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LEVI L. TATE, Editor.

"TO HOLD AND TRIM THE TORCH OF TRUTH AND WAVE IT O'ER THE DARKENED EARTH."

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SPEECH OF
Hon. C. L. Vallandigham,
OF OHIO,
ON EXECUTIVE USURPATION.
In the House of Representatives, July 10, 1861.

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tensive knowledge of the art, and is well known to all
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From their long experience in the business, and an
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Bloomsgurg, April 10, 1861, 3d.

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HARTMAN.

Original Poetry.

MORNING'S GLORIES.
By R. F. H.
When gray streaks of morning's dawn
Light up the Eastern sky,
And by her flying chariot drawn,
The Sun, from atop of Tithon's breast,
Each rises, and on her errand fly,
What glories meet the eye,
With rapture from our beds of rest,
We rise to view the scene
The morning doth our gaze present,
When dew, on grass of purest green,
Like gold dew gleams in state,
To sparkle in the rays
Of Tithone's fair and blooming bride:
Then comes in Nature's own array,
And all the works of art deride.

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concy and moderation certainly but at the same time fully, freely, and at every hazard. Sir, it is an ancient and wise practice of the English Commons, to precede all votes of supplies by an inquiry into abuses and grievances, and especially into any infractions of the constitution and the laws by the Executive. Let us follow this safe practice. We are now in Committee of the Whole on the state of the Union; and in the exercise of my right and my duty as a Representative, and availing myself of the latitude of debate allowed here, I propose to consider the present state of the Union, and supply also some few of the many omissions of the President in the message before us. Sir, he has undertaken to give us information of the state of the Union, as the Constitution requires him to do; and it was his duty as an honest Executive, to make that information full, impartial, and complete, instead of spreading before us a labored and lawyerly vindication of his own course of policy—a policy which has precipitated us into a terrible and bloody revolution. He admits the fact; he admits that, to-day, we are in the midst of a general CIVIL WAR, not now a mere petty insurrection, to be suppressed in twenty days by a proclamation and a posse comitatus of three months militia.

Sir, it has been the misfortune of the President from the beginning, that he has totally and wholly underestimated the magnitude and character of the revolution with which he had to deal, or surely he never would have ventured upon the wicked and hazardous experiment of calling thirty millions of people to arms against themselves, without the counsel and authority of Congress. But when at last he found himself hemmed in by the revolution, and waked up thus by the proclamation of the 15th of April provokes him to be waked up, to the reality and significance of the movement, why did he not forthwith assemble Congress, and throw himself upon the wisdom and patriotism of the representatives of the States and of the people, instead of usurping powers which the Constitution has expressly conferred upon us? ay, sir and powers which Congress had but a little while before, repeatedly and emphatically refused to exercise, or to permit him to exercise! But I shall recur to this point again.

Sir, the President, in this message, has undertaken also to give us a summary of the causes which have led to the present revolution. He has made out a case—he might, in my judgment, have made out a much stronger case—against the secessionists and disunionists of the South. All this, sir, is very well as far it goes. But the President does not go back far enough nor in the right direction. He forgets the still stronger case against the abolitionists and disunionists of the North and West. He omits to tell us that secession and disunion had a New England origin, and began in Massachusetts in 1804 at the time of the Louisiana purchase; were revived by the Hartford convention in 1814, and culminated, during the war with Great Britain, in sending commissioners to Washington to settle the terms for a peaceable separation of New England from the other States of the Union. He forgets to remind us and the country, that this present revolution began forty years ago, in the vehement, persistent, offensive, most irritating and unprovoked agitation of the SLAVERY QUESTION in the North and West, from the time of the Missouri controversy, with some short intervals, down to the present hour. Sir, if his statement of the case be the whole truth and wholly correct, then the Democratic party and every member of it, and the Whig party, too and its predecessors, have been guilty for sixty years of an unjust, unconstitutional, and most wicked policy in administering the affairs of the Government.

But, sir, the President ignores totally the violent and long-continued denunciation of slavery and slaveholders, and especially since 1835—I appeal to Jackson's message for the date and proof—until at last a political anti-slavery organization was formed in the North and West, which continued to gain strength year after year, till at length it had destroyed and usurped the place of the Whig party, and finally obtained control of every free State in the Union, and elected himself, through free State votes alone, to the Presidency of the United States. He chooses to pass over the fact that the party to which he thus owes his place and his present power of mischief, is wholly and totally a sectional organization; and as such condemned by Washington, by Jefferson, by Jackson,

declared in the Senate that they would be satisfied, and for which every southern Senator and Representative voted, never, on any occasion, received one solitary vote from the Republican party in either House. The Adams or Corwin amendment, so-called, reported from the committee of thirty-three, and the only substantive amendment proposed from the Republican side, was but a bare promise that Congress should never be authorized to do what no sane man ever believed Congress would attempt to do—abolish slavery in the States where it exists; and yet even this proposition, moderate as it was, and for which every southern member present voted, except one, was carried through this House by but one majority, after long and tedious delay, and with the utmost difficulty—sixty-five Republican members, with the resolute and determined gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. HICKMAN] at their head, having voted against it and fought against it to the very last.

And not this only, but as a part of the history of the last session, let me remind you that bills were introduced into this House proposing to abolish and close up certain southern ports of entry; to authorize the President to blockade the southern coast; and to call out the militia and accept the services of volunteers, not for three years merely, but without any limit as to either numbers or time, for the very purpose of enforcing the laws, collecting the revenue, and protecting the public property; and were pressed vehemently and earnestly in this House prior to the arrival of the President in this city, and were then, though seven States had seceded and set up a government of their own voted down, postponed, thrust aside, or in some other way disposed of, sometimes by large majorities in this House, till at last Congress adjourned without any action at all. Peace then seemed to be the policy of all parties.

Thus, sir, the case stood at twelve o'clock on the 4th of March last, when, from the eastern portico of this Capitol, and in the presence of twenty thousand of his countrymen, but enveloped in a cloud of military which no other American President ever saw, Abraham Lincoln took the oath of office to support the Constitution, and delivered his inaugural—a message, I regret to say, not written in the direct and straightforward language which becomes an American President and an American statesman, and which was expected from the plain, blunt, honest man of the North-west, but with the forked tongue and crooked counsel of New York politician, leaving thirty millions of people in doubt whether it meant peace or war. But whatever may have been the secret purpose and meaning of the inaugural, practically for six weeks the policy of peace prevailed; and they were weeks of happiness to the patriot, and prosperity of the country—Business revived; trade returned; commerce flourished. Never was there a fairer prospect before any people. Secession in the past languished, and was spiritless and harmless; secession in the future was arrested, and perished. By overwhelming majorities, Virginia, Kentucky, North Carolina, Tennessee, and Missouri all declared for the old Union, and every heart beat high with hope that in due course of time, and through faith and patience and peace, and by ultimate and adequate compromise, every State would be restored to it. It is true, indeed, sir, that the Republican party, with great unanimity and great earnestness and determination, had resolved against all conciliation and compromise. But, on the other hand, the whole Democratic party, and the whole Constitutional Union party, were equally resolved that there should be no civil war upon any pretext; and both sides prepared for an appeal to that great and final arbiter of all disputes in a free country—the people.

Sir, I do not propose to inquire now whether the President and his Cabinet were sincere and in earnest, and meant really to persevere to the end in the policy of peace; or whether from the first they meant civil war, and only waited to gain time till they were fairly seated in power, and had disposed, too, of that prodigious horde of spoilsmen and office seekers, which came down at the first like an avalanche upon them? But I do know that the people believe them sincere, and cordially ratified and approved of the policy of peace; not as they subsequently responded to the policy of war, in a whirlwind of passion and madness, but calmly and soberly, and as the result of their deliberate and most solemn judgment; and believing that civil war was absolute and eternal disunion, while secession was but partial

and temporary, they cordially indorsed also the proposed evacuation of Sumter and the other forts and public property within the seceded States. Nor, sir, will I stop now to explore the several causes which either led to a change in the apparent policy or an early development of the original and real purposes of the Administration. But there are two which cannot pass by. And the first of these was PARTY NECESSITY, or the clamor of politicians, and especially of certain wicked, reckless, and unprincipled conductors of a partisan press. The peace policy was crushing out the Republican party. Under that policy, sir, it was melting away like snow before the sun. The general elections in Rhode Island and Connecticut, and municipal elections in New York and in the western States, gave abundant evidence that the people were resolved upon the most ample satisfactory constitutional guarantees to the South as the price of a restoration of the Union. And then it was sir, that the long and agonizing howl of defeated and disappointed politicians came up before the Administration. The newspaper press teemed with appeals and threats to the President. The mails groaned under the weight of letters demanding a change of policy; while a secret conclave of the Governors of Massachusetts, New York, Ohio, and other States, assembled here, promised men and money to support the President in the irrepressible conflict which they now invoked. And thus it was, sir, that the necessities of a party in the pangs of dissolution, in the very hour and article of death, demanding vigorous measures, which could result in nothing but civil war, renewed secession, and absolute and eternal disunion, were preferred and harkened to before the peace and harmony and prosperity of the whole country.

But there was another and yet stronger impelling cause without which this horrid calamity of civil war might have been postponed, and, perhaps, finally averted. One of the last and worst acts of Congress, which, born in bitterness and nurtured in convulsion, literally did those things which it ought not to have done, and left undone those things which it ought to have done, was the passage of an obscure, ill-digested, and unstatesmanlike high protective tariff act, commonly known as "THE MORRILL TARIFF." Just about the same time, too, the Confederate Congress at Montgomery adopted our old tariff of 1857, which we had rejected to make way for the Morrill act, fixing their rate of duties at five, fifteen, and twenty per cent lower than ours. The result was as inevitable as the laws of trade are inexorable. Trade and commerce—and especially the trade and commerce of the West—began to look to the South. Turned out of their natural course years ago, by the canals and railroads of Pennsylvania and New York, and diverted eastward at a heavy loss to the West, they threatened now to resume their ancient and accustomed channels—the water-courses—the Ohio & the Mississippi. And political association and union, it was well known, must soon follow the direction of trade and interest. The city of New York, the great commercial emporium of the Union, and the North-west, the chief granary of the Union, began to clamor now loudly for a repeal of the pernicious and ruinous tariff. Threatened thus with the loss of both political power and wealth, or the repeal or the tariff, and at last of both, New England—and Pennsylvania, too, the land of Pennocradled in peace—demanded now coercion and civil war, with all its horrors, as the price of preserving either from destruction. Ay, sir, Pennsylvania, the great keystone of the arch of the Union, was willing to lay the whole weight of her iron upon the sacred arch, and crush it beneath the load. The subjugation of the South—ay, sir, the subjugation of the South! I am not talking to children or fools; for there is not a man in this House fit to be a Representative here who does not know that the South cannot be forced to yield obedience to your laws and authority again until you have conquered and subjugated her—the subjugation of the South, and the closing up of her ports, first by force, in war, and afterwards in tariff laws, in peace, was deliberately resolved upon in the East. And, sir, when once this policy was begun, these self-same motives of waning commerce and threatened loss of trade impelled the great city of New York, and her merchants and her politicians and her press, with here and there an honorable exception, to place herself in the very front rank among the worshippers of Moloch. Much, indeed, of that outbreak and uprising in the North, which followed the proclamation of the 15th of April, as well, perhaps, as the

proclamation itself was called forth, by the fall of Sumter—an event long anticipated—as by the notion that "insurrection," as it was called, might be crushed out in a few weeks, if not by the display, certainly at least, by the presence of an overwhelming force. These, sir, were the chief causes which, along with others, led to a change in the policy of the Administration, and instead of peace, forced us headlong into civil war, with all its accumulated horrors.

But whatever may have been the cause or the motives of the act, it is certain that there was a change in the policy which the Administration meant to adopt, or which at least they led the country to believe they intended to pursue. I will not venture now to assert, what may yet some day be made to appear, that the subsequent acts of the Administration, and its enormous and persistent infractions of the Constitution, its high-handed usurpations of power, formed any part of a deliberate conspiracy to overthrow the present form of Federal republican government, and to establish a strong centralized Government in its stead. No, sir; whatever their purposes are now, I rather think, that in the beginning, they rushed heedlessly into the gulf, believing that, the seat of war was then far distant and difficulties of access, the display of vigor in reinforcing Sumter and Pickens, and in calling out seventy-five thousand militia upon the firing of the first gun, and above all, in that exceedingly happy and original conceit of commanding the insurgent States to "disperse in twenty days," would not, on the one hand precipitate a crisis, while, upon the other, it would satisfy its own violent partisans, and thus revive and restore the failing fortunes of the Republican party.

I can hardly conceive, sir, that the President and his advisers could be guilty of the exceeding folly of expecting to carry on a general civil war by a mere posse comitatus of three months militia. It may be, indeed, that, with wicked and most desperate cunning, the President meant all this as a mere entring wedge to that which was to rive the oak asunder; or possibly as a test, to learn the public sentiment of the North and West. But however that may be, the rapid secession and movement of Virginia, North Carolina, Arkansas and Tennessee, taking with them as I have said elsewhere, four millions and a half of people, immense wealth inexhaustible resources, five hundred thousand fighting men, and the graves of Washington and Jackson, and bringing up, too, in one single day, the frontier from the Gulf to the Ohio and the Potomac, together with the abandonment by one side, and the occupation by the other, of Harper's Ferry and the Norfolk navy-yard, and the fierce gust and whirlwind of passion in the North, compelled either a sudden waking up of the President and his advisers to the frightful significance of the act which they committed in heedlessly breaking the vase which contained the slumbering demon of civil war, or else a premature but rapid development of the darling plot to foster and promote secession and then set up a new and strong form of Government in the States which might remain in the Union.

But whatever may have been the purpose, I assert here to-day, as a Representative, that every principal act of the Administration since, has been a glaring usurpation of power, and a palpable and dangerous violation of that very Constitution which this civil war is professedly waged to support. Sir, I pass by the proclamation of the 15th of April, summoning the militia—not to defend this capital; there is not a word about the capital in the proclamation, and there was then no possible danger to it from any quarter; but to retake and occupy forts and property a thousand miles off—summoning, I say, the militia to suppress the so-called insurrection. I do not believe indeed, and no man believed in February last, when Mr. Stanton, of Ohio, introduced his bill to enlarge the act of 1795, that act ever contemplated the case of a general revolution, and of resistance by an organized Government. But no matter. The militia thus called out, with a shadow, at least, of authority, and for a period extending one month the assembling of Congress, were amply sufficient to protect the capital against any force which was then likely to be sent against it—and the event has proved it—and ample enough also to suppress the outbreak in Maryland. Every other principal act of the Administration might well have been postponed until the meeting of Congress; or if the exigencies of the occasion demanded it, Congress should have