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The Patriot & Union.

THURSDAY MORNING, JUNE 11, 1863.

SPEECH OF THOMAS JEFFERSON BOYER, REPRESENTATIVE FROM CLEARFIELD, JEFFERSON, M'KEAN AND SELK, Delivered in the House of Representatives, April 2, 1863, on the Joint Resolutions on the state of the country.

Mr. BOYER said: Mr. SPEAKER: When I came into this hall this afternoon I did not think that it would become necessary for me to claim the attention of the House and occupy any part of the time which should, perhaps, be devoted to the use of gentlemen here who have legislation of a different character to attend to.

The gentleman from Huntington, if he has not misapprehended the question, has at least forgotten in a great measure the courtesy due to co-members of a deliberative body in a discussion of this kind; and he has especially misapprehended, either by design or ignorance, the meaning of the eighth resolution, which is the only one that appears to claim his attention, and over which he mourns in a most woful strain.

Mr. Speaker, when the gentleman made his attack upon the potent influence of the ballot box, he did it with increased bitterness no doubt in anticipation of the damaging effect which that peaceful, silent and constitutional monitor would soon have upon those who now are growing fat and sleek on the public pap.

Mr. Speaker, I come to that part of the gentleman's lamentations wherein the entire burden of his song is that the framers and friends of these resolutions have not one word of cheer for the administration—not one pledge of support—not one sign of approval of his pet in their war and political policy.

The gentleman in his zeal to traduce the Democratic party, appears to forget that when this was commenced the Democratic party with signal unanimity, rushed to the standard of the government, and although they knew that this was the direct result of the pernicious doctrines of the party in power, yet with more forbearance and magnanimity than was ever before shown by any political party towards its opponents—forgetting all party—they rushed to the support of the old flag, and resolved with their lives to defend it to the last, no matter whose folly brought it into danger, and invited the insult to it; nor did they relax in their determination to preserve it or regret their patriotic action, when in July following they received from the administration the assurance embodied in the following resolution:

"That the present deplorable civil war has been forced upon the country by the disunion of the Southern States in arms against the Constitutional government, and in arms around the Capital; that in this national emergency, Congress, banishing all feeling of mere passion or resentment, will recollect only its duty to the whole country; that this war is not waged on their part in any spirit of oppression, or for any purpose of conquest or subjugation, or purpose of overthrowing or interfering with the rights or established institutions of those States, but to defend and maintain the supremacy of the Constitution, and to preserve the Union, with all the dignity, equality and rights of the several States unimpaired; and that as soon as these objects are accomplished the war ought to cease."

This resolution was then the standard of the Union; the purposes here avowed were the commendable objects of the war; and every patriot heart in the North responded to that declaration. But behold the change! Congress, at the regular session, which opened in December following, refused to reaffirm this wise resolution; and subsequent events have shown that it was at the dictation of the administration. And now what do we find? A war for the Union to subdue a careless rebellion? No, sir, no, we have, instead, a war for the abolition of slavery, and (I hesitate not to say it) a war to establish the heresies of the Republican party, and to afford an opportunity for a general system of wholesale plundering of the government, thereby forcing upon the people an increase of taxation, already enormous, and far beyond the abilities of many to pay.

Now, sir, how does the gentleman from Huntington, or the party of which he is so faithful a member, propose to abolish slavery? In a legal way by amendment to the Constitution? No, sir, no. By emancipation proclamations? No, sir, no. They know full well that proclamations avail nothing but to prove the imbecility and ignorance of their authors, and they know full well that an amendment to the Constitution, to be itself constitutional, requires the ratification of three-fourths of the States, and is therefore in this case unattainable.

Now, suppose this scheme of armed law-making and law-breaking is carried out, who will venture, even after our bitter experience, to foretell the issue? Who will say that invasion, and disasters in its train, will be confined to the South? By what means will the Union, or any of its fragments, carry on this war? I am not a prophet, but one, as in that case, are anticipated by the last Congress, the substitution of a military monarchy for a republican form of government—a scheme that must result in the loss of the liberties of the whole people of these United States.

Mr. Speaker, when the gentleman made his attack upon the potent influence of the ballot box, he did it with increased bitterness no doubt in anticipation of the damaging effect which that peaceful, silent and constitutional monitor would soon have upon those who now are growing fat and sleek on the public pap.

Mr. Speaker, I come to that part of the gentleman's lamentations wherein the entire burden of his song is that the framers and friends of these resolutions have not one word of cheer for the administration—not one pledge of support—not one sign of approval of his pet in their war and political policy.

The gentleman has feebly appealed to God, and before him he arraigns us, and commands us to obey his earthly master. What does such obedience demand? To harass, to obstruct, to wound, to murder civil officers while in the discharge of their bounden duty—to provoke assassination—to encourage the massacre of one race of men by another—to fill society with mutual rage, resentment and all fearful and violent emotions—to substitute wrath for love—to convert friends into enemies—to place arms in men's hands, after having inflamed their passions and filled their hearts with the obnoxious idea—to plunge the country further into war—to heap on our country the name of Washington and other honored men of the Revolution—to depreciate, to vilify, and labor to unloose the bonds of mutual interest and common duty which should hold together the States of this Union—to despoil us of our common heritage of historical traditions, of respect for our fathers, of glorious recollections of the past, of pride in the fame of America—to make of this once great, happy United States a Gogoltha—a thing to shudder at and despise, like that awful beacon in the pathway of nations, the wretched negro empire in the island of St. Domingo.

Mr. Speaker, I fear I am occupying too much of the time of this House; but I feel that to retire without making a parting bow to my classical friend from Huntington would be unkind, especially in view of that part of his speech which abounded in such gross personal abuse of my friend from Wayne, (Mr. Nelson), who is not in his seat to defend himself. What shall I say to him that would be felt? I know nothing that could penetrate his callous heart. It is related by natural historians, that there is an animal (a sort of prototype of those beings who wallow in the mire of political corruption), that has become so insensible in its fatness, that the mice he has allowed to burrow and nestle in his back. But here, though leaning in the language of Burke, may be seen in the streets and trodden under the hoofs of a swinish multitude, yet with all the ignorance and disregard of the propriety of speech and decency of manners; he can do nothing but interpret the clamor with which we are assailed, as the grunting of the herd in anticipation of their well filled trough being emptied and themselves sent as commoners at large, instead of being fattened in the well filled pens of the public providing in such frequent cases of moral disease in the body politic, when just retribution shall overtake the workers of evil, may perhaps be sent and hearken to the cry, and give a cent to the modern representatives of fallen greatness, as one of old begged, saying, while exhibiting his torn purple, 'voluum pauperi Betulario'.

And here perhaps I ought to stop; yet I cannot forbear to expose the miserable inconsistency of one who will abuse an humble servant of the Lord, because forsooth he will not believe with him in his political creed. The gentleman appears to think that we have more anxiety for the success of the Democratic party, than we have for the success of the administration. If by the success of the administration, he means their foolish and illegal acts, the fact is as he states; nor have I any desire to disguise the fact that I prefer, as every true and loyal man must do, the success of the Democratic party to the success of Abolitionism, with all its kindred horrors. The success of the Democratic party is the only salvation for the country; upon its success and the consequent defeat of the Abolitionists, depend the future peace, safety and stability of our free institutions.

system of doing things is a most villainous, systematic cheat, for which every man who is concerned in it deserves to be recorded in a register of infamy. Imposture never ran such an uninterrupted career as it has for one year past in the National administration and in Congress. This mode of speaking will doubtless be objected to by our friends on the other side; but, sir, there is no language too strong for the exposure and execution of such conduct as has distinguished the party in power. By holding them up to merited contempt before the public, a due corrective will, I trust, be administered. If there is a sense of real religion in my friend, or among those of his party who are making such loud professions, then I would say that the law of God calls for 'sack-cloth and ashes.' Let such penitents as my friend from Huntington imitate Zaccheus of old, who said, 'Behold, Lord, the half of my goods I give unto the poor, and if I have taken anything from any man by false accusation, I restore him four-fold.' Let the gentleman from Huntington do this, and I will have some faith in his professions of piety, Christianity, &c.

Mr. Speaker, I am no alarmist, but it is right that we should know our friends and watch our enemies. Who, then, are they who scatter ruin and desolation, mildew and blight, havoc and death in the Eden bowers of our once happy land? I answer, fearless of contradiction, (and I can speak plainly in this House) the leaders of the miserable and religious liberty to the enraged adders to divert their attention, they cease not their pursuit till they have obtained their lost treasure or the body of their plunderer. The Democratic party, with its zeal for the welfare of the country, and for the preservation of the Government in its original purity and dignity, was compelled to yield to fanaticism the administration of the government which it had for nearly three quarters of a century kept steadily in the path of prosperity and greatness.

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gentleman from Huntington belongs to a party which was made by fends incarnate, who pretended to preach the gospel in New York and New England, and who believe that the Constitution is "a covenant with death and an agreement with hell," and who, more than all others, are responsible for this cruel and unholly war. They have for years descended to make common cause with those who have published the gospel ministry of the country as a brotherhood of thieves, by whom the community have been urged to trample on the laws and to crush the Constitution of their country under foot. Need I say that I allude to the Beechers, the Cheevers, the Chapins, and the whole rascally brood of those who, Sunday after Sunday, preach nothing but insubordination to law and disobedience to God? Yes, Mr. Speaker, they are the founders of Abolitionism and the beings from whom the gentleman from Huntington has learned his creed.

We should look at this subject as stewards of the great gifts bequeathed to us by our forefathers. If there are dangers abroad, that threaten the whole community alike, that there is an evil in our borders, a great and perhaps an increasing evil—one which we must unite in checking or removing, if removal or check be possible—is well known to us all. I mean the Pandora's box of Northern fanaticism, uncovered by the gentleman who preceded me. It is impossible that we can be deceived on this subject. The signs of the times are too portentous to be misconstrued or unheeded. Alas! we hear the muttering thunder coming from the cloud which is stretching far and wide above our moral horizon, speaking a tone too deep to be unheard—a language too plain to be misunderstood. It tells us we are called on to defend from profane hands the ark of political and religious liberty—to preserve from encroachment that Constitution which has poured upon our land the abundance of prosperity. "A power subtler than brute force, and mightier than armed man is at work"—the power of Abolitionism—the omnipotence of religious fanaticism. Let the people slumber on—let them sit with social apathy beneath the wide spreading branches of this *bohun upas*—let them fold their arms in quiet—and ere long a voice will break upon the ear in a storm of ruin.

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turf, beneath which a volcano hisses? 'Would you have the rays of the last setting sun beam upon a land of prosperity? Then, let the watchers upon the towers keep a tireless vigil—with unalarming faithfulness view each sign of the storm. The nettle that is springing up in our borders must be grasped firmly or it will sting. The frozen viper must not be warmed in our bosoms; its fangs are the engines of death. Would you see an insidious foe in the garb of a spiritual friend steal upon the country and confiding, friend the sleeping coil around the human neck, entwining its deadly fetters, its chain of pain, with the very fibres of life! It not, (and God forbid) let not those who are the heirs of men who in an age of glory resisted intolerance and oppression even unto death, fold their arms in calm indifference, when the angel of desolation is sweeping over the land upon the wings of a whirlwind. It will be no time to cry peace and safety when the shriek of the maiden is ringing in our ears and the soil of our proud State is reeking with human gore.

I am aware, Mr. Speaker, that I have spoken in plain language, that I have expressed my opinion in strong terms; but I did it, not because to me it was a pleasant task, but because I believe before God that I have spoken truly. The signs of the times are to me more ominous than mere language can portray. Still their auguries may be deceptive. The course of the administration, of which I have spoken adversely, may turn out to be the bright and shining way. Heaven grant that it may prove so! If an incubus has settled on my brain, and I have "sapped full of horrors" never to be realized, most happy shall I be to know that I have only dreamed. But seeing as I have seen here to-day, and feeling as I have felt, I have deemed it my duty thus to speak with the deep conviction that if I speak from duty merely because the course of my remarks may contravene the words of others, the very atmosphere upon which I tread would murmur "shame!" I am sick and tired of these hypocritical professions of love for the Union, made by its bitter enemies, the Abolitionists. How can they love the Union when their first professions of love for it were made long after they had bitterly cursed it and inaugurated the process for its destruction? Too well have they succeeded in their schemes. But it shall not be; "the Union must and shall be preserved," and the Democratic party must do it by just such resolutions as these under discussion, inviting the calm and sober patriotisms of the nation to unite for its salvation. Look for one moment at the huge heap of trophies piled upon the tombs of our glorious dead—our peaceful records of greatness and majesty—our solemnized with the patriot's blood—our atmosphere electric with patriotism—our name resplendent with glory throughout the world, and say have we no trust to guard, no future to defend? Shall the dawn of some future day find our watch towers abandoned, our airy overthrown, our banners forsaken, our smiling land, once the home of the brave and the free, down trodden by foreign hirelings, or desolated by internal strife. Look through the world and show me a clime so proudly matured in the days of its youth. Shall the freedom won from the mightiest of nations in our days of feebleness be lost in our hour of might? Shall our onward course be checked? Shall our high fortune be forever marred, simply because we have a poor, weak, wicked and miserable pilot at the helm of State? No; perish the thought forever!

Mr. Speaker, dark days are before us, when those who are in the possession of the immense power of a government like ours can be found to use it so cruelly and recklessly as they are doing. When I look forward to the certain consequences of this mad course of action, my mind is filled with the greatest alarm for the result—not because that I believe that the American people will not, should the dire necessity arise, defend the inestimable bond of civil and religious liberty against the petty tyrants at Washington, who are now assailing the people, but because I wish to preserve the Union—to save this grand scheme of human happiness. Go back, Mr. Speaker, a few years, to a time when this demon of Abolitionism did not infest every avenue to the capital of the nation, and when it reared its hydra head in these halls only in occasional and feeble instances. What did we then behold? The sun of heaven rising on thirty millions of free people, who united within themselves more of the elements of social strength and individual happiness than ever blessed the same number of people before. The land smiled with happy contentment, which seemed to increase to Heaven the number of millions of our day, and fires kindled on as many altars consecrated to peace and all the domestic virtues. The husbandman went forth to sow his seed and to plant his tree in perfect security, that he or his descendants would gather the fruits. The mariner ploughed the seas and looked proudly aloft to the "stars and stripes," the emblem of his country's greatness, and knew that its ample folds would guard and protect him in the most distant climes. The young mother rejoiced when her male child was born into the world, feeling that when he should arrive at the age of maturity, he could take any one of the thousand roads that lead to wealth and honor in this happy land. The plain and the benighted willingly to the tomb, and obeyed his laws in peace, with a calm confidence that he was leaving his fair scene as a perpetual inheritance to his children and their descendants. Sir, upon what rested all this confidence and happiness? It rested in the faith felt by our people in the Constitution and the equal laws which it enjoined for the mutual protection and defence of the interests of all.

Instead of all the blessings which the Constitution guarantees, what do we now behold? War—stern, cruel and devastating war—a land desolated and drenched in fraternal blood—households desolate—widows in mourning—orphans weeping—mothers, sisters, fathers and brothers almost frantic at the loss on the cruel field of battle of a son or a brother—while night, morning and noon the anxious wife and mother kneels in the arms of her helpless ones, and while she teaches them her helpless infant prayers, she pours out her bleeding soul to Heaven for the safe return of her protector and their father. Go, sir, to the humble cottages of your rural districts, and while you contemplate the anxious, care-worn wife and her lovely group of innocent but half-starving children, representing patience in despair and industry in rags; look at your streets and highways darkened with wail widows in mourning weeds—listen to the rattle of the oath upon your streets by those who have lost a leg or otherwise maimed for life by the action of war; and then tell me, is it reason to vote, to speak, to wish, to resent, to cry for peace? I tell you, sir, whatever may be the opinion of others, I tell you, water blood-thirsty they may be—I am sick of war, and I do most solemnly protest against the gentleman on the other side stigmatising as "traitors" those whose tender feelings are outraged at the many cruelties perpetrated by a war which its leaders declare is only to abolish an institution which does not concern us—a war which I here pronounce to be the direct result of that impudent, if not original, fanaticism which in 1854 displayed its sixteen starred banner throughout the entire North, and which has since with steady