THE MONTROSE DEMOCRAT.

A. J. GERRITSON, Publisher. MONTROSE, PA., THURSDAY, JUNE 25, 1863. [VOLUME XX. NUMBER 25.

BUSINESS CARDS.

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NO. 37 PARK ROW, New York, and 5 State Street, Boston, are our agents for the MONTROSE DEMOCRAT in those cities, and are authorized to take advertisements and subscriptions for it at our lowest rates.

A Remarkable Speech by Senator Trumbull, of Illinois.

There is here and there a Republican leader, who seems to be partly awake to the fact that the republican administration and the republican party are fast sliding down to occupy the same ground with the despotic governments, and the apologists of despotism, in hostility to popular rights; and at least one republican leader perceives that this is the path to destruction, and has lifted his voice in warning to his party friends. In the excitement which grew out of the late attempt to subvert the freedom of the press in Chicago, Mr. Trumbull, U. S. Senator from Illinois, compelled a heated audience of his party friends to hear him against their wishes. We quote the following report of some of his remarks:

"The times," he said, "are grave! A majority of the people of our State are taking ground against the administration—and why? In the name of Heaven, why is this? I will tell you why; I will point out to you some of our mistakes that they may be corrected in the future. The reason is we have not adhered to David Crockett's motto, 'Be sure you're right, then go ahead!' [A voice: 'we are always right.'] I have lived long enough to know that I am not infallible, perhaps you are; I have some respect for the opinions of others.

One of our mistakes is, that we have allowed our opponents to make false issues. But this is not the worst. The great charge, the charge that has damaged the administration above all others, is that we are in favor of the exercise of arbitrary power; that we are opposed to the freedom of the press, in favor of curtailing personal liberty, and in favor of despotism. Now, we should not allow these things. We have been the advocate of free speech for the last forty years, and should not allow the party which during the whole time has advocated the gag to usurp our place.

We are fighting for the restoration of the Union, and the preservation of the Constitution, and all the liberties it guarantees to every citizen. And it makes me feel bad when I hear some honest friend, brimming full of patriotism, say he does not care for the Constitution and does not want it thrust into his way, or thrust in his face until the war is over. The rebels cannot thrust it in his face, for they have no rights under it, save the right to be tried and hung for treason. [Continued applause.]

In certain districts the military law is supreme. Gen. Grant is in command of an army in the State of Mississippi which is in revolt. Will any one deny his right to make arrests, his right to suppress newspapers, and to level fire, like those around you to-night, in order to get a range for his guns? No. And yet these are all arbitrary powers. But these exercises of it are not the troublesome cases. The great difficulty is in these districts, where rightful civil government is in operation, where the judicial tribunals are open, and the law respected—the laws which afford a remedy for every wrong. As a rule, we must remember that the civil law is superior to military law, and the cases are rare, very rare, where the rule can be reversed. It here resolves itself into the plain, naked question of whether the President and his Generals, by the simple clicking of a telegraph instrument, can cause the imprisonment of A, B, or C. If one General can do it another can do it. Who will fix the limit? [Great sensation and murmurs.]

Do you propose to interfere with the ballot-box? [Cries of "No! No!" "Never! Never!" from all parts of the meeting.] I am glad to hear you say that, and glad you are so unanimous. Did it ever occur to you that the next election may put an entirely different face upon affairs? The next election may bring great and deplorable changes, when Valandigham and men of his class may determine who are to be arrested. [Cries of "No! that can never be." "Never, never," from all parts of the crowd.] Well gentlemen, there is no use in closing your eyes to the facts which twist around you on every side. I told you I came here to address myself to your reasons and not to your passions, and in view of that light I ask you who are being elected Governors of loyal States, who compose a majority of the Legislature of the loyal State of Illinois, and who was recently elected Mayor of her principal and most loyal city, and in view of these facts what may the future not have in store? [Cries of "Jennison," "Music," "We don't want to hear you," "You sent a telegram to the President!"] I know I am distasteful, but am I not truthful? I would claim your reason, divested of passion. The same chalice you hold to the lips of your adversaries to-day, to-morrow may be returned to your lips. Would you like to drink of it? Close our eyes as we may, there is no safety for us, no safety for you and I and every American citizen, now or in the future, save in an unvarying adherence to the Constitutional landmarks of our Fathers. [Further cries of "Jennison," "Music," and much dissatisfaction.]

You are wrong—it is your greatest and gravest mistake—in allowing your opponents to place you in the position of being opposed to the Constitution. [Cries for "Jennison," and "I move we continue else."] I see that I am distasteful, but I cannot help it, and will not detain you long.

Who is there among you who does not believe in adhering strictly to the Constitution in these times, and extending to every citizen of the loyal states its guarantees? Who among you is prepared to acknowledge our government is a failure? Who among you is prepared to say that our Constitution is a fine thing for peace—good enough—but when war comes, it must be rolled up and laid away? Or in other words, for it means the same, who among you is ready to substitute the will and opinion of one man, who may be another Valandigham, in place of the Constitution as the supreme law of the land? [Cries of "We don't want any more of that." "What's that band for?"] Well, hear me through, for I will not be long, and the questions before you are of so much importance and gravity that you should listen patiently, and not only that, but decide dispassionately.

The Constitution is broad. It grants all powers necessary, even for the suppression of treason in the North. (Applause.) Yes, gentlemen, it is just as legal and binding upon the General in the field, and the civil officers of the nation, as it is upon the humblest citizen of the land. Has it come to this, that you will deny in the free city of Chicago the right of a citizen to discuss the acts of the President? [Cries of "we won't allow it," and "none but copperheads do that, and we will stop them."] Is there a man in this audience who has not expressed to-day his dissatisfaction with some act of the President? [Cries of "yes, yes, we have none of us expressed any dissatisfaction."] Ah, do all of you, then, think the President's revocation of General Burnside's order, suppressing the Chicago Times, was right? [Cries of "No! No! It was wrong! He ought to have enforced the order!"] Then you all deserve to be taken in hand by the military power and sent beyond the lines.

You will be much stronger with the law on your side.

"Loyal" View of the War.

A member of Congress from Kansas, a pretty radical and rather honest Republican, sends the following letter to the Tribune:

SIR: The recent avowal of Mr. Gerrit Smith that he is in favor of a restoration of the Union, even if such restoration should involve new power to Slavery, is a slight indication of that counter-revolution in public sentiment on this subject which the war is calculated to effect, and which political leaders seem determined through it to bring about.

The only period in which there was a ghost of a chance of giving this war an anti-slavery result was the first two years of its existence. If it had been taken hold of at the outset as an instrument of revolution—to dissolve the Union and constitute the North the nation—thus liberating the government from all Constitutional obligations to slaveholders, and had then been rushed through with skill and energy, under wise ministers and competent Generals, in a manner to give full effect to the power of the North, Slavery would have been swept out of existence, and the seceded States conquered to the authority of the Union, and held as subject provinces.

But this was not done. On the contrary, the war was employed as a means to prevent revolution and to maintain the Union. The object was to force upon the slaveholders the rights guaranteed to them by the Constitution they discarded! For nearly two years the most zealous regard was paid to these "rights," and military operations conducted in a manner to induce the Southern people to return voluntarily to their federal allegiance. In consequence of this policy, the golden opportunity slipped away—the south became a determined and settled power—the north lost the prestige of victory, and its morale was broken.

Thus the war became a failure, and utterly ceased to bear upon the question of the subjugation of the south in any manner whatsoever; and now, whatever may be said to the contrary, there are few reflecting minds which have not come to the conclusion that the independence of the south is an established fact, whether recognized or not.

The war for the future, therefore, becomes simply an instrument in the hands of political managers to effect results favorable to their own personal ends, and unfavorable to the cause of freedom.

What matters it that a few negroes, more or less, under white officers, are sent into the field? What matters it that the President's edict of emancipation is printed in Little & Brown's edition of the U. S. statutes at large? Is Richmond ours? or even Vicksburgh? Does not the Confederacy still stand firm and defiant, and does it not promise to stand so in the future? And, above all, is not the Presidential election approaching?

It is now assumed that the Union is an object paramount over all other considerations, and we are told that it must never be relinquished. We are asked to adhere to the war, not because it gives us successful achievements in the field, but for the reason simply that other wise we give up the Union. We are told also that the institution of slavery, like all other institutions (see N. Y. Times of to-day), is of minor importance, one way or the other, compared with the Union; that it must give way or not give way, be destroyed or granted a new lease of life, with increased power, just as the exigencies of the Union may require. And to this doctrine that life-long abolitionist, Gerrit Smith, and that zealous republican, Mr. Raymond, and that eminent democrat, Mr. Van Buren, all alike assent. Since the deportation of Vallandigham, it is supposed this is to be the mongrel Democratic platform for the next Presidential race.

Now, Mr. Editor, I desire thus publicly and from the beginning, to announce my emphatic wish to be counted out of any such arrangement. I went into this anti-slavery business earnestly, and on the presumption that I was acting with honest men—men who hated slavery, and who were determined to cast it out, come what might. I find that as to many I have been deceived. I find that these men want power, and care for nothing else; and that for the sake of power they would kill all the white people of the south, or take them to their arms; that they would free all the slaves or make their bondage still more hopeless; or do any other inconsistent or wicked thing. I have no sympathy whatever with such an unhallowed lust of dominion.

As the Union, I would not give a cent for it unless it stood as a guarantee for freedom to every man, woman and child, within its entire jurisdiction. I consider the idea that everything must be sacrificed to the Union as utterly preposterous.—What was the Union made for? That we should sacrifice ourselves to it? I for one would beg to be excused. As things stand I would sacrifice the Union to Freedom any morning before breakfast.

Very truly yours,

M. F. CONWAY.

Washington, May 29, 1863.

Treason! or—What is it?

A leading New-York journal, in its issue of Wednesday last, contained the following scathing criticism upon the "fatal mismanagement of affairs by the present Administration:

THE MILITARY SITUATION—THE RESPONSIBILITY.

"An evening journal of a late date had a despatch from Washington stating that the President, speaking of the military operations in the Mississippi, said 'he expected the best results, but was prepared for the worst.' If the worst comes, we hope he will be prepared to satisfy the country that everything that could have been done to avert it has been done.

We cite this statement, and refer to it now, in order that the Government may be apprized that the country, if called upon to bear the reverse that is thus apparently half overshadowed, will require much information that it does not now possess to convince it that the disaster could not have been avoided.

We do not hesitate to make this suggestion when we remember how the first Bull Run fight was lost, and the rebellion set firmly upon its legs, while there were Union soldiers enough to crush the traitors twice over reposing idly on their arms within hearing of the din of that battle and when we further remember how, on that same field, in the following summer, Pope and his gallant army were left to contend for two days against murderous odds, and finally to fall back, while more than thirty thousand men were allowed to remain in sullen if not treacherous inaction at and near Alexandria, hardly a day's march from the field, that was being made drunk with the blood of their comrades; and when we remember how, still later, Hooker was permitted inglariously to relinquish the field of Chancellorville to the Rebel enemy, lest (so it is said) his communications with his base of supplies at Acquia Creek should be cut, although National troops, almost equaling in number the whole Rebel army opposed to him, lay scattered and unemployed around his flank and rear, not forty eight hours journey from the scene of conflict.

We shall believe, however, so long as we can, that the Government will not a gain be chargeable with such fatal mismanagement. *But it is well that it should bear in mind that there is a limit of all human endurance*, even when the suffering is inflicted by one's most trusted friends. If Grant and his brave army shall be overwhelmed, and the nation be again agonized with the spectacle of hecatombs of its children *slain to no purpose*, the loyal millions will not quail nor abate one jot of their spirit, even in the presence of a great calamity; but they may feel that *it would be no longer a duty to tolerate the men in whom they had confided, and who day after day have given proof upon proof that they can neither comprehend nor grapple successfully with the magnitude and the demands of the task before them.*

We feel it our duty to tell the President these things. The People believe in the perpetuity of the Republic, but they *cannot believe in eternal weakness.* They believe in the ultimate triumph of the national cause; *but they cannot forever endure a blind, blundering and inefficient War Policy, that has* experience, however sharp, and no adversity, however appalling, can instruct or instruct. They demand at least the same foresight and vigor in promoting their cause that its enemies exhibit in assailing it. The time is past for quieting the country under inexcusable disaster, with assurances that tedious and long wars and incompetency in waging them are as old as the world. With unlimited means, and with powers, civil and military, that are literally despotic, placed in the hands of the President, there ought at this day to be no failures. We trust that the issue at Vicksburg will prove that there will be none, and that there is an end of the system, or no system, which, if longer continued, must waste away and consume, *the energies of the Republic* BUT THE REPUBLIC ITSELF."

Our Republican readers will hardly credit us when we tell them that this bitter attack upon the Administration appeared in their favorite journal, the *New-York Tribune*. But it is even so—from the first word to the last, it is the *Tribune's* own and a severer rebuke of the blunders of the men in power was never uttered. For words not half as caustic and reproving, Vallandigham has been condemned to exile, a Chicago paper has been suppressed by military power, and newspaper offices in various parts of the country have been destroyed by furious mobs.

PAINTING THE FLOORS OF PIAZZAS.—The floors of piazzas fronting the south and east are liable to leak during severe rain storms. A good cement for the seams of such floors has been a desideratum. An acquaintance of ours who has been much annoyed with the floor of his piazza leaking, was advised to try a cement composed of disolved india rubber and asphalt, and he did so, stopping the leakage perfectly. When the cement was sufficiently dry he painted the floor with drab colored oil paint, as a finish to the whole, and completed the operation one evening about sundown. Next morning he went out to examine his piazza, expecting to find the paint partly dry, and the floor improved in appearance. Judge of his surprise when he beheld the black india rubber cement floating, like bubbles upon his drab paint, and the whole coating of the floor in an undelightful state of spissitude. The oil of the paint had acted upon the cement as a solvent; and the thought which first suggested itself to him was that although the cement could stop leaks, it was impossible to paint over it. Thinking upon the subject during the day, the idea was presented to his mind that, if he covered the cement with a coat of varnish, he could paint over this when it became dry, and the oil of the paint would not penetrate under it. He acted upon this idea, and has now a most perfect and beautiful rain-tight piazza floor. Others may profit by such experience. Hot pitch is a good water-tight cement for the seams of floors, &c., but it is liable to become soft in hot weather. Linseed oil boiled with the flour of sulpher, makes a cement resembling dissolved pitch, and is second to none in stopping leaks in such floors; it is also a great preservative of wood. It is employed for coating the knees of war ships in the French navy to prevent the dry rot. A cement composed of white lead, oil, and pulverized white sand or glass, is about the best that can be used for such purposes.

Perseverance.

Perseverance is the key that unlocks all the hidden mysteries of Science. What will it not accomplish? In the study of difficult subjects, the student will find, that if he would overcome the obstacle, if he would win the victory, if he would march with firm and steady steps onward through them, he *must persevere*. And a noble victory it is, when he has surmounted even *one* difficulty. There is a satisfaction attending such a conquest, his face shows his joy, he has reached the point by his own exertions; and the oftener he succeeds, the more he feels like depending on himself.

This is what many lack, this feeling that one can rely on his own exertions and not in the end be disappointed; that he is sufficient in mind of himself to accomplish all practicable and necessary ends that he may wish. How valuable is such an attainment. We can feel its value, when we see the difference between a life's work in two individuals, *one* of whom hardly dares trust himself in anything. In the student, what does this accomplish?—It will enable him to go on further, and to master one study after another, until he is able to acquire all desirable knowledge on any subject. That is, it will enable him to *educate himself*.

Fellow Teachers! let us if possible teach the young the satisfaction of conquering hard subjects themselves. Let them taste of the pleasure, and then will they seek for it. Show them the untold benefit that comes from Perseverance and Self Dependence; and if we can make them realize it, and adopt the principle, we shall have more characters in the world whom we style "Self-made men."

W. E. H.

☞ Henry Ward Beecher has gone to England. It is to be hoped he will find sufficient attractions to induce him to remain there.

FOR THE DEMOCRAT.

History of the Republican Party—No. 5.

Magna Charta.

"John, king of England, third sovereign of the house of Plantagenet, was the son of Mary second, and no prince in English history has been handed down to posterity in blacker colors than he. He was more detested in England than he had been in France, and rendered himself the object of universal contempt by his ingratitude, perfidy, and cruelty. His nobles, who had long felt aggrieved by the usurpation of their sovereign, determined to control his power and establish their privileges. Langton procured for them a copy of the charter of rights, granted by Henry VIII, and they laid their demands before the king in Jan. 1215 which he attempted to elude by delay.

Hume says "The Norman barons, who had engaged with their duke in the conquest of England, were men of the most independent spirit, and though they obeyed their leader in the field, they would have regarded with disdain the richest acquisitions, had they been required in return to submit in their civil government to the arbitrary will of one man. The power of the crown once raised to a high pitch, was not easily reduced, and the nation, during a course of a hundred and fifty years was governed with an authority unknown in the same degree to all the kingdoms founded by northern conquerors. The only happiness was, that arms had never been ravished from the hands of the barons and people, the nation, by a great confederacy, might still vindicate its liberties."

Macauley says, "The English might indeed safely tolerate a king in a few excesses; for they had in reserve a check which soon brought the fiercest and proudest king to reason—the check of physical force. It is difficult to imagine now, the facility and rapidity with which this force was applied; resistance was the ordinary remedy for political distempers, a remedy which was always at hand, and which, though doubtless sharp at the moment, produced no deep or lasting ill effects.—An army under a popular chief could be assembled in a day; regular army there was none; every man had a slight tincture of soldiership; the calamities of civil war was confined to the battle-field, and to a few subsequent executions and confiscations. In a week the peasant was driving his team, and the esquire flying his hawks over the field, as if no extraordinary event had happened. Thus had the people to preserve their liberties."

Hume proceeds: "The barons appeared in London on a day appointed, and demanded of King John, that in consequence of his own oath, as well in deference to their just rights, he should grant them a renewal of Henry's charter, and a confirmation of the laws of Edward. The king promised that at the festival of Easter he would grant their petition. Failing in his promise, they proceeded without further ceremony to levy war upon the king.—They besieged the castle of Northampton during fifteen days.

They then made incursions from London and laid waste the king's palaces till the king at last appointed a place at Runnemade, between Windsor and Staines, which has ever since been extremely celebrated on account of this great event.—The two parties encamped apart, like open enemies, and after a debate of a few days, the king signed and sealed the Charter which was required of him June 15th 1215. This famous deed, called the Great Charter, secured very important liberties to every order of men in the kingdom—to the barons and to the people. These were very far from being original concessions. There is scarcely one of them which may not be traced back in its principle to Anglo-Saxon times. The essence and glory of Magna Charta runs thus: "No freeman shall be taken or imprisoned, or banished, nor any way injured, nor will we pass upon him, nor send upon him unless upon the legal judgment of his peers, or by the law of the land." Hallam calls this "the keystone of English history." It prohibited unlawful punishments; it guarded against delays of justice, and protected every freeman from loss of life, liberty or property, except by the judgment of his peers or the law of the land. In one word, it declares, we will not deny or delay to any man right and justice. Blackstone says: "In the Charter granted by King John, the meaning is clear, that the king will not proceed with violence against his subjects, unless justified by the law of his kingdom, or a judgment of their peers."

It appears from the Great Charter itself, that not only John, a tyrannical Prince, and Richard, a violent one, but their father Henry, were accustomed, from their sole authority, without process of law, to imprison, banish, and attaint the freemen of their kingdom.

These generous barons, who first extorted this confession, still held their swords in their hands, and could turn them against those who dared, on any pretence, to depart from the original spirit and meaning of the grant. To secure the execution of the charter, John was compelled to surrender the city and tower of London, to be held by the barons until he had completely executed it, and if he violated it, or any subordinate, offi-