questioned, and all rebel debts and claims
for slaves shall be void.

The States of Tennessee, Connecticut
and New Hampshire, by the action of their
several legislatures, have already ratified
these amendments by very large majorities.
Our friends in Congress and out of Con-
gress are united in the conviction that
these terms are pre-eminently magnani-
mous, wise and just; that they are the legi-
timate fruits of the war, and essential to
our peace and security for the future. By
the storms of civil war some of the land-
marks made by our fathers were taken
away, and some of the ancient foundations
laid by them were moved. Let us wisely
rebuild them, so that our temple of lib-
erty may stand upon the broader and firmer
foundation of universal liberty and impar-
tial justice.

In March, 1866, the Union party as-
sembled in convention to nominate a candi-
date for Governor. It reaffirmed its patriotic
principles as proclaimed and fought for
during the war, and declared it to be the
right and duty of Congress to prescribe the
terms of reconstruction. On this platform
Major General John W. Geary was nomi-
nated for Governor by a unanimous vote, and
subsequently his nomination was enthusi-
astically endorsed by a large and intelli-
gent Convention of the Soldiers and Sailors
of the State. He is no obscure personage,
but one of the representative men of these
eventful times. As a civilian he has filled
with ability and distinction many impor-
tant public positions, requiring intelligence,
discretion and the highest order of integ-
rity and administrative ability. He has been
a farmer, teacher, a civil engineer, a law-
yer and manufacturer. He has served the
people as postmaster and mayor of a city,
as Judge of a court, and as Governor of a
territory. As a volunteer soldier he is the
pride of his comrades, and an honor to his
State.

He went out from home to the Mexican
war as a captain, and came back with hon-
ors as the colonel of his regiment. He en-
tered the service in the late rebellion as a
colonel, and fought it all the way through,
having been promoted to the exalted rank
of major general "for fitness to command
and promptness to execute." This valiant
and faithful soldier was present at and
participated in sixty battles, and was four
times wounded in action, but never once
retreated. He made the entire circuit of
the rebel confederacy, and fought its an-
thors and defenders from every State that
acknowledged their usurped authority. He
has given to his country his first-born son,
killed in battle; he has perilled his life and
shed his blood for the flag and cause of our
country, and he bears upon his person the
honorable scars from many a well-fought
field. Such is the candidate presented for
the suffrages of the loyal and patriotic vo-
ters of Pennsylvania.

As a competitor the Democratic party has
presented the Hon. Heister Clymer. He, too,
is a representative man; but it is his
party, rather than his country, that he has
followed and his campaign thus far may be
summarily comprehended in the phrase,
"Up with the rebel, and down with the re-
public." He is a lawyer by profession, and
it is believed he never held any office except
that of State Senator. His public record,
therefore, is short one, and consists entirely
of his votes and speeches during his sena-
torial career. But that term covers the
entire period when the country was torn
by a distracting and bloody civil war, and
when the State was lavishly contributing
her blood and treasure for her own defence
and for that of the national government.
In this tremendous struggle where did
Heister Clymer stand? And what did he
do? He has made his record, and let it
answer.

In 1861 he voted against the bill for the
arming of the State, and after the news of
the attack on Fort Sumter had fired the
hearts of our people, and thousands were
rallying to the defence of our insulted flag,
Mr. Clymer caused to be entered upon the
journals of the Senate his solemn protest
against the bill for arming the State.
In 1865, when reverses had overtaken
our armies and our credit was strained to
the utmost to keep men in the field, Mr.
Clymer voted against the joint resolution
providing for the collection of the taxes
levied by the United States.
In 1863 Mr. Clymer voted against the
bill to enable our soldiers and sailors to
vote when absent in the service.
In 1864 he dodged the vote on the pro-
posed constitutional amendment allowing
soldiers in the field the right to vote, and
after said amendment had passed he voted
against the bill to carry it into effect.
He voted against the bill to define and
punish offences of a treasonable character,
and against the bill to legalize the pay-
ment of bounties to volunteers.
In February, 1864, in a speech in the
Senate, referring to the recent defeat of Val-

landigham in Ohio, and of Woodward in
Pennsylvania, Mr. Clymer said: "I say
now and believe that it was the greatest
calamity that has yet befallen this country
that those two men were not elected."

Such is an outline of the inglorious re-
cord of Heister Clymer, and by it, as he de-
clared on a recent occasion, he is deter-
mined to stand. His whole public career and
all his official acts and public declarations
of the opinion have been uniformly con-
sistent. His record may be searched in vain
for a vote or sentiment evincing true loy-
alty to the flag or cause of the country, or
which was not at the time in harmony with
the prevailing political sentiment at Rich-
mond and Charleston. Upon those records
and candidates we most confidently appeal
to the patriotic voters of the Keystone
State for the most emphatic verdict in fa-
vor of the right.

Sundry dispatches captured from the en-
emy disclose his mode of organization and
plan of campaign. The chairman of their
State Central Committee, as a sort of head-
center, appoints a reliable subordinate in
every election district in the State, and
these from the debris of the late "Knights
of the Golden Circle," and such other ma-
terials as can be had, are recruited to or-
ganize "mystic circles," or Democratic
clubs, which are to register the voters,
collect money for the party, distribute doc-
uments, and do various other things to in-
sure the full party vote. These are semi-
military organizations, and the members
are admitted by initiation, at which the
candidate "places his right hand on his
left breast," and enters into most solemn
vows to "vote against all men who are
willing to give the negro either political or
social equality in this State, or in any other
State, District, or Territory of this country."
Their "pledges," which are, "obedience,"
"Obedience," "Vigilance." It is a pity
that the great light of these magnanimous
patriots should be longer concealed under
a bushel, and that they can find nothing
more important to do in this great crisis of
our country's fate. But forewarned should
be forearmed. Guard well against these
insidious appeals to the prejudices of our
people, and attempts to mislead them by
such means. Be not deceived by the stale
clamor about negro equality and negro suf-
frage. These favorite hobbies were sup-