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SATURDAY, APRIL 4, 1863.

Select Poetry.

[Written for the Philadelphia Sunday Mercury.]

THE PILGRIM'S PROGRESS FROM PURITANISM TO NIGGERISM.

"Once on a time, old books relate. But when it matters not to state. There was a mighty blow. The Jews, with rams' horns, strange to tell. Blow such a blast that down there fell The walls of Jericho!

Democracy Past, Present and Future.

We agree with the Valley Spirit that with all the contemptuous sneers and vituperative abuse heaped upon Democrats and the Democratic party, the past history, as well as the present position of that party and its members, before the world, is an enviable one. No intelligent man will pretend to deny that, from the formation and adoption of the Constitution down to the election of Mr. Lincoln, with the exception of a few brief years, the Democratic party controlled the policy, maintained the honor, extended the territory and made the history of the country.

And what is her present position in reference to the great crisis through which our institutions are passing? It is true, in the heat and passion of the moment, she has been bitterly and malignantly assailed and misrepresented. The foulest epithets have been applied to every one who dared to hold fast by the old organization. Her public men have been denounced and defamed. But this has been the case before, times without number.

State of the Country.

SPEECH OF HON. HEISTER CLYMER, OF BERKS COUNTY, IN THE SENATE OF PENNSYLVANIA, March 6th, 1863.

Mr. Speaker: On this day, at this hour, in this place, a great issue is on trial, fraught with interests, not only for the present, but for the future; and if, in the decision of this issue, have acted a part, however unimportant, I shall hereafter look back to this day, to this hour and to this place, with feelings of no little gratification.

The issue involved is not one of persons; it is one of high principle going back to the foundations of this Government. It is, sir, whether the loyalty of the citizen is to be judged by his fealty and adherence to an administration, or whether it is to be determined by his fealty and adherence to the Government of the United States.

In order to decide this question, it is necessary to present this brief exposition of the situation of affairs—that without a Constitution there could have been no Government and no Union, and that unless there is fealty and adherence to that Constitution, there can be no true loyalty to the Government and Union based on it.

Millions for the Constitution, but not one cent for emancipation! was the motto displayed at a great public meeting at Chicago a few days ago; and no better parody has ever been made of the old and honored cry—"Millions for defence but not one cent for tribute."—This conveys the exact feeling of the Country—willing to spend wealth and life to put down rebellion and maintain the integrity of the Country, but determined to do neither in order to carry out the pet plans of a pack of abolition disunionists.

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to destroy, to uproot, to overturn every principle upon which this great and good government of ours was founded. I know that he has bent with suppliant knee before the throne of power: I know that, for self or some other consideration, he has succumbed to every measure presented to him for approval or disapproval; and I know that in speeches delivered in the capitals of other States he has enunciated doctrines which, if adopted by the people of the great North, would be subversive of individual freedom and personal right. Sir, by no vote of mine can any person holding such views address the people of Pennsylvania in this chamber. Never, sir, never, so long as I have a right to forbid him. Let me, sir, test this question by contrast. Let me ask the majority of this Senate, whether he who has lately been baptized by the votes of three hundred thousand men in the Empire State of this Union—one of the greatest of living statesmen and most patriotic of men—Horatio Seymour—whether, if that distinguished Governor, was on his way from the East to the West through this capital, he would get a single vote from the Republican side of this chamber permitting him to address his fellow-citizens in this hall? Not one—not one.

Mr. Lowry. Is not the man of whom the Senator speaks a disloyal man? Mr. Clymer. The people of Indiana have sent him to the United States Senate and you dare not deny of question the choice of a sovereign State. But, sir, who is the individual whose name we ask shall be embraced in this resolution? Who is he whom we would ask to come here and receive the hospitalities of this State? He who next to him who was first in war, first in peace and first in the hearts of his countrymen, is the people's idol—he who amid doubt and gloom, upon more than one occasion, has rescued order from anarchy—he who upon more than one occasion has been the means of saving this government—he who has the greatest heart of the greatest army upon this continent throbbing every day, every hour, every moment in unison with his own—MAJOR GEN. GEORGE B. MCCLELLAN! He, sir, has been denied the hospitality of a legislative body in which you Republicans have a majority. You will not vote to tender him those hospitalities—and why? Because he is anointed not only by the voice of the great people, but by the adoration of the hearts of the Army of the Potomac. You will not pass such a resolution if his name is to be included. No, you who have the power now for a few months or years will not sanction anything that savors of what the people desire.

What is the question presented? It is a proposition to invite Andrew Johnson, the so-called Governor of Tennessee, to address the people of Pennsylvania from the Senate chamber of this State. I have various reasons for opposing this proposition. In the first place, I hear boldly proclaimed that he is not at this hour and never has been, by the Constitution or under the laws, the Governor of the State of Tennessee, except when years ago he was elected to that office by the people I say, sir, that his appointment by the President of the United States to that position was a usurpation of power on the part of the President, and that there is no warrant under the Constitution, no authority in the laws for his appointment; and that every act which he has assumed to perform by virtue of his unconstitutional and illegal appointment has been in derogation of the rights of a sovereign State, and in flat violation of the Constitution of the United States. I say, sir, furthermore, that no such position as Military Governor of the State is known to the Constitution of the United States to appoint a Military Governor over that State—and that to make such an appointment was to create the State of Tennessee a military province—and that his appointment was made to carry out and subvert the purposes of the present administration, which is to reduce all the States of this Union to the condition of mere dependencies of a consolidated oligarchy or despotism. That is my position, so far as concerns this pretended Governor of Tennessee. Andrew Johnson has not been for years, and is not now, the Governor of that State; and I will never recognize him as such, by voting for this resolution. But, sir, without regard to any question of his official position, take Andrew Johnson as an individual, assuming that he is rightfully clothed with the robes of office, and may constitutionally exercise the duties of that high position; even then, I say to you, Mr. Speaker, that I never by my vote will allow a man to come into these halls and from this place speak to the people of this great State in support of what I know to be illegal, unconstitutional and tyrannical acts of the Federal Government. I know, sir, that Andrew Johnson has gone as far as the farthest, and is ready to go still farther,

I might in this connection repeat—repeatedly, and with truth—the results

that have been attempted to be made upon the great party with which I have the honor to act. You, sir, were here in April 1861; you will recollect that when the first gun was fired upon Fort Sumpter, that one shot fused the great heart of the people of this State and presented it as a wall of adamant against rebellion and treason at the South. You know that without stint, without measure, that great heart, Democratic and Republican, poured out everything for a common purpose. You recollect that in July, 1861, when we had been defeated upon the plains of Bull Run, when the army of the republic came into Washington with tattered banners; when there was fear and dismay there, here and elsewhere; when the Republic was tottering and the President was almost a suppliant for his place, you know there was no division of sentiment or feeling. You further know that in the Congress of the United States, on the 22d of July, after that defeat, a resolution was offered defining and setting forth the objects of the struggle. You know that resolution was adopted by a nearly unanimous vote. You know that in the hour of fear and dismay, of trial and danger, that resolution came as the voice of hope from Heaven. It reassured the people; it told them that this was to be no visionary, no fanciful struggle; but it was to be pursued for the purpose of sustaining the constitution and restoring the Union of our fathers, and that when this object should be attained, peace would reign once more. What was the result? From the disorganized, helpless and beaten materials of that army, he by whom it is asked to-day to invite to the capital of his own State, and to whom that boon is denied by Republican Senators, seized hold of those discordant materials, and with the hand and mind of genius prepared them again to go upon the enemy. I will not trace his history. It is written imperishably upon the annals of the past; and it will shine in a moment to a period a year later, when another disaster met our arms on the same field, and when the panic-stricken President and his advisers again crouched with fear within the walls of Washington, when they felt that the Goths and Vandals were at their gates, when they were providing for flight to some spot of safety and when they felt that power and place were vanishing. Again is asked for they appealed to him whom for party purposes they had degraded, and again, like a true patriot, like one who never acts from sordid or improper motives, he assumed the command of that routed and demoralized army and in less than three weeks he had again organized it and had commenced the pursuit of the common enemy across the hills of Maryland and into a plain where many of those who now hear me met the enemies of their country face to face. What did he do? A second time he saved the Republic—he saved it by snatching victory out of the very jaws of defeat, and I now place upon record the universal sentiment of every man who served under him, that if it had not been for the confidence of the Army of the Potomac in General McClellan, Pennsylvania would have suffered an invasion which would have been destructive to the life and property of her people; and yet Senators refuse to receive the protector and defender of the State in the halls of her Capitol. But what is the subsequent history of this matter? Shattered and broken, his legions lay awhile for rest, to be clothed, to be fed, to be restored to their wonted vigor; and then again he was in pursuit of the enemy whom he had met at Antietam and at South Mountain and defeated. But, sir, when he was about to strike his blow, he was again pursued by the miscreants who wished to divert this war from the purposes set forth in the resolution of July, 1861, and dragged down from his position as commander of the army. He left it dispirited, broken-hearted, dejected, obedient, it is true, but without nerve, without vigor, without power. He left it at the direction and command of the ultra Abolitionists of the North. George B. McClellan was not an Abolitionist, and therefore he was not a general!!! The remaining history of that campaign is written in blood and in disaster. But, sir, I will tell you that along the camp fires of the Potomac that night, no soldier goes to sleep without praying God for blessings upon the head of his old commander; and oh! sir, if those in power could summon the resolution to cast behind them the prejudices and the passions of those who do not wish to see this Union restored unless slavery be abolished, that noble commander would be put again at the head of that army and he would carve out victory and would bring back to us once more triumph and peace and union. I know it, they know it, you, gentlemen, know it; and if you had the manhood which you should possess you would use joint resolutions speak this truth to the powers that be and make them hear you!

Mr. Speaker, it may be proper for me at this time to state what I believe to be the purposes of the great party with which I have the honor to act. In the words of another, who from his exalted position has a right to speak, I will tell you: that the Democratic party has never agreed, does not now agree, and has no intention of agreeing in future, to a dissolution of the American Union; and I will say to you further, that we propose to accomplish the preservation of the government and the Constitution by the union of the sword with the olive branch. For those who will resist the power of the government—not the power of the Administration—not its unconstitutional acts, but

the power of this government rightfully administered under the Constitution—we have the sword. For those who are willing to submit to its benign, its healthful and its peaceful sway, we will hold out the olive branch of peace. And here I will say to you, sir, (and in saying it I feel that I express the opinion of the great Democratic party of this State,) that we believe, and will ever believe, that the laws which have been passed by the Congress just ended—the confiscation and other acts which have steeled the heart of the people of the South—there is no such thing as a Union man left in those States now engaged in rebellion, and we tell you that we intend to melt the heart of that people by repealing your unjust, your unconstitutional laws; and that when it is melted, we expect out of that heart to bring peace and happiness to the people North and South. We say to you, Mr. Speaker that we do not believe it is in the power of twenty millions of men to subdue and bring back that people, unless you have among them allies who are attached to your cause, devoted to the principles of the Constitution and its guarantees, and desiring, its protection—that you can never, never exterminate or subjugate them.

But we tell you, sir, that if you will do only what the Constitution and the principles springing from it demand, on every hill and in every valley there will be raised up allies for our assistance. The leaders who desire peace and power may be against us, but when the people of the South, recollecting the glories of the past, and looking to those of the future, feel that every right is to be guaranteed, every privilege restored to them, then, as I believe in my God, I believe that they will come back to the Constitution of the old Government and to the Union. I tell you now, Mr. Speaker, that all the blood, all the treasure you have spent or may spend, will be in vain, unless you repeal the unconstitutional, oppressive, tyrannical laws which were enacted by the last Congress; and I will say in passing that I believe (the Supreme Arbitrator being my judge) that if that Congress had never met, or if, having met, they had simply voted appropriations and dissolved, leaving the whole question to be settled under the resolution adopted in July, 1861, this contest would ere now have been settled, and at this day we would be enjoying unity, peace and anxiety. Upon the heads of those who prevented such action—upon the heads of the men who enacted those unconstitutional and damnable laws, and did everything in their power to combine the southern heart against us, forever be the curse of the blood and mourning that fill this land. If the demon of destruction and hate—if the father of evil himself could have been there detaching their counsels, actuating them to deeds which must result in the utter dismemberment of this Union, he could not more thoroughly have effected his hellish purpose than it has been effected by the dominant majority in the Senate and in the House during the last Congress. And when the history of these times comes to be written, (and I pray to God that the historian of this era may not be obliged to write of the decline and fall of the American Republic, but that he may only write of its trials past and present and of its future greatness,) he will record the hour when the nation came so near to dissolution and death, and he will ascribe the disasters of that hour to the unremitted, persistent, diabolical machinations of Abolitionists in and out of the last Congress. Such a historian, if he has the philosophy of Hume—if he has his far-seeing penetration, and can trace effects from causes, can not fail in the contemplative hour of the future to say what I say at this moment, that to them solely and sheerly belongs the terrible calamity that still darkens and enshrouds this land. In conclusion, sir, what do we propose to declare by voting against this resolution? We propose to say that no one who has been the instrument, the partaker, the supporter of these tyrannical, these unconstitutional, these arbitrary measures which have fused the Southern heart and divided our own, shall be heard from the capital of this State. We propose to say that we will not listen to him as a body representing the people of this State; we propose to say that the verdict of the people of the State at the last election was against all such damnable heresies. We mean to tell you, gentlemen, that although we have not a majority here, we have it on the other side of this hall, and we have it among the people. We mean to tell you that that majority counted by three thousand last year will be ten times three thousand at the next election. We mean to tell you that we are going to bring you back to the cause of the Constitution and the Union. We mean to tell you that we are going to use the sword and the olive branch in settling this difficulty—that whether north or south, we will use the sword upon those who are opposed to the Constitution—that we will not allow any person, whether in the south or in the north, to destroy, to disregard, to ignore or to set at defiance the Constitution of the United States. We mean to tell you that the same law which is to be obeyed at the South is to be obeyed at the North. The people are with us, and by the grace of God and the voice of the people, before nine months roll around we shall have it in our power to put in execution all that we say.

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