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SPEECH

GEORGE W. WOODWARD, AT THE

GREAT UNION MEETING, Held December 13, 1860, in Independence Square, Philadelphia.

The meeting was called by the Mayor of the city, at the The meeting was called by the keyor of the city, at the city, at the city, at the special of the Solicit and Common Councils, and was held inear, Thursday, 13th December, 1850, in Independence of the city of the council of the city of

We have assembled, fellow-citizens, in pursu-suce of the proclamation of the Mayor, that we hay "counsel together to avert the danger which threatens our country." That danger is not recent or new. It has a history. And we must plance at that; we must obtain a clear view of the actual state of the crisis, before we can give or receive intelligent counsel.

It was announced a few years ago that the condict which had sprung up in this country between free and slave labor was irrepressible; that a house divided against itself could not stand; that all the States of this Union must become free or slave States.

hesone free or slave States.

The Exeming of this was, and is, that all were to become free States, for the soil and climate of a majority of the States are such that it never can become the interest of the superior race to maintain slavery in them. Everybody knows this, and therefore the alternative form of the proposition result to give it an appearance of sition was only to give it an appearance teirness and a little more rhotorical effect.

The full scope and meaning of the anno ment are, theo, that citizens of the United States regata value of many hundred millions ( dellars, and that the habits and domestic condi-tion of the people—their commercial relations, and their political rights, in so far as these in terests are connected with the institution of

Nor was this prediction the voice of an obscure and unbonored prophet, but of a citizen whor the people of the free States have just distin mished, in a signal manner, by conferring or har as their votes are to be considered as responsive to his announcement, they are a loud amon a salemn answer, so let it be.

Whilst it is not to be doubted that multitudes vised for the President elect with other views, and did not intend a distinct endorsement of his lavorite proposition, yet, as the record is made up, the prophecy and the prophet stand approved by a majority of the people of the free States the inexorable exclusion of slave property from the common territories, which the Government holds in trust for the people of all the States, is a natural and direct step towards the grand re-sult of extinguishing slave property altogether and was one of the record issues of the late elec-This policy must be considered as ap a laso. Not that every man who voted for the successful naminees meant to affirm, that trustee for several co equal parties has a right, in law or reason, to exclude the property of some and admit that of others of the parties for who he bolds-but so is the record. And whilst it is not to be taken as expressing the universal sons of the voters, it does, undoubtedly, imply that tast masses of Northern people do heartily approve, both of the proposition to make all the states free, and of beginning by excluding ala-

The South seems inclined so to accept the set gramming that the seems inclined so to accept the set gramming. She holds the property that is to be shut out of the territories, that is to be restricted, cribbed, and confined, more and more, until it is finally extinguished. Everywhere in the South the people are beginning to look out for the means of self-defence. Could it be expected that they would be indifferent to such events as have occurred? That they would stand idle and see measures concerted and carried forward for the annihilation, sooner or later, of her property is slaves? Such expectations, if indulged, were not reasonable. The law of self defence were not reasonable. The law of self defence includes right of property as well as of person; and it appears to me, that there must be a time, in the progress of this conflict, if it be indeed irrepressible, when slaveholders may lawfully fall back on their natural rights, and employ, i defence of their property, whatever means of protection they possess or can command. I do not agree with them that the time has arrived yet; but it would be well for those who push on this conflict, in whatever form, to consider that they are hastening on that time, and that they

have convinced one or more Southern States that it has already come. Several States propose to retire from the Confederacy, and that justly alarms us. We come together to consider what may be done to pre-vent it, and we are bound, in fidelity to curselves to take the measure of the whole

magnitude of the danger.
This irrepressible conflict has grown out of the Anglo Saxon love of freedom. What that pas-sion is, and how it was offended by the introduction of negro claves, may be read in the chronicles of the American Provinces, and especially in the earnest, the eloquent, and repasted remonstrances addressed by the Colony of Virginia to the Crown and Parliament of

Great Britain against their Introduction. But if the Anglo-Saxon loves liberty above all other men, he is not indifferent to gain and thrift, and is remarkable for his capacity of adaptation whereby he takes advantage of any circumstances in which he finds himself placed. And, acces in which he finds himself placed. And, accordingly, by the time the Colonies were prepared islatures of two thirds of the States. Our Legislatures of two thirds of the States. Our Legislature will assemble next month. Let us potition

was well adapted to labor in latitudes which alone could produce some of the great staples of life -and that the North, which could not employ them profitably, would be benefitted by such em playment as the South could afford. Considera tions of humanity, also, as well as the rights of private property, entered into the discussions of that day. What was best for an inferior race thrust unwillingly upon a superior? That both should be free, or that the inferior should serve

the superior, and the superior be bound by the law of the relation to protect the inferior?

If best for both races that the existing slavery should continue, then what was to be its relation to the General Government? How should it be represented in the Councils of the Nation? How far protected or discouraged by the power of the new Covernment? Should jurisdiction to abolish it be granted to the Covernment, or reserved to the States and the people of the States? These were great questions, and, like all the questions of that day, were wisely settled.

The Northern States abolished their slavery, and se excitival their inputs love of freedom.

and so gratified their innate love of freedom— but they did it gradually, and so did not wound their love of gain. They sold out slavery to the South, and they received a full equivalent, not only in the price paid down, but in the manufac

turing and commercial prosperity which grew up from the productions of slave labor. When the Constitution came to be formed, some of the Northern States still hold slaves, but several had abolished the institution, and it mus have been apparent that natural causes would force it ultimately altogether upon the South. The love of liberty was as intense as ever, and as strong at the South as at the North, and the love of gain was common also to both sections Here were two master passions to be adjusted under circumstances of the greatest delicacy. They ware adjusted and the great questions of the time were settled, in the only manner possi-ble. Concession and compromise—consideration for each other's feelings and interests, sacrifices of prejudices, forbearance and moderation—these were the means by which the "more perfect Union" was formed.

And what a work it was! If the Union had never brought us a single blessing, the Constitution of the United States would still have been a magnificent monument to the unselfish patrictism of its founders. Not an alliance merely, but a clos and perfect union between peoples equally ambi-tions, equally devoted to freedom, equally bent on bettering their condition; but separated by State lines, and jealous of State rights—one section seeking its prosperity under institutions which were to make every man a free man—the other under institutions which telerated negro

slavery.

Had the Constitution failed to work out the beneficent results intended, here was an instance of human effort to do good—an effort to restrain and regulate two natural passions, and to compel them to co operate in blessing mankind—which would forever have challenged the admiration of all good and thoughtful nein. But it did not fail, thank God; it has made us a great and prosperous nation and the admiration of the world, for the motive of the founders is swallow ed up in wonder at the success of their work.

But all this the "irrepressible conflict" ig-nores. The passion for liberty, spurning the restraints imposed, has burned out all the memorestraints imposed, has burned out all the memories of the compromise and the compact in those varieties, which, under the false name of Liberty Bills, obstruct the execution of the bargain. What part of the purpose of the founders are the underground railroads intended to make it when the compact in the bargain. When ce come these excessive sentences is the compact in the manufacture of the purpose of the founders are the underground railroads intended to make it will not have us manufacture even a "hob mail," could he be carried alive through the factories of Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, or Lowell, sibilities that cannot bear a few slaves in a remote territory until the white people establish a Constitution? What does that editor or preacher know of the Union, and of the men who made it, wish, and hasten to die again. We shall never the behively a register of the process of the union and forcion nation for a need to depend again on any forcion nation for a who habitually roviles and misrepresents the Southern people, and excites the ignorant and the thoughtless in our midst to hate and perseare to be totally divested of the property they are to be totally divested of the property they call to the property they are to be totally divested of the property they call to the property they call

final expositor of the compact?

Be not deceived. Let me not prophesy smooth things, and cry peace when there is no peace. Let the truth be spoken, be heard, be pondered, if we mean to save the Union. The conflict boasts that it is irrepressible. It allies itself with equal readiness to religion and infidelity. It enlists all our passions, good and bad. It makes common cause with the chambad. pions of freedom the world over, and with the promoters of insurrection, riot and discord at bears, it tramples under foot the guarantees of freedom contained in the Constitution and laws How is it to be repressed? Covernmental Iministration cannot subdue it. That has been administration cannot subduct. That has occurred for several successive periods, and the conflict has waxed hotter and hotter. Will the next Administration be more successful? Hoping for the best it can do, what right have you or I to anticipate that the honest man who has been anticipate that the honest man who has been elected will prove recreant to the maxims that made him President? Can trade and commerce subdue it? Look at the votes of Boston, Philadelphia, and Piltsburgh. The manufacturers and merohants are the governing classes in these cities. They are intelligent and quick to discover their interests. They have weighed and measured the Southern trade, and then have rated extent the sentent trade, and then have voted against the Southern people. But what if they had not—what if, like the city of New-York, they had voted against the conflict, only to be overruled by the country counties? Combe overruled by the country counties? Com-mercial cities cannot repress the conflict, if the people of the interior lend it their sympathies; No, no, there is reason in the boast that the States shall all become free. There is good ground to apprehend the extinction of property in slaves. All New England has decreed it. The great States of New York and Ohio have repeated again and again, the decree. Pennsylvania seems to have sanctioned it. The Northwestorn States stand for the present committed to it.
What hope is left for the Union? Is there a

man in this assembly who deems that this com-flict can go on and the Union last? If there be, that man is beside himself; he has lost his wits fact man is beside nimser; no massion in wite. I will reason with no such man. But, though few may believe that the Union can long endure the shock of the condlict, yet many people think that freedom—absolute, unconditional, universal freedom—is so great a boon, and negro slavery so great a reproach and evil, that the whole influence of a good man's life and conduct should be directed to promote the one and suppress the other—even though, as a consequence, the slave States should be driven out of the Union. This is the prevalent distemper of the public. "Who can minister to a mind diseased?"

Fellow-citizens, I profess no ability in this regard, but my mouth is open, and I will utter some of the thoughts that press up from the heart to the lips.

When, under the articles of confederation,

which carried us through our Revolutionary war, States had grown jealous, unfraternal, discbedient: and the General Government had prov ed itself too weak to suppress conflicts that were tonishing how extensively the religious mind of arising, the people took the remedy into their the North has admitted into itself the suspiciou, own hands, called a Convention, and formed a not to say conviction, that slaveholding is a sin. stronger government. The call of the Convention, the election of deputies, the State Conventions which followed, all served to engage the
Now, I deny that any such law has ever been public mind, and to direct it to the common danger, and the possible remedy. Thus the popular

tistory is said to be pailosophy teaching by examples. Let us be instructed by this example. As we, Pennsylvanians, were the first to abolish slavery, let us be the first to move for the salvation of the Union. Under the amendatory clause tion of the Union. Under the amendatory clause of the Constitution, Congress is bound to call a general convention on the application of the Legislatures of two-thirds of the States. Our Legislature will assemble next month. Let us position under his eyes, while he delivered many maxims under his eyes, while he delivered many maxims. among the powers of the earth the separate and of them to demand the convention. Good examples, and principles, which, like the golden rule, enter equal station to which the laws of nature and of like bad ones, are contagious. Perhaps one and right into and regulate the relation. So do the

the hoped, shall prove as salutary as those of 1787. And now, as then, the progress of these measures will awaken inquiry and thoughtful ness in the masses, will call off their minds from the petty polities of the day, and from the mischievous agitation of slavery questions, to the grand problem of how we can render this glori-ous Union perpetual.

In what form and to what extent the power of the General Government should be increased is not for me to indicate, but with the confessions of President Buchanan and Attorney General Black before us, that the Government, as now constituted, is unable to prevent or punish secession, or to suppress the proud conflict that disturbs our peace and boasts itself irrepressible, have I not a right to assume that the Government nceds to be strengthened? Have I not a right to say that the Government which was all sufficient for the country fifty years ago, when soil and climate, and State severeignty could be trusted to regulate the spread of slavery, is in-sufficient to day, when every upstart politician can stir the people to mutiny against the domes-tic institutions of our Southern neighbors—when and Beecher, can sway Legislatures and popular votes against the handiwork of Washington and book as Helper's become a favorite campaign document, and are accepted by thousands as law and gospel both—when joalousy and hate have killed out all our fraternal feelings for those who were born our brethren, and who have done us no harm? The traditions of the elders lingered in the generations which immediately succeeded the adoption of the Constitution, and their assion for freedom, just as strong as ours, was hastened into lovalty to the Union, and veneration for the rights of the States. The Constitu-tion, which was strong enough to govern such men, is too weak to restrain us who have out grown the grave and moderate wisdom that excited no irrepressible conflict between breth-

ren, but taught them to dwell together in unity. I would make it strong enough to restrain the madness of our day.

And let the people consider the motives for preserving the Union. They would be brought directly to these by the debates of the Convention and by the antecedient and subsequent debates. and by the antecedent and subsequent debates.

suggest only some of them. First, our name, and place, and power, as one of the nations of the earth. Are not these worth proserving? In eighty years we have matched the greatness that Rome and England were con-turies in attaining. What may be done in the next eighty?

I heard a sagacious statesman say, about three years ago, that in twenty years from that time, if we kept together, we would drive England from all the markets of the world as a first-class trader. They were words of cheer, but there was the inevitable if. In what markets we should rival England, or even the pettiest kingdom of the earth, atter a dissolution of the Union that statesman and no other has ventured to predict.

See what prosperity would come to us of the North in the process of the grand rivalry pre-dioted by that statesman. Manufactures and navigation have built up the greatness of England, and they would do the same for us as a nation, and for our section of the nation. Manwish, and install to depend again on any foreign nation for a fabric that can be made of cotton, from or wool. Thus far, at least, we have come. And what cities, and towns, and railroads, and canals have make the property of the property ted—what additions to our population—what accretions in the value of our farms and minorals what industry have we stimulated and reward ed—what commerce have we won! Think of these things, fellow countrymen—con them over, one by one—dissect and analyze each fact—trace its connections and consequences; and then, when you combine them all in one glowing ploture of national prosperity, remember that cor row, the product of slave labor, has been one of TON, the product of With Freedom inscribed on the banner it the indispensable elements of all this prosperity More, it must be an indispensable element of a our future prosperity. I say it must be. The world cannot and will not live without cotton. There is not a matron in all the Union that car clothe her family or herself without it. Nor can England do without our cotton. Her mills and ours would rot, and her operatives and ours would starve, if the negroes did not raise cotton Manumit them and they will never raise another crop. They need the authority of a master and the eye of an overseer to compel and direct them to the duties to the cotton plant which must be rendered at the right season precisely, or the orop is lost.
And thus it happens, that the Providence of

that Good Being who has watched over us from the beginning, and saved us from external foes. has so ordered our internal relations as to make negro slavery an incalculable blessing to us and to the people of Great Britain. I say to us; for I do not enter into the question whether the institution be an evil to the people of the Southern States. That is their concern, not ours. Wo States. That is their concern, not ours. We ship which brings us here—we are not Democrats have nothing to do with it. And to obtrude our from more accident, I hope, nor from motives of opinions upon the people of sovereign States concerning their domestic institutions, would be sheer impertinence. But do you not see and feel how good it was for us to hand over our slaves to our friends of the South—how good it was for bill of rights, which, since the existence of the us that they have employed them in raising a government, has done battle for the rights of staple for our manufacturers—how wise it was to so adjust the Compromises of the Constitution that we could live in union with them and resp the signal advantages to which I have adverted We consign them to no heathen thrall, but to men, professing the same faith with us—speaking the same language—reading the golden rule, in no one sided and distorted shape, but as it is recorded, a rule to slaves as well

masters.

This allusion to the golden rule reminds me of an objection which will be urged to much that have advanced. It will be said that slavery is a sin against God, and, therefore, that all reason

drawn from our material interests, for favoring or abetting it, must go for nothing.

If it be a sin, I agree there is an end to my argument, but what right has the Abolitionist to pronounce it a sin? I say Abolitionist, because must be accounted Abolitionists; for it is as tonishing how extensively the religious mind of the North has admitted into itself the suspicion,

revealed. The burden of showing it is on him who alleges, and when it is shown, I agree it shall rule out all that has been said or can be ger, and the possible remedy. Thus are popular mind prepared itself to receive with approbation the Constitution that was formed, and impending dangers were averted.

Since y is said to be philosophy teaching by a Union But, so far from any such law a Union founded on slavery. I bind myself never to raise my voice again in behalf of such a Union. But, so far from any such law and plainly written for our instruction, being found plainly written for our instruction whoever will study the Patriarchal and Levitica institutions, will see the principle of human bondage, and of property in man, divinely same-

mature's God entitle them, it had been discovered another of the Northern and Southern States writings of Paul abound with regulations of the one, at least, now acknowledged to have been in may do the like until the requisite number have concerned another of the Northern and Southern States writings of Paul abound with regulations of the one, at least, now acknowledged to have been in that the unwelcome workers, against whose in may do the like until the requisite number have concerned and their places; and the "gallant" to distinct the armset protected number have consult divised community pression. If we go to the most accredited communitations of the Northern and Southern States writings of Paul abound with regulations of the original accredited communitation. If we go to the most accredited communitation is the places; and the "gallant" of the University power, unjustly accused, unlawfully if your ancestors had believed in, would find this redation. If we go to the most accredited communitation is the protected of the North, and to consider the original account in the Whorth, and to consider the original account in the day, and to devise remedies which, it may good in our midst; or what is better, study and stated and one of the Northern and Southern States writings of Paul abound with regulations of the viction, but not with injunctions for its support of the until the requisite number have and the "gallant" of the unitary power, unjustly accused, unlawfully if your ancestors had believed in, would find this redation, but not with injunctions for its support of the world and their places; and the "gallant" of the unitary power, unjustly accused, unlawfully if your ancestors had believed in, would find this redation. If we go to the most account in the University of the Univers search the Scriptures for ourselves, we shall fail to find a law which, fairly interpreted and ap-plied, justifies any man in asserting, in or out of the pulpit, that the negro slavory of the United States is sinful. What right, then, I ask again, has the Abelitionist to cheat tender consciences into hostility to an institution on which our Union is founded in part? Good people say we no not wish to disturb slavery where it exists by local law, but believing it to be sinful and inexpedient, we will not submit to its extension, nor assist to restore the fugitive to his moster. Such people soon come to conceive that the more un-friendly they can feel towards slavery, the more barsh speeches they make about slaveholders, the more they help on the irrepressible conflet, the better will they recommend themselves to God. In some churches spatislavery sentiments have become essential to grand standing. Accordhave become essential to good standing. According to some ecclesiastical councils, it would seem that the great duty of the American Christian is to war with his neighbor's property; and if opportunity presents, to help steal and hide

Alas! alas! for the times upon which we

have fallen.

We must arouse ourselves and re-assert the rights of the slaveholder, and add such guarantees to our Constitution as will protect his property from the spoliation of religious bigotry and persecution, or else we must give up our Constitution and Union. Events are placing the alternative plainly before us—Constitutional Union, and liberty according to American law; or else extinction of slave property, negro freedom, dis-solution of the Union, and anarchy and confusion. Can any man, even though his mind has been poisened by the sophisms of infidels and Abo-litionists, seriously contemplate the alternative with composure and indifference? We hear i said, let South Carolina go out of the Union peaceably. I say let her go peaceably, if she go at all, but why should South Carolina be driv-en out of the Union by an irrepressible conflict about slavery? Other States will be sure to follow, sconer or later. The work of disintegra tion, once fairly established, will not end with South Carolina, nor even with all the slave States. Already we see it announced, on the floor of Congress, that the city of New York, tired of her connections with Parltan New England, and the fanatical interior of her own State, will improve the opportunity to set up for herself, and throw open her magnificent port to

the unrestricted commerce of the world.

Let us be wise in time. Our resolutions ar soothing and encouraging in their tone, and this vast assemblage is symptomatic of returning health in the public mind; but popular meetings health in the public mind; but popular meetings and fair spoken resolutions are not going to save the Union from destruction. The people must act, and act promptly and efficiently. Let them show the South that the heart of the great State of Pennsylvania is sound still. It is said that the late elections do not commit Pennsylvania, unalterably, to the mischievous conflict. I am willing to believe it. I hope it is so. I hope the events of the winter and our future elections will prove it. Then let Pennsylvania appeal to the South to stand by us a little longer, till the South to stand by us a little longer, till we have proved, not by fair words, but by deeds, that we will arrest the irrepressible conflict; tha we are not ready to give up constitutional liberty, for licentious liberty; that we will not sacrifice all the memories of the past, and all the hopes of the fature, for negro freedom; no, not for negro freedom, even; for though we tear down this fair fabric, we make no negrofree; but for a vain and mad attempt at negro freedom. That is the poor, the abortive, the absurd, the wicked purpose for which we are expected to sacrifice

our sacred inheritance. God forbid it.

Here on this consecrated spot of earth, where
the foundations were laid of the best Governmen the world over saw, let us renew our vows to the Union and salutations to our brethren. Talk not of secession—go not rashly out of the Union—dim no star of our glorious flag—give us time to place ourselves right in respect to your ors; and for which warriors and soldiers drew "peculiar institution," and to roll back the their swords and scaled their convictions in cloud that now obscures, for the moment, our blood, till "the cross and the lion went down."

devotion to the Union as it is. Speak thus to the Southern States, and follow our words by ple are the masters and sources of power—in fitting deeds, and Pennsylvania can stop seces sion or cure it if it occurs. We can win back any State that may stray off, if only we can prove our own loyalty to the Constitution and Union as our fathers formed them.

And would it not be a proud page in the bisto-

ry of Pennsylvania that should record the rescue of the American Union from impending ruin, by prompt, generous, united action of the people of Pennsylvania? That great glory may be ours. Let us grasp it ere it be forever too late.

POLITICAL HERESIES. ADDRESS BY DANIEL ERMENTROUT, ESQ.,

Before the Democratic City Club of Reading, July 25th, 1863.

According to your custom, you have assembled

views and opinions of your fellow Democrats on the important events now transpiring in our land: to discuss the fundamental principles of land; to discuss the fundamental principles of our government, and take counsel for the repub-lic. And though we do meet here as a distinc-tive Democratic organization, it is not partisan-ship which brings us here—we are not Democrats selfish interest or prospect of gain. It is because we love our country that we are Democrats; be-cause we feel assured that the organization which moulded your constitutions, which gave you your bill of rights, which, since the existence of the man, rich and poor-which has stood by your Laws, your Union, your Constitution and your Flag, and by so doing has spread on the pages of history a record, which, whether this nation and this government be saved from the calamities impending over it, or sink under them, will out-shine all the records of the past—I say, we are Democrats because we feel assured that the principles which led to results such as these, are through the valley of Dark Shadows end

he only staff by which we hope to be guided sing us. Let no man, then, tell me that in standing up here to-night, I love my party more than my country; for he who is attached most truly to Democratic principles is the most thoroughly unpartisan. We need not go outside of the present war for evidence of this fact. gument, but what right has the sum of pronounce it a sin? I say Abelitionist, because the paster of the First Presbyterian Church of Brocklyn, in a sermon preached within a week, defined an Abelitionist to be one who holds that and a constitutional war was flung to the breeze, and the action of Congress declared that the war would be conducted in that manner in good faith — where were the Democracy then and where where were the Democracy then and where the pronounce of the work. are they now? Let the graves on the field of Bull Run, the Peninsula, Antietam, the South-West and Gettysburg bear mournful testimony to their self-sacrificing devotion to the laws of their country and their devotion to duty. And this, too, my friends, in the face of insult, bitter taunts throats of mobs. halters, imprisonment and actual incarceration in presidential bastiles
—without horse, gun, ship and shoddy contracts, without a share in the emoluments of office. And how were these things met, and what has been our return? Increased contumely and increased insult; still bitterer hatred and bitterer threats; still viler prescription and abuse on the part of the partisans of the Administration—the only limit being the cowardly fears of our assailants. Mon occupying cabinet positions notoriously un-worthy of public confidence, but good Republi-cans; Generals notoriously capable and posses-

of the Devil, taking advantage of an occasion for public rejoicing to insult a large and respectable body of the people. In the fuce of all this, we still dere do our duty on the field and in council, and will never couse doing it until our country is once more restored. Gov. Seymour and Gov. l'arker came to our rescue when not a soldier from Republican Governors was sent us; when our own weak kneed Governor was frantic with fear, and when the Administration told us to take care of ourselves. Where is the partisanship-on which side? Thank God, every Democra oan huri back into their teeth with scorn the foul

I have made these remarks preliminarily, that we all may feel that we are approaching the dis-cussion of our theme to night as men who have done their duty though others failed—in the proper spirit-with no desire to say aught about the powers that be, which is not capable of proof. Unfortunately, gentlemen, we no longer most our opponents for the discussion of political questions, as in years gone by, on platforms mutually covering the whole continent; unfortunately it is not the Bank or the Tariff—it is a mightier, more important issue—it involves, in our humbl idement, your form of government; it touches judgment, your form of government; it counses the fundamental charters of your rights; in a word, the existence of your nationality, and the many and rich blessings which we have enjoyed under it. And this, my friends, is a potent reason why we should, laying aside all factiousness of purpose, without vituperation or abuse-for ha who wantonly abuses his countrymen, loves not his country as he ought—handle at this inpor-tant crisis all questions touching the welfare of the nation, in a callen, cool, deliberate, honest, truthful, Christian, fair manner, actuated by patruthful, Christian, fair manner, actuated by patriotism alone, as becomes the free descendants of that noble ancestry, who, through seven years of toil, privation, suffering and blood, achieved our liberties, and afterward, through prayer and compromise, consultation and mutual forberance, by the blessing of God, secured them in the glorious fabric of a most noble Union founded on the provisions of a wise Constitution, every line of which was written during the periovery line of which was written during the peri-od of long ages in the commingled blood of tyrants and patriots, of kings and people, opessor and oppressed.

I propose, gentlemen, to discuss and warn you against the "Political Heresies" or errors of doctrine that are attempted to be foisted on the minds of the people by mobs, drumbead court-martials, unlawful imprisonments, by bayonets and military satrags, abolition orators, adminis-

and military satrags, abolition orators, administration pimps, abandoned women, contractors and cabinet ministers.

At the very threshold of the discussion, I am mot by a heresy which, if believed in, would stop my mouth and yours at onne—and the dead silence of despotism and the festering rottenuess of political corruption would reign ever this land and people unchecked. To prevent this, and for our own protection, and to pave the way for our own protection, and to pave the way for what we may say hereafter, let us hasten to bring it before the bar of public opinion to meet that condemnation which it so richly deserves. The doctrine I allude to is this-"the freedom of speech and of open public discussion of the measures and policy of the Administration, is unpatriotic and treasonable, and must be suppres-ed and restrained." There is no American citizen within the sound of my voice or elsewhere, except he be a monarchist, whatever his politica except he be a monarchist, whatever his political complexion may be, who will deny that the right and capacity of the people for self-government is the feundation stone of all free government. It is the grand principle which guided the bark of the oppressed stranger across the tempestuous ocean to your shores—which felled the primeval forests and built cities and towagin this western continent—it is the jumportal principle of the continent—it is the immortal principle of the Declaration of Independence—the grand indict-This principle being so, it follows that the peo-ple are the masters and sources of power—in other words, those who administer the laws are the servants of the people—they have a right to know who governs, to know after what manner they do govern, and if they be not satisfied, they have a right to determine by whom and how they shall in the future be governed. Furthermore, there is a rule set over our public servants by th people of the respective States -- and shall not the master have a right to call his servants to account for any violation of the rules of the house? How ridiculous it would seem to you'll you were told that you had no right to call your Congressyour Logislators to account, (that is men, and your Logistators to account, that is, provided they are responsible agents,) and in what respect can a different rule be maintained as regards the President? In all ages has the freedom of the press and of speech at all times been regarded as the great safeguard of civilized liberty. In England under a monarchical form of government, during our revolution, this privilege was freely exercised in the public prints and on the floor of parliament. In our country, Daniel Webster, than whom no one better under stood the principles of constitutional liberty, said "It is an ancient and undoubted prerogative of this people to canvass public measures, and the merits of public men. It is a home-bred right, merits of public men. It is a home-bred right, a fire-side privilege. It hath over been enjoyed in every house, cottage and cabin in the nation. It is as undoubted as the right of breathing the air, or walking on the earth." And Mr. Blair, not the Blair that now is, but his father, said that the freedom of discussion in the press could that the freedom of discussion in the press could not be interfered with even amid the threes of oivil war. And why? Without it, gentlemen we would be slaves at the foot of power, we would be donying our birth-right, our origin, our traditions, and insulting the memories of our de-parted heroes and statesmen. Truth is desirable at all times—discussion is the great sifter of truth. Truth fears not the light of discussion— for that is its aliment—error flies from it as from certain death. "Where truth is left free to combat, error may be tolerated," said Thomas
Jefferson in his first inaugural address. And
our opponents have the audacity to hold him up to
us in testimony to their cause. Why is it then
that in those States where rebellion against the
government of the United States does not exist, itors are torn from the sanctums, citizens from their homes and occupations, by the hands of arbitrary power, incarcerated in distant fortresses, out off from their friends and all communications, and suffered to rot until it be the pleasure of the Administration of t Administration to free them, because they have he manhood to stand in the exercise of an unloubted right, against the imbecility, the corrup tion, prodigality and violations of law of those in authority? And then, after all this, to be dis-charged without knowing the accusation, or the accuser, without being reimbursed for loss of time, loss of health and with a stigma on their character, unfounded, but which gives to every onaracter, unrounced, but which gives to every irresponsible villain the privilege of pointing the finger of scorn at them and their children. And the high potentate, by "color of whose authority" they have been imprisoned, mockingly wraps himself in the mantle of an Indemnity

Act, and grins like a gibbering idiot at free

American citizens, wronged in their dearest rights, without a remedy. Oh! when will the proud hour come, when disenthralled and unde-

raded, with the consciousness of truth, every

vein and fibre thrilling with exultation, each one

can face the world and say, I am an American citizen, touch me wrongly at the peril of receiv-ing the punishment meted out to all wrong-doors by our sacred laws? We trust that time may

not be far distant. There is one patrictic spiri

der tones of an insulted sovereign people, roused from their lethargy to call the marty to the

"Oh! Liberty can man rosign thes? Once having felt thy generous fishe? Can dangeous, inits and bars couling thes, Or whips thy noble spirit tame?"

Gentlemen, when the powers that be are unwilling to permit public assemblages of the people, it is strong ground for believing that they think people to be either knaves or fools—knaven, because they do not trust them; fools have the properties of the them. because the unavoidable inference is that they believe them to be too ignorant to discern good from evil, truth from error, and yet they parade the name of Jackson in justification of their the name of Jackson in justification of their heresy. Jackson it the man of the people, the man who loved the teiling millions as his own children, the man who fought their battles against Banks and the Aristoracy, who through sunshine and storm believed in them and trusted them—and these people hold up Jackson as one of their prophets!—a macker, a signifer. An inof their prophets!—a mockery, a stander, an in-sult to the old here of New Orleans! But, we suit to the old hero of New Orleans! But, we are told by our opponents that it is in times of war, and concerning the war policy that this right shall be restrained. It gives aid and comfort to the enemy to find out. ort to the enemy to find fault with the policy of the Administration, and therefore you are un-patriotic. Suppose the policy of the Adminispatriotic. Suppose the policy of the Adminis-tration is wrong and not calculated to give suc-cess to our cause, would it not be unpatriotic in us not to protest against and seek to change it? If the exercise of this right is valuable at all, if it be beneficial at all, it should not fail when danger is greatest. In times of quiet, of peace and tranquilly the exercise of the right is not often necessary; but in times of great peril, then it is dearest; we then have more at stake, and true counsels should prevail. I pray you, is it unpatriotic in you, who have fathers, brothers, sons, relatives and friends, who have offered themselves up as willing sacrifices upon the alter of your country.—have we when every the altar of your country,—have we, when every house in the land has been filled with mourning -when there is a vacant place at every hearth-stone, -when the unburied bones and festering bodies of our fellow-citizens and friends cover a hundred battle-fields, a prey to the vultures an

buzzards of the air-when incompetent and lundering generals lead brave men to the cannons' mouth, to certain slaughter, without any hope of success—when mad fanation, for partisan purposes, seek to prolong such scenes a tion's expense,—dare Abraham Lincoln or any other man unblushingly proclaim that we dare not discuss the war policy of the Administra-tion? How different has been the practice of the Democratic party at all times, particularly in the wars of 1812-14, when every means of embarrassing the Administration was resorted to by the opposition party, when their public journals and their orators openly dissuaded our citizens from making loans to the government, when they controlled the finances of the country against the government, and in New England, the centre of their strength, advocated a separate peace with Great Britain; and in the war with Mexico, when even our old public functionary distinguished himself by the fiercest opposition to the war and the Administration, in the exer-cise of the right of free speech. Why was such a herosy as this ever advented? It grows out of another herosy, to wht: "That the Govern-ment and the Administration are one." We must be excused if we have not so sacred a respect for the divinities at Washington and for the doctrine of the divine right of Kings as our political opponents have. What constitutes a government What did the fathers and authors of the Revolu tion think on this point? Why was the Revolu-tion of '76 fought? They were a law-abiding people; all their predilections, their interests, their affections, their weakness, their unprotec-ted condition, were strong reasons why they should not out themselves loose from the protecshould not out themselves loose from the protection of the British Crown. History tells us that such was not their intention at the outset. All who are acquainted with the events proceeding who are acquainted with the events proceeding that struggle, need not be told how petition after petition, embassy after embassy, were sent across the water. Why? To obtain the benefits of the laws and constitution of the British Empire. They had an address to the British people, to George the Third; they only claimed what British laws gave them—the Declaration of Independence will teach you this. What has been the doctrine of all nges on this subject? las it not been that the laws and not its administrators are the supreme authority in all fre governments? The barons met at Kunnymedeere they traitors for making a distinction between their King and their government—for making distinction between their laws and the adminis rator thereof, for opposing the unlawful exac-tions of their King John, and insisting upon s renewed guarantee of their rights—for Magus Charts was only an additional guarantee of rights which their ancestors had enjoyed for ages before? Still later, were the men of the English

Revolution traitors for opposing their king for violating the provisions of the English Constitution, for advocating the supremacy of law, and wringing from the hands of the throne the bill of rights as a renewed guarantee of the Magna Charta? Were your own ancestors traitors because they protested and petitioned against the unlawful acts of their king, and refused him and uniawful acts of their sing, and refused him and his administration their countenance? They were law-abiding people, they loved their land, their mother country; and yet these people, ac-cording to the modern doctrine, would be traitors. All jurists and statesmen in all ages have re-cognized the right of revolution as being a sacred right. Why the people are the source of power —they select their form of Government—they establish their laws—and when those who ad-minister them act in violation of those laws, they go beyond the authority lodged in their hands; and yet the citizen and the subject, must they submit without a protest and in silence? The mere statement of the proposition shows its absurdity. We are asked, under the penalty of being called traitors, to support the administration in all its measures, for they are all war measures, whether they be honest or dishonest, adequate or inadequate to the end proposed When the foundation was laid for the extension when the foundation was laid for the extension of the Capitol, Daniel Webster made an address, perhaps the greatest effort of his life. He then told the American people the great truth which this Administration seems to have forgotten—that

"law is the supreme rule for the government of all." He only repeats a sentiment which an old heathen poet, without the light of Christianity, sang in noble strains—

ang in noble strains—
"What constitutes a State ?
Not high raised battloment or labored mound,
Thick wall or moated gate;
Not cities proud, with spires and turrets crowned;
Not bays and broad strend ports,
Where, langling at the storm rich navies ride;
Not starred and epangled Courts,
If there to to boosed baceness wagts perfume to pride
Not man high minded men.

No: men, high minded men, No: men, high minded men, But know their rights, and knowing dare maintain; Frevent the long shaed blow, And crush the tyrant wills they rend the shain!

These constitute a State; And sovereign law, that State's collected will, O'er thrones and globes state, Sits Empress, crewning good, repressing ill."

Apply this principle to your own State, to Pennsylvania, and tell me whether you believe Andrew G. Curtin to be the State, to be the Government? No, my friends, men are but of to-day, fallible and weak, only worthy of your regard and support when they act prudently and in accordance with our written Constitutions, founded on the immediate authority of the people themselves, and regulating and restraining all the powers conferred by the Legislative, Ex-ecutive or Judicial. These things constitute your who awaits that hour with noble patience. The great handy work of God on the boundaries of government and not the corrupt, imbecile policy, proclamations and measures of men whose "breath is in their nostrils" raised by accident great natury work of God on the boundaries of, profinitations and measures of men whose sing the confidence of the people and the army, relieved because they did not believe in the justice or feasibility of the principles and policy of the evening, and greets him on his waking in the morning, is not more sublime, than Administration—others notoriously unfit, and the violated majesty and stern duty of the exiled. Postation of the people and the army, whose roar lulls him to a power, whose duties they can not compressed by the principles and policy of the evening, and greets him on his waking in the morning, is not more sublime, than the morning of the principles and policy of the exiled.

four years—sustain this dootrine and we become the alternating slaves of changing factions— sustain this doctrine and you become the protorian cohorts of modern Emperors, like those met of Rome who declared that the pleasure of the prince, idiot or wise man, should have the force of the law—or like that French King who sald, "Irciti c'est mo?"—I am the State. This heresy has a deeper meaning and has for its foundation the most damnable beresy of all; that treasons ble error which finds its most specious manifes-tation in the expression that in time of war the Constitution should be set aside. It is here that cale who seem to control public movements, pre-sents itself in its most hideous and slarming aspect. Why was your war inaugurated? The resolution of Congress declares it to have been for the maintenance of Union and the vindication of the Constitution; and yet we are now asked to present to the world the strange spectacle of a people waging a war to vindicate certain funda-mental principles which they themselves declare null and void, and asking the citizens of the South to submit to rules above which we consider ourselves and which we declare to be out of existence. Set saide your Constitution, lock it in a box till the war is over, as these people say, then this struggle inaugurated, as we fondly believed, to maintain the integrity of the government, in the manner and spirit in which it was founded, will be degraded into a contest of rival factions, fighting for rival dogmas and political supremsoy without a rule or rudder and compass to steer by. What interests can the lovers of liberty, the friends of human progross and free government have in such a strug-gle? What is gained thereby, or rather is not all which we are fighting for lost? Tell me not that this state of things is to last only till the war is over, and that then you will return to your fealty to the Constitution and make that your rule of action. Do not delude yourself thus. It is a dangerous thing for rulers to act in defiance of law—it produces bitter fruits. Encourage violations of law on the part of partiages of the Administration, and you encourage.

sans of the Administration, and you encourage violations of law on the part of the people. The city of New York has already borne bitter testieity of New York and sales.

Let me also tell you that if your Constitution be set aside, your form of government is set aside; teach the people such doctrine and you that minds for anything. It is will prepare their minds for anything. It is thus that the liberties of nations are sacrificed it is thus that they are led down step by step to acquiescence in despotism until their tyrants have so debauched and degraded them that inclination to resistance is gone, or where the in-clination exists, the power is gone. We de-sire no change in the form of our government, however desirable a change in its administration may be. Our confidence in the capacity of the people to administer it, is undiminished. Unlike Thaddens Stevens and the class leaders of the Thaddeus Stevens and the class leaders of the Radicals, we are for the Union as it was—for the Constitution in substance as it is. True, it may be necessary to insist upon new guaranties for its provisions just as in the English Revolution new guaranties were insisted upon for the provisions of the Magna Charta, and just as at the time of the adoption of our own Constitution, new guaranties were demanded which were afterwards in it: but goalteneen. no wards incorporated in it; but gontlemen, no President, no legislative body, even the people themselves, except in the manner pointed out themselves, except in the manner pointed out by the fundamental laws, can effect any change. And this for a wise purpose—aside from the great danger of precedent and the moral support they give to rulers who wish to do wrong—there can'ld be no stability in any government if its funda-mental principle could be set aside at the will of the executive, and law, inflexible law—the com-mon sense of mankind—the reason of ages, the sincet anchor of public and private security in shoet-anchor of public and private security in life and property—the shield of the nation—would become no rule at all, and instead thereof would be substituted the whims, the caprices and prejudices and passions of weak men or the light opening of the strong hand. Behald the pyramid of error to be erected on the ruins of your Government. Your Constitution set aside the Administration more men-and your government, consisting of statute and written laws, one and the same—abject silence, without the right of criticising or condemning the structure. Are the American people prepared for such a state of things as the doctrines now openly ad-rocated tend to? If they are, then are they in-

deed fit to be elaves,—then can we well despair of free government, for never had men so fair an opportunity of testing its practicability as we.

The great means for putting into operation and
effect such doctrines is coercion, the great panacar for all the ills that the body politic is now suffering. And here is another of the political heresies of the day, that coercion, physical force alone, can preserve the integrity of the Union. Every government has the right to protect itself: every government, and none more so than ours, is clothed with the necessary powers to do so but in the conduct of a war for the maintenance of a government, if that be in sincerity its ob-ject, regard should always be had to the peculiar nature of that government. All American citizens are sufficiently well acquainted with our history to know that ours is a government of mutual consent, formed on a principle of bear and forbear; in a word, of compromise. The debates of the convention show this. If the spirit of hatred, disregard for the prejudices, traditions, education and social habits of the people, had raged so furiously at the time of the formation of the Constitution as now, it would never have been formed. Do the American people wish to see that Constitution supreme people wish to see that Constitution supragain? Then lot them again show the same spirit which gave it birth. It is not by cannon-balls and bayonets alone that we can hope for the same supragate men. but they will balls and bayonets alone that we can hope for peace—they may slaughter men, but they will never eradicate from the minds of men the feeling, however groundless it may be, that they have been wronged—never can they restore that fraternal spirit of love and national concord, which is the only permanent hope and support of the Constitution. The hour for the renewal of that kindly spirit is fast approaching. Our brave soldiers, for more than two years under the most disadvantageous circumstances, through most disadvantageous circumstances, through many reverses, have borne our good old flag up bravely; victory seems at last to have perched upon our banner—the fortresses of the rebellion upon our banner—the fortresses of the rebellion on the Mississippi have succumbed; their army has been driven from our State, and the Queen city of the rebellion totters to its fall. We have but one army to contend against. Promptitude, energy and vigor on our part may break the power of the army of Virginia; then will be the suspicious moment for magnanisity, for statesmanship; with the advantages of war on one side, a little generosity, an assurance placed beyond the power of any man or men to break, may restore to us peace, peace with Union, Union with liberty and law; and then our pecple, chastened by the sufferings they have borne, walking in the primitive honesty of our fathers, might again lay the foundation of the nation's property, broad and deep—recover the proud position we have lest as a nation and live on for

snould, however, the hearts of those that are in authority, like that of the Egyptian King of old, grow hard—with patience and forbearance, we have one means in reserve by which the nation can be redeemed—the hallot box and enlightened voters; the longest night must end.

Sad, sad indeed is the thought that our public servents are acting at variance with the wishes

servants are acting at variance with the wishes of the people, but hard as it is we must bide our time—our hour will come—the apportunity is time—our hour will come—the opportunity is rapidly approaching when you and I, and all of us can help on the great work and stand side by side with the noble States of Indiana, Illinois, New Jersey and New-York in the great work of political redemption. The eyes of all now turn to the Democratic party, neither Abolition nor ceasion, not responsible for the reverses, the

ages yet to come an enduring monument of the capacity of man for self-government.

Should, however, the hearts of those that are