



EDITED BY LEVI L. TATE, PROPRIETOR

BLOOMSBURG, PA.

Saturday, October 10, 1863.

DEMOCRATIC STATE NOMINATIONS

FOR GOVERNOR, GEORGE W. WOODWARD, OF LUZERNE COUNTY.

JUDGE OF THE SUPREME COURT, WALTER H. LOWRIE, OF ALLEGHENY COUNTY.

FOR SENATOR, DAVID B. MONTGOMERY, OF NORTHUMBERLAND COUNTY.

FOR ASSEMBLY, GEORGE D. JACKSON, OF SULLIVAN COUNTY.

JOHN C. ELLIS, OF MONTGOMERY COUNTY.

JESSE COLEMAN, OF ORANGE.

JOHN G. FREEZE, OF BLOOMSBURG.

DANIEL MCHENRY, OF FISHKILL.

THOS. J. VANDERSLICE, OF HEMLOCK.

JOHN R. YOHE, OF MIFFLIN.

WM. T. SHUMAN, OF CATAWISSA.

Democratic Meetings.

The following Democratic meetings will be held in Columbia county, between this and the election:—

BEAVER, at F. L. Shuman's, Oct. 10, '63. ROHRBURG, " 10, " ERSYBROOK, Monday evening, " 12, "

Good speakers will be present to address the people on these occasions.

Repeat of the Tonnage Tax.

Let every voter, every honest voter and tax payer remember that Governor Curtin signed the bill repealing the Tonnage Tax. By this one act an annual income of nearly a half a million of dollars was taken from the State and given to a mammoth corporation. Nor was this all; the accumulations of years was also bestowed to the same, while the taxes on the farmers, mechanics, and business men were increased!

The Monster Meeting in Luzerne

The largest and greatest Democratic Mass Meeting, ever held in Northern Pennsylvania, convened on last Tuesday, in Wilkes-Barre. Good judges estimated the audience at 20,000! Meetings were held in the afternoon and evening, on the Public Square, and speaking was conducted from five several stands.

Addresses were delivered by Heister Clymer, Mr. Kane, Jos. C. Bucher, C. Denison, John G. Freeze, S. Jenkins, Levi L. Tate, S. S. Winchester, H. B. Wright, D. Lambert, and others. It was a proud day for the Democracy of Luzerne. She will, it is believed, give about 3,500 majority for "Woodward, Lowrie and Liberty."

Look Out for Spurious Tickets!

We have recently been shown a number of spurious tickets prepared by the Abolition leaders to injure the Democratic ticket. We trust that our friends, at every poll in the county, will be on their guard and watch all such attempts to deceive the honest voters. Let every man examine his ticket, from top to bottom, and see that it is the regular Democratic ticket, in full and unannulled, as it is printed in this paper. Be on your guard, voters and do not be deceived by false statements—see that your ticket is right, and then put it in the ballot-box—and when you have done this, see that your neighbor does the same!

Another Draft Coming.

The papers are already contemplating another conscript draft as probable to take place at no distant day. The conscription draft procures so few men (all the war Abolition Republicans who ought to do the fighting, if anybody does it, buying themselves off) that if the Lincoln and Curtin policy of pushing on the war, without proffers of conciliation or compromise, is continued, it may be necessary to keep on conscripting, and if so, it will not be long until every poor man in the country is forced into the army, and the last \$300 is squeezed from hundreds and thousands of men who are really illy able to bear it.

What say the people—the farmers, mechanics and laboring men of the country—to this?

REMEMBER, the freedom of the people is in their Constitution, and nowhere else. Whoever violates the Constitution, violates freedom. Whoever seeks to destroy the Constitution, seeks to destroy freedom.

M. & E. W. Wynkoop's next term of Select School, will commence in this place on Monday Oct 26th, 1863. See Advertisement.

The Election Laws.

As we are informed that a number of persons have been assessed in Conyngham township, who are not legal residents of that district, and some of them not even citizens of this State, we think it timely to call attention to the subject of the election laws. It is to be hoped that no fraud is intended at the election there, but there is ground of suspicion that it will be attempted, and the law-abiding citizens should be on the alert to prevent it.

The Constitution and laws of the State, so far as they apply to elections, must be honestly observed, or we shall fall into utter confusion.

In order to vote a man must have been a citizen of this State for one whole year, unless in case of a citizen removing from the State who may become qualified, after resuming his citizenship, upon a residence of six months. A citizen of New Jersey or any other State cannot vote here unless he settle in this State intending to reside in it and become a citizen thereof, and to abandon all claim to a home or citizenship in another State. And then he must reside in this State one whole year before he can vote.

In addition to State citizenship, as above stated, he must have a legal residence in the Election District where he offers to vote for ten days immediately preceding the election. The Supreme Court of this State have said in the case of Chas. Miller, (5 Wright's Penn'a. Law Reports, page 403) that "residence means the place where a man establishes his abode, makes the seat of his property, and exercises his civil and political rights." In a legal sense, the residence of a man in the meaning of the law, is, where he has true fixed and permanent home and principal establishment, and to which whenever he is absent he has the intention of returning. The presence or sojourn of a man in the State, or in election district, does not give him a legal residence in either, unless he make the State or district his permanent place of abode and employment. This is usually tested or shown by his having there his family and a fixed habitation, or that he resides there with his parents. In any case he must intend to make the place his permanent home.

As to the case of soldiers or persons in military service, they can vote in their proper home districts and nowhere else, just as in the case of other citizens. The Supreme Court determined in the case above mentioned, that "the right of a soldier to vote under the Constitution is in the election district where he resided at the time of his entering the military service," if he have the other proper qualifications. And they say, "when a soldier returns to his election district he resumes all the civil rights of citizenship, and his residence being unimpaired by his temporary absence, he has a right to vote on election day; but under the Constitution, to which his fealty is due, he can acquire no right to vote elsewhere except by a change of residence from one district to another, that is, by changing his permanent home. Of course citizens of other States in military service cannot vote in this State at all, and one who is a citizen of the State can only vote in his proper home election district, where he has his permanent place of abode.

The other qualifications are, that the elector shall be a white freeman, twenty-one years of age, and that he shall have, within two years, paid a State or County tax, which shall have been assessed at least ten days before the election; except that young men, between the ages of twenty-one and twenty-two years, can vote without having paid tax.

We recommend to our friends in Conyngham and everywhere else, to watch their elections and see that they are fairly conducted.

Black Republican Loyalty.

They prate about LOYALTY! You, the people have made sacrifices with pure and generous hearts. You have sent your sons to battle, and you have given money that you have earned by hard toil in your fields. But what sacrifices have these men made? None! NONE!! NONE!!! They get high office, and call it—LOYALTY! They enrich their families, and call it—LOYALTY! They buy lands, and they build fine houses, which your hard toil pays for, and they call it—LOYALTY!

WHEN Governor Curtin called on the President for troops to defend the Pennsylvania border, he was told to take care of himself, the President had as much as he could do to defend himself at Washington. Now, when Roscerans meets with a terrible disaster at Chattanooga, and Richmond is open for an attack in consequence of the absence of Lee, thirty thousand soldiers are sent to Pennsylvania, not for military defense, but to elect the thieving shoddy Curtin, a compliment to his cringing at the feet of Lincoln.

DEMOCRATS remember that the 2nd Tuesday of October will soon be here and that none should fail to be prepared to vote. The most important election ever held in the State takes place then, and every man should be READY for Duty.

Democratic Meeting in Centre.

A large and enthusiastic meeting of the people of Centre township, Columbia county, assembled at the public house of Capt. John Grover, on Thursday evening the 6th inst. The meeting was organized by the selection of the following officers, unanimously approved by the meeting:— President.—PETER MILLER, Esq. Vice Presidents.—J. E. Frederick, Sol. Neyhard, Lafayette Cressy, Jeremiah Ha. genbuch, John Dieterich, Wesley Hess, Daniel Neyhard, Jacob Sanders Secretaries.—Geo. A. Herring, Samuel Neyhard.

Lieut. A. B. TATE, was called for and addressed the meeting in a brief and spirited manner. He exposed the hypocritical pretensions of the abolition party to be called the Union party, proving that they were the first disunionists, and by their own mouths convicted them of encouraging the rebellion. He portrayed in an eloquent manner the evil results of abolition rule and called upon the people to hurl from power their present bad rulers and place in the State and National administrations, Democrats who are the only true Union men and who are loyal to the Constitution.

E. H. LITTLE, Esq., next addressed the meeting. He spoke in earnest and great feeling, for near two hours, and was attentively listened to throughout by the enthusiastic audience. He showed that the Abolitionists controlled the Republican party and exercised such an influence over President Lincoln that he was compelled by them to change the character of the war and make it one for the abolition of slavery. They removed the gallant McClellan because he could not be made an Abolitionist, and by placing incompetent proclamation-generals in command of the army caused defeat and disgrace to our arms. He said that the only theory upon which this war could be justly carried on was to enforce obedience to the Constitution and laws of the country, and if it was carried on with that view alone, there were men enough in the South willing to return to their allegiance to bring back the Southern States. But an abolition war would unite them, and give them, in the eyes of the world at least, a color of right to continue to fight against us. Although every patriot would be willing to sacrifice his property or his very life for the good of his country, yet we must consider the cost and pause before we inflict a grievous burden of debt upon our posterity for ever. We might bear a great deal if we knew that our government under the Union, as it was, and the Constitution as it is, is to be preserved to us, but shall the people of the North heap this endless burden upon their children for a mere fanatical idea of abolishing slavery. He then showed the monstrous debt upon the nation, were the war to stop now, and how the people of Columbia county would be taxed to pay this debt; and called upon the people to arrest the present policy upon which the war was conducted, and to place able men in power who would know how to manage the affairs of the country, to vote for the Democratic party and restore the Union.

The meeting then adjourned with cheers for Woodward, Lowrie and Democracy. Signed by the officers.

COMMUNICATIONS.

From the Army of the Potomac. CAMP ON THE POTOMAC Va. } October 2d, 1863. }

My Dear Sir:—

The relative position of the rebel army and ours remain unchanged. Just now it is raining very hard, and one of the consequences will probably be that the Rapedan will raise so high as to compel those of the enemy entrenched on this side, to abandon their position.

The only stream of consequence in our rear is the Rappahannock, and what is well bridged. An attempt to advance to Gordonsville by this route would be futile, if opposed by the enemy. In a former letter I stated the character of the defenses. Since then the 11th and 12th Corps have left us to reinforce Roscerans, and it is possible that another Corps or two will be detached to join other armies. This will so weaken us that a serious advance of the enemy would compel us to seek the protection of the defenses of Washington. The opinion is general that the true way to conquer the rebellion is to defeat its armies in the field, and not to capture cities and towns, when a small force can hold a large one at bay. In the field, numbers and management tell; in cities, fortifications and sufficiency of ammunition and food.

The coming elections are a matter of much comment among the men. Being so far removed from the State we can form no definite idea as to who will be the successful candidates. Every man's judgment is fettered by his preferences. A presentation on a grand scale from the Army of the Potomac to Gen. McClellan was on the tapis, but I understand has been quashed. So great was the desire on the part of both officers and men to contribute, that many offered their earnings. To prevent this the contributions were limited so that no private could give more than ten cents, a sergeant twenty-five, a lieutenant one dollar, and so on. Even at this rate the contributions would have been enormous—beyond precedent. So

enthusiastic and devoted is this army to its old commander that nineteen twentieths are his supporters.

Whether the matter was dropped at his suggestion, or by orders from Washington, I know not. If the former, it shows still further his modesty and disinterested patriotism; if the latter, it proves that the Administration fears his immense popularity; and the list of names comprising the contribution, by its unanimity, would be the severest rebuke the Administration has yet received. It would prove to the world that we, his soldiers, still consider him as a patriot, and the most accomplished officer in the service.

ARTILLERIST.

FOR THE COLUMBIA DEMOCRAT.

"Whom God will Destroy, He first makes Mad."

Dear Sir:—The party now opposed to Democratic principles have heretofore considered themselves far superior to the party professing those principles. While they were called the Whig party, they assumed to be the all-decey party, and in some cases would condescend to "stoop to conquer;" but there is a very great change, not only in the State of affairs, in our once happy and prosperous country, to a state of anarchy, ruin, taxation, robbing, lying, cheating and bloodshed. But another change, the most respectable portion of the old-line Whigs, such as believed in the patriotism of HENRY CLAY and DANIEL WEBSTER, have left the party, and sought shelter elsewhere. Now those remaining in the black republican party are as far from being a decency party as the East is from the West, or the North from the South. They do not pretend to treat any one, even neighbors or relatives, with any kind of civility. They continually utter the most bitter invectives against every person who does not subscribe to the administration of Abraham Lincoln. No language can be too bad. Six months ago, every one who did not approve of the present administration, was called a Breckinridge, but generally speaking, Democrats cared nothing about that kind of slang, because they knew they were honest in supporting Breckinridge for the Presidency. Besides, we all knew that had John C. Breckinridge been elected President of the United States, our country would not at this time, be speckled with the graves our sons, brothers, fathers, friends and neighbors. We also know that had Breckinridge been elected President, we would not now have to pay 40 cents a yard for muslin instead of 10 or 12, and the same rate for a pound of coffee, and almost everything else in proportion.

I am not the advocate of Breckinridge's conduct since the war, but we do know that there would have been that difference in the affairs of our country. We would not see our friends and neighbors, all young and able bodied men, traveling about the country, trying to raise three hundred dollars to purchase their freedom, when the price of any kind of niggers is just three hundred dollars, and that paid by the Government for their freedom. Now, any man who dares to support George W. Woodward, for Governor of Pennsylvania, in place of our own inefficient, embezzle incumbent, has heaped upon him, the odious epithets of fool, tory, traitor, copperhead, and everything that slimy, lying tongue can utter. Judge Woodward has had sons in the army continually, since the commencement of the war, yet they denounce him as a copperhead. At one time it was said by the Republican papers, that Judge Woodward's sons who are in the service, lived in the West, and that he had no influence over them. Another time, they contradicted that allegation, by stating what Judge Woodward should have said to his son, MeJ. George A. Woodward; all of which were infamous lies, because a better friend to the Union than George Washington Woodward never lived; besides, he is a man of undoubted ability, and an ornament to the country in which he lives.

VOX POPULI.

For Woodward.

A young soldier who has served more than two years in the gallant 68th, of the Army of the Potomac, and whose only brother was killed in the battle at Gettysburg, in a recent letter says:—"The coming election in our State is looked to with a great deal of anxiety down here, and if the soldiers of the 'Old Key-stone' had a chance at the polls, Woodward would be sustained by a majority vote."

TURN OUT!

DEMOCRATS AND CONSERVATIVE REPUBLICANS: ON TUESDAY NEXT. You will be called upon to decide between WOODWARD and the Constitution, AND Curtin and Abolitionism!! Turn Out! whether it rains or shines! Work early and late! Give one day to your Country! YOU WILL NEVER REGRET IT! TURN OUT!!

President Lincoln has issued a proclamation appointing Thursday, the 26th of November, as a day of thanksgiving and prayer.

MR. BUCKALEW'S LETTER

To the Great Meeting at Wilkes-Barre, October 6th, 1863.

Gentlemen of Luzerne:

The Republicans have endeavored to subdue revolt by war, but thus far have failed though backed by the whole power of the North and West and by most of the power of the Border. And they have failed for two reasons: first, because they have been wanting in ability—in general capacity—for conducting a great war; and second, because they have had an improper purpose in the war, which they have taken pains to publish and make well known to the whole Southern country. They have not failed because of opposition at home, in the North and West, for there has been none—none of importance—none to impede military operations. The largest armies of modern times have been at their command, composed of brave men, willing to serve, and devoted to the cause of the Union in the name of which, and on behalf of which, they were summoned to the field. Nor has money been withheld. They have had complete control of the public credit and resources. No pecuniary aid has been wanting. They have expended money at their pleasure and in profuse streams. Nothing therefore can be more false and groundless than the pretence that Democratic opposition has prevented the successful conclusion of the war. Its failure has resulted from the causes above mentioned and from them alone.

In regard to those causes of failure, as Republican incapacity is too notorious for denial, I shall pass it and speak of the other cause, to wit, the existence of an improper purpose in the war. That purpose is emancipation, which, though denied at first—denied by both President and Congress—has become a leading object in the policy of the administration. Being thus prominent, and being the main obstacle to peace and reunion, its discussion is demanded.

Undoubtedly, in our case, emancipation, and especially sudden emancipation, is a great evil—an evil of the first magnitude—and the necessity must be clear and overwhelming which will justify it. It is not a question to balance in the scales of policy and determine upon temporary considerations without regard to future results. For it must be counted a guilty act to deliver over four millions of an abject but subject and inferior race permanently to the dominion of indolence and vice, in order to accomplish a temporary purpose, or any purpose which will not outweigh the evil. And when the act is not accompanied by measures to alleviate it, but consequences are left to take care of themselves, the objections to it are still greater.

A good man, a wise man, standing outside the passions of this contest and looking to the future, cannot wish success to the abolition policy in this war. After it is over, we are to have wars of extermination between the black and white races in the South; or are the whites to abandon that region? Or are the races to amalgamate? These are the possible results, and the only question upon them is, which is the most intolerable and dreadful? As to the deportation of the blacks—their shipment out of the country—it is impossible from their number; and as to Gen. Wadsworth's notion that they may become a "fine peasantry," it is simply absurd. In imposing emancipation upon the South by war, we must be held as intending all its consequences, and therefore Mr. Wendell Phillips properly enough selects amalgamation with its concomitant of hybridism, as the hopeful conclusion of his policy. A war of races is a more likely result, but is not more horrible.

But it is said, grievous though it be, emancipation is a just punishment upon those who have rebelled! This is a short sighted and groundless remark—the language of passion and not of reason. It cannot be regarded as just punishment upon the guilty for it strikes the innocent and guilty alike—its consequences fall indiscriminately upon both unionist and rebel—Manifestly therefore it is a question of general policy rather than of individual punishment.

Besides, it is to be considered that the disorganization of southern labor will affect the general interests of the country in case the Union should be restored. The \$200,000,000 of annual Southern exports will be required as a basis for our commerce and mercantile business, and the general wealth of the South must contribute assistance to us in bearing the enormous burden of the public debt. Therefore, whatever of injury we inflict upon its producing and tax-paying capacity for the future, is an injury inflicted upon ourselves in common with the South. A civil war differs from a foreign war in the fact that every blow inflicted by the parties upon each other does damage to their future common interests. I know that such considerations have no place in the passions of the hour and are not regarded by the mass of men, but they should be regarded by men in power whose duty it is to look to the future of the country.

As to the negroes themselves, emancipation, by violence is not desirable. It will be to them a curse instead of a blessing. Remitting them suddenly to a condition for which they are unfit, is not favor but injury, and is condemned by true Philanthropy. And if it lead to future wars of extermination, it may be characterized as inhuman.

It is because emancipation bears the character I have assigned it, (independent of the legal question involved), that the South is united against us in the war, and that the Border States although holding to the Union are politically opposed to the administration. This policy has made the struggle one of sheer force, and accounts for its magnitude and continuance. It prologs the war instead of concluding it. It intensifies the passions which accompany the war, and induces determined and desperate resistance to our arms. It repels from us the Union men of the South, and gives to the Confederate cause its only plausible argument.

As things stand, the Republicans will go on with all their extreme measures of poli-

cy. Events push them forward, and their passions and interests preclude the hope of amendment. Mr. Lincoln conceives that he can make no peace with the South except one of disunion—that he must go on with the war—and we know it can go on in his hands only as one of emancipation and irregularity, unless there be a change of the influences which bear upon him. Were he to sprin from him radical control and with it radical support, he would break his party in pieces. He says so "himself in acknowledging the "pressure" brought to bear upon him by extreme men. There are in his party both radical and conservative elements, but the former must dominate therein, because they are most earnest, determined, active and violent. Conservatism allied to such an interest, must yield to it and be ruled by it. The Cowans must give way to the Wilmoits. This fact, renders it necessary to turn the Republican party out of power in order to a successful and satisfactory administration of the government, and, until that can be done, that there be brought to bear upon it the wholesome influence of public opinion through the State elections. A regeneration of its policy as a party, from the action of causes within itself, cannot be expected.

As to no-partyism, to believe in it is utter madness. There is no such thing and there can be no such thing in this country, so long as public affairs are considered and passed upon by the people in their sovereign capacity as electors. At this moment, there is not only a party of opposition but of administration also; a party for the existing policy, made up of apologists and upholders of all that is, and all that is to be, in government—of men whose devotion to authority is complete and unquestioning—to whom Executive Proclamations are the very Gospel of truth and the Constitution of our fathers more obsolete than a Mosaic dispensation. These are men who in worshiping power are startled by no abuse, offended by no outrage, appalled by no public calamity, who almost think a great debt a great blessing, and with true courtier sycophancy proclaim loyalty to rulers as the supreme virtue of the citizen. By their philosophy there can be only patriots and traitors, no independents, no neutrals, all are destined for heaven or doomed to hell. When to this clean-sweeping dogma which exhausts the field of debate—which leaves nothing to be said upon classification—it be added, that these philosophers are themselves the patriots, it follows that the character of all others distinguishable from them in position, is fixed as reprobate and guilty. No diversity of thought is to be permitted—no difference of opinion—no dissent—no question—no hesitation or doubt—silence even is guilt and to do nothing is to commit crime! These things are not dreamed—they are not recited out of some book of horrors—they are the current speech, the impassioned utterances of men in our midst—the discourses with which social life and social intercourse are regaled.—Join us! (this is the cry) be with us; think as we think, do as we do, forget that you foretold these horrible evils as results of our policy and we scouted the warning; forget that we had platforms which we have falsified, and made promises which we have broken; forget that you were freemen before we mounted your backs, and ruled you by decrees, and put you in prison by telegraph, and sent you tax-gatherers to take your earnings and Provost Marshals to seize your sons for the war! Forget all this, and do our bidding, and hold up our hands, and bid us God-speed—oh—you are secessionists—traitors—copperheads—worse than the enemy in arms—and saved of grace and not by merit from most condign and pitiless punishment!

All this false and frantic declamation clearly indicates a consciousness of wrong in the declaimers, a sense of responsibility, of error or guilt, in bringing upon the country the enormous evils which scourge it. The man who feels himself wrong in a discussion which reviews his conduct, is apt to lose his temper, and bluster, and propound extravagant propositions, and pour out abuse upon his antagonist, happy if he can thus hide his own weakness and escape censure. But whatever the inducing cause, these are the utterance of the party in power, and they fix upon it a character for vindictiveness which will cling to it forever. No other party of this country, has ever shown such intolerance—such passion malice, hatred and fury—as the Republican; and its character in this respect is as fixed and notorious as its practice of corruption and its violations of law. It "will not escape history." The lash of justice in the historian's hand will pursue its memory as long as the dark records of national calamity are kept for the instruction of mankind.

Gentlemen: We have been instructed by adversity and are now in a situation to judge the claims of parties to public favor, and decide between them. And we may conclude that if the Democratic party be placed in power it can restore the Union and dispense with armies in maintaining it. For it has no policy—no measures—hostile to any section of the country or to any class of its people, and it is thoroughly devoted to the cause of Union and capable of wielding great moral as well as material forces in its favor. It is qualified and disposed to the work of reconstruction, and is embarrassed by no fanatical creed, and by no memories of past misconduct. That its defeat in 1860 led to all our calamities no man can now deny. All this blood poured forth

upon an hundred fields of battle; all these tears shed by thousands of firefides; all this heaping up of mighty masses of debt to press upon the back of labor for generations; all these bitter passions let loose in hitherto peaceful communities; all these outrages of power upon the citizen; all this prostitution of the pulpit to the purposes of faction; all this corruption which shames the nation—are the foretold results of the elections of 1860. And does not good sense and right reason dictate a reversal of the decision then made against the Democratic party, at the first fitting opportunity?

But it is said the question of the war now presses upon us, and its successful conclusion is the single point to which attention must be directed. I agree that the inquiry shall be, how can the war be most surely and successfully concluded? or, in other words, how shall we relieve ourselves from it without dishonor and without disunion, neither of which are to be tolerated?

You may therefore inquire of me, 'How shall we get out of this war?—By its 'vigorous prosecution' upon former plans? By having plenty of Executive proclamations? By having the laws suspended? By professions of unconditional loyalty to the President and his advisers? No! I don't know that you can get out of this war by these means. They have been tried, and still, after two years and a half of war, the cry comes to us, 'More money and more men! The traitors who were to be whipped in thirty days, have shown marvellous vitality, and thou h severely chastised, still stand defiant and unbroken.'

But there is another means of extrication from the war (which I have mentioned above), and it is an appropriate, constitutional and effective one. It is to vote out of power the men who occasioned the war—who provoked it—the men who have mis-managed the war—who have kept it up and are keeping it up because they have other objects in view beside the salvation of the Union. I advise you to resort to this means of relief from the burdens of the war. Commence, by your own direct action through the ballot-box, the reformation of the government and the conciliation of the whole country to the doctrine of reunion and lawful rule—Begin this work next week in the election of GEORGE WASHINGTON WOODWARD as Governor. Commission that strong, true man to speak for you at this juncture, words of courage and wisdom,—words of stern reproof to all enemies of Constitutional rule, and of encouragement and fellowship to all its friends. Nay, you will speak for yourselves in electing him. In that net you will send out a voice to Washington, and to all the States, which will be understood and will be heeded.—It will be said everywhere, 'Pennsylvania has spoken and the end is nigh! The reign of Proclamations is over: The courts are to be opened that justice may be rendered to all who demand it: The hand of the censor will be lifted from the telegraph that it may again speak truth, and it shall never more convey a message consigning the untried citizen to Bastille or banishment: Neighbor shall no longer denounce neighbor for honest opinion; nor shall those appointed to preach the Gospel of Peace become famous as the trumpeters of party and the champions of violence: Mobs are to be quite abolished, and all thieves driven forth from the treasury as their predecessors of Judea were driven forth by the Saviour from the temple of God!'

But especially, to the Union men of the Border States and of the South, your voice will be one of consolation and encouragement. It will be hailed joyfully by the Tennessee and by the Catawba by the men of Kentucky and by the patriots of Texas. A horrible nightmare will be lifted from their breasts and they will breathe again, and will come forward, and stand beside us, as brothers, to assist in re-forming the Union of our fathers.

And not only with them, but also with a great part of those directly involved in revolt, will your voice have weight and influence. Pressed by the burdens of the war, conscious of all its horrors, they will listen to a great central State speaking in distinct, unequivocal language, for justice, peace and reunion, and possessing power enough in the nation to cause her opinions to be respected and her will to be obeyed. It is not the voice of Rhode Island or of Delaware, not a distant utterance from Oregon or Maine, but one from the very heart of the land and from a community of three millions of souls—from a State which has given a quarter of a million of men to a mismanaged war and can furnish as many more to enforce a just policy, free from abuse and from financial domination. Besides, this State holds one-tenth of the Congressional vote (lower House) in a restored Union, and a much greater proportionate vote as Congress is now constituted. And who does not know that her voice is influential with the West, that she may, ordinarily, count upon the concurrence of the States in that section in any deliberate, well-considered line of policy she may adopt.

From her central position, from her actual constitutional power, and from her large influence in the country, she is of all the States best fitted to pronounce the law of the future. And if she choose to pronounce that law or policy, upon principles of justice, with a broad minded tolerance, in utter disregard of all appeals to her passions, and with true devotion to the interests of the whole country now and hereafter, her decision will stand and her character for honor and wisdom be established forever.

I am, Gentlemen, your fellow-citizen and obedient servant. C. R. BUCKALEW.