

# COLUMBIA DEMOCRAT,



## AND BLOOMSBURG GENERAL ADVERTISER.

LEVI L. TATE, EDITOR.

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

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### COLUMBIA DEMOCRAT.

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### COLUMBIA DEMOCRAT

EDITED BY LEVI L. TATE, PROPRIETOR. —Bloomsburg— SATURDAY, APRIL 4, 1863.

#### 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. These facts have already gone into history, and are accepted by the civilized world. During this time its policy was to keep pace with the progress, and, as occasion permitted, to develop the resources of the country. In all these measures it met the fiercest opposition at every step; and yet as years rolled around, and reflection and calm judgment took the place of passion and excitement, these same measures were universally endorsed by the popular voice, and all of them remain upon our statute books unrepealed to the present day. Almost every opposition senator voted against the ratification of Jefferson's treaty for the purchase of Louisiana; and yet who, in the next generation, would have been willing to see that vast and rich territory again in possession of a foreign power, or who to-day is willing to let her cut loose from us, and block up the mouths of the Mississippi against the trade of the great West? The Federalists to a man were opposed to our second war with Great Britain; and yet who to-day does not look back with pride to the gallant fight we then made for the rights of our young commerce upon the high seas. The admission of Texas was violently opposed, and yet to-day we are using a powerful military force to keep Texas in the Union. The Whig party were universally hostile to our war with Mexico; they counseled the Mexicans to "welcome our troops with bloody hands to honorable graves;" and yet who to-day wishes California out of the Union, coming to us as she did with her hands full of golden treasure, or who would be willing to give up the other valuable territory then acquired? The Democratic party steadily adhered to the Monroe doctrine refusing any further foothold on the North American continent to any of the European Monarchies; and the humiliating experiences of the past year—the possession of Mexico by the French—tell us that the only safe policy for the United States would have been to stand by that doctrine to the bitter end. These are but a few of the many instances in which time and sober judgment have endorsed the policy of the Democratic party, however violently the various measures she originated were assailed at their inception. Verily, she has good reason to be proud of her history.

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. And now that the resolute of the sober second thought is coming on, let us throw political prejudice to the winds, and see how fair her record shines in the clear blaze of the noonday sun.

With the first note of war that came up from Charleston harbor, Democracy, true to her ancient principles and her pledges to the people, avowed her loyalty in unmistakable terms. She sent her thousands into the army, she opened her purse, she shed her blood on our first battle fields. Congress assembled and soon followed the hour of gloom after the defeat of our army on the plains of Manassas, when fear, despondency and dismay filled all hearts. Then it was that Congress, by an almost unanimous vote, declared that "this war is not waged in any spirit of

### State of the Country.

oppression, or for any purpose of conquest or subjugation, or for the 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." Democrats took the resolution in good faith.—Under the new calls for volunteers, hundreds of thousands more offered their services to the country, and their graves are to be found on every battle field from Ball Run and Fort Donelson to Fredericksburg and Murfreesboro. The regular session of the Thirty-seventh Congress met, and then began the darkest days of the war. It took but a short time to prove that radicalism had control of the national legislation. Impracticable, visionary, unconstitutional and injurious measures were hurried through, with all the blindness of the wildest fanaticism. Democrats and Conservatives of all parties pleaded and remonstrated, but a deaf ear was turned to their entreaties. Then Democrats and Conservatives openly opposed and denounced these measures, as subversive of liberty North and South, as sources of weakness rather than strength, and as tending directly and inevitably to the very end all so much dreaded—an ultimate dissolution of the Union. But radicalism regarded neither tears nor threats, and these measures were put upon our statute books. Then Democrats declared their policy, boldly and frankly. "Let it be everywhere asserted," said Senator Bachawell, "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." "We propose," said Senator Clymer, in a late speech in the State Senate, "to accomplish the preservation of the Government and the Constitution by the union of the sword and 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. To those who are willing to submit to its benign, its healthful, its peaceful sway, we will hold out the olive branch of peace." And, said the same Senator to his Republican hearers, "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 as on those who are opposed to the Constitution—that we will not allow any person, whether in the South or in the North, to disobey, 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."—Here is our platform in brief but expressive words. Let it be boldly proclaimed before all the people. Let every sentiment, every sentence, every word it contains, be weighed in the scales of public opinion. Let it be held up in the clear light of broad day, and let its comprehensive length and breadth and height and depth be measured by Union-loving, Constitution-revering, law-abiding, conservative men, everywhere. And, if public virtue be not yet dead in the hearts of the people, if there yet burns "at the inmost altar" the patriotic flame first kindled by the fathers of the Republic, it is not too much to expect that the citizens will rise in their might, as they have done in days gone by, and peaceably, quietly, by their votes, at the approaching elections, will sweep sectional fanaticism forever from the face of the land.

"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.

Two Republican newspapers in Illinois, one in Edgar and the other in Coles county, have recently repudiated that party and joined the Democracy.

An angel without money is not thought so much of now-a-days as a devil with a bag full of guineas.

### Speech of Hon. Heister Clymer, of Berks County, in the Senate of Pennsylvania, March 6th, 1863.

On the Joint Resolution tendering the use of the Senate Chamber to Ex-Governors Johnson and Wright.

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 of 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. That is the issue to be tried to-day. Disguise it as you may—attempt to confuse it for party purposes, party reasons, and by party chicanery—the issue presented by every Republican Senator who has preceded me in this discussion, is that my loyalty is to be tested, not by any adherence and devotion to the Constitution of the United States, but by my adherence to the administration of Abraham Lincoln the present occupant of the Presidential chair!

I say to you, sir, I say to every Senator, I say it to the people whom I represent, I say it to the people of this State, that there is no such thing known to the Constitution, nor to any tribunal before which I, you, or any one can ever be summoned to answer. I repeat it that the Government is founded upon the Constitution; that the administration is a mere creature of that Constitution and that Government; and that where, in defiance of that Constitution and the Government erected upon it, an administration strays from its principles—strays from the pathways cut by our ancestors through the rock of uncertainty and danger—then he is only a truly loyal man who uses every effort to bring back the administration to the old beaten path which avoids the dangers of fanaticism and error. That is the question to be tested here and now in the vote upon this resolution. That is the question to be decided; and the people of this State, outside of these halls, will so consider it; and I now, as heretofore, appeal to the people from whom springs all power to sustain me, and those who may vote with me in deciding this question as best befits our judgment under our oaths.

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 of that State, and 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,

### 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.—Would Joel Parker, that Governor of New Jersey, elected by the people, get one vote for such a purpose? Would David Turpie, who by the votes of the people of Indiana is the successor of one of the men whom, by the resolution, it is proposed to have address us—would David Turpie be permitted by the votes of members on the other side of this chamber to occupy this hall for the purpose of delivering an address? Not one vote would be given. Yet he is chosen representative of the majority of the people of Indiana—appointed by their sanction, capitalized by the majority of their votes. Not one vote would he get, and you know it. You, gentlemen on the other side, fear the verdict of the people; you have reason to know what it means; and he who comes to you clothed with all the glory of the popular will, but lately expressed, you will cast off for a mere hireling of Federal patronage and power. 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 this constant throbbing every day, every hour, every moment in union 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 not a member 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.—You are determined that they never shall be seen, never heard. That is the determination which you are acting out here and elsewhere. I tell you, sir, that those who have been disorbed and dis-owned by the people, who are the mere minions of executive power, and who submit to the subversion of the people's rights and liberties, I never will consent shall speak from your chair to the people of this State—never, sir, never! It is known to you, sir, whose legislative experience in this hall extends back to a period commensurate with my own, that I am not in the habit of wandering from the particular subject before the Senate to introduce general issues and extended arguments. But, sir, this debate has been far diverted from the original question that could agitate the public mind at this time. If it could have even rested there, I should have remained content. But gentlemen upon this floor have chosen to single me out amongst the Democratic Senators here—and refer to the probable results of my action upon my own future.—I, sir, am an individual—individuals as compared with principles and great results are nothing. Principles and truth are eternal. Man is mortal and goes to his kindred dust; but if, sir, in his person, he acts in public or in private life, he represents principle—if when powers, passion or prejudice threaten to destroy the rights of the people, he dare stand up in defence of them, he may die, he may go to his fathers blessed or unblessed. A Hampden and others have illustrated this. They have gone down in gloom; but they are now held up in brightness and in glory; and, sir, no matter what may become of me in regard to this day's action, I know I shall be sustained when the passion and prejudice and violence of the hour have given way to the sober thoughts which govern men when they are not bereft of reason. 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 the 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 been destroyed 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 destroy place 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 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.

The Duke de Lewis, who died recently in France, claimed to trace his descent from a first cousin of the Virgin Mary.