

ADDRESS

OF THE

State Central Committee.

TO THE CITIZENS OF PENNSYLVANIA:

A prescribed duty, as well as long-established usage, impels us to address you in regard to the questions involved in the several elections now at hand. In discharging this duty we shall speak plainly and candidly what we know to be truth. In this, the fairest, richest, and (until lately) the most favored land of all the earth; here, where the last footprints of civilization had been planted; in this land alone of all the Christian nations of the world—the fell spirit of war is now raging. Our proud and unexampled career of prosperity as a nation has been thus rudely checked; our industry, that is not devoted to the purposes of a destructive war, has become paralyzed; our financial resources have been thrown into utter confusion and disarray; we have henceforth—probably forever—to stagger under a load of debt greater, and under taxation more onerous, than that of any other nation on the globe; confidence in the stability of our institutions is everywhere sadly diminished—in fine, gloomy forebodings as to the future, alarm, embarrassment, and distress have taken the place of the happy peace, confidence, security, good order and contentment we so lately enjoyed.

Nor can hope find a resting place in contemplating the men who now control our Government and administer its laws; and it turns sickened and ready away from the audacity, arrogance and tyranny it finds in high places, even in the very citadel of the nation. Sycophants in government; atheists in religion; men who are free lovers in one sphere, and free thieves in another; renegades in politics, and scoffers at every well settled principle of public right and private virtue, now sway the destinies of this Republic, and are crushing out the very life of American freedom.

For three long, fearful years have the best blood and sternest efforts of our people been freely given in a civil war which has no parallel in the history of the world. When this war commenced, the Democratic party in the North, as such was prostrate under recent defeat, which resulted from its own unfortunate divisions. But what a grand and inspiring spectacle was presented on hearing the first thunder of rebellious arms! Political and partisan feelings, even in that hour of party humiliation, were all laid upon the altar of the country, and the sun of Heaven never shone upon a people more united, resolute, and determined than those of the Northern States at the period we refer to.

Whatever might have been the views of the Northern Democracy in regard to the cause which uniquely engendered this unhappy strife; however much in their innocent souls they deplored the mad and reckless career of Abolitionism; however deep was their distaste of the course of those party leaders, who had been for years sweeping up all the law, lurking elements of bigotry and fraudulence, and directing their vilest efforts against the rights, interests, and institutions of the Southern people—still the attempt of a portion of that people in consequence, to break down the authority of the Constitution over the whole country, and destroy the Federal compact was a criminal act which could not be tolerated or justified. The amplest remedies for the wrongs complained of were not only within hope, but at hand. Two millions of voters had just recorded their ballots in a general popular election against Abraham Lincoln and the one million who supported him and his policy. There was, besides, a Democratic majority in one, if not both branches of Congress, which would render him powerless to inflict any permanent evil on the country.

The right of secession, claimed by the South as the remedy for their grievances, is a political heresy, condemned by Madison with his latest breath, and by many others of our ablest statesmen in all sections of the Union. Call the Constitution a compact, if you will—as does Jefferson in the Kentucky resolutions of '95—but it is a compact of sovereign States, made with each other as such, having no right of secession "nominated or constituted in the bond." The Union thus formed was in its nature, if not in terms, perpetual. Secession, then in view of the compact, is simply revolution: and the breaking up of the Union our fathers had neared us, was, under all the circumstances we have detailed, and the thousand other considerations and consequences which must crowd every intelligent and patriotic mind, not only treason at law, but against the best hopes of mankind. We could not then—cannot now—and never will consent to it.

In this spirit of determined loyalty to the Constitution and Laws, the Democracy of the North, with scarcely an exception, relying upon the pledges given by President Lincoln, yielded him their ready and efficient support. What were some of those pledges? First in his oath of office: "I will support the Constitution of the United States, so help me God." Then in his Inaugural Address, and with this solemn adjuration fresh upon his lips, he said:

"I do but quote from one of my speeches when I declare that 'I have no purpose, directly or indirectly, to interfere with the institution of slavery in the States where it exists. I believe I have no lawful right to do so, and I have no inclination to do so.' Those who nominated and elected me did so with full knowledge that I made this and similar declarations, and have never recanted them. I now reiterate these sentiments; and in doing so, I only press upon the public attention the most conclusive evidence of which the case is susceptible, that the property, peace and security of no section are to be in any wise endangered by the now incoming Administration. I add too, that all the protection which, consistently with the Constitution and the laws, can be given, will be cheerfully given to all the States, when lawfully demanded, for whatever cause—so far as to one section as to another."

The repeated public pledges brought reluctantly to the standard raised in behalf of the legislature of Kentucky. It has been endorsed by the noble old Commonwealth of Virginia. It has been petitioned for by a large number of the electors of the United States, then say proposition

tunes of victory and defeat, and war, civil war—always the most bloody of all human strife—has ever since raged over some of the fairest portions of that unhappy region.

But the long cherished schemes of fanaticism for the extinction of African servitude could not be given up. No matter if Massachusetts, sixty or seventy years since, did sell slaves to the people of the Southern States, under the guarantees of the Constitution which she had put to form—still, Massachusetts meddles, both in Congress and out of it, now determined, since they could not "read," they would rend "the seal from off the bond." The gallant "three thousand strongmen of New England"—worthy disciples of the Prince of Peace!—railed to man, in the new crusade of fanaticism, and wrong, side by side, with infidels, who have for years been in the daily habit of sneering at the Christian Bible, and blaspheming the Christian God.

The fears of our timid and facile President were worked upon, as well as his vanity, and desire of re-election, by the extreme and radical members of his party, and the emancipation and confiscation measures were forced upon him, and made a part of his policy in the conduct of the war. Every effort of the friends of peace but forth in Congress was defeated. The hostility of the Abolition leaders to freedom in the south—to employ the words of the lamented Douglas—"was stronger than their fidelity to the Constitution."

They believed that a disruption of the Union would draw after it, an inevitable consequence, civil war, servile insurrections, and finally, through these, an utter extinction of slavery in all the Southern States; and, it would seem, they acted even on this terrible belief.

Look at the record: On the 15th day of December, 1860, Senator Crittenden, the bosom friend of Henry Clay in his life-time introduced into the Senate of the United States a series of resolutions, as a basis of settlement between the two sections of the Union. The session of South Carolina took place on the 29th of the same month, and her members of Congress retired from their places. We are thus particular in reference to this subject, because our opponents, through their Central Committee in this State, have introduced it into a late address to you; and there is a specious effort made in that address to turn aside from the Republicans, the just obloquy and reproach which the defeat of Senator Crittenden's proposition has fastened upon their party.

The offered compromise would, in terms, have sealed more than three-fourths of our territorial domain against slavery forever—placing about 900,000 miles under the provisions of the Ordinance of 1787, more recently known as the "Wilmet Provision"—leaving the remaining 300,000 miles subject to whatever laws those who settled upon it might establish for themselves, whenever they became a State. All the other features of the proposed compromise were nothing but re-affirmances of the plainest powers and provisions of the Constitution, save, possibly, the fair and equitable stipulation that slavery should not be abolished in the District of Columbia, as long as it existed. But still when we look hopefully for the blessed day which is to bear us onward in its course, we hear nothing but the loud breath of the tempests, casting all around us but the angry and the troubled sea, everywhere sparkling with foam and surging in madness; and we are tempted to ask can this indeed be?

The wind and the storm following his words: "These men are mistaken and mad, or are traitors of the deepest dye, deserving a traitor's darkest doom. This equality of the black and white races which they are seeking to establish in this country is an absurd and idle dream, which a brief contrast of their progress and peculiarities must dispel from every thoughtful mind. It were to credit the ravings of the chief advisers of the President, or, at least, those who seem to induce him most fully—Sumner, Bingham and Phillips—human reason has been making such rapid progress in these latter days, that the haven of human perfection must be near at hand. But still when we look hopefully for the blessed day which is to bear us onward in its course, we hear nothing but the loud breath of the tempests, casting all around us but the angry and the troubled sea, everywhere sparkling with foam and surging in madness; and we are tempted to ask can this indeed be?"

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A little more than two centuries since, when our fathers first planted a few germs of our race at scattered points along the North American coast, the whole number of that race in the old world did not exceed six millions. England, Scotland and Wales then numbered fewer inhabitants than New York, Pennsylvania and Ohio do now. Mark the progress: in North America at this time (including a whole Celtic infusion), there are at least thirty millions, and in the whole world (confessing there also the same infusion), from eighty to ninety millions of people, substantially Anglo-Saxons in their origin. We are everywhere thus displacing the more sluggish races, or domining them on every side; and at this current rate of increase, in one hundred and fifty years from this time, will run up to eight hundred millions of human beings—all speaking the same language, rejoicing in the same high intellectual culture, and exhibiting the same inherent and inalienable characteristics!

On the other hand, the African race has never, anywhere, given any proof of its capacity for a self-sustained civilization. Since the sun first shone on that continent it has remained in the same state of mental gloom. Cruel, brutal, voluptuous, and indolent by nature, the African has never advanced a single step beyond his own savage original. "Slavery has ever been, and to this hour continues to be his normal condition, throughout every clime he can call his own!" And yet they have had as many opportunities of improvement as the inhabitants of Asia or of Africa. Along the shores of the Mediterranean was once concentrated the literature and science of the world—Carthage, the rival of imperial Rome in the arts of commerce and civilization, existing for many years on the African border. The Saracens, the most polished race of their time, founded and maintained for centuries a contiguous empire. Still, for all this, the African has continued to prowl on through his long night of barbarism, and thus, in all human probability, he will continue forever. Tell us not that his wont of progress as the inhabitants of Asia or of Africa. The Saracens, the most polished race of their time, founded and maintained for centuries a contiguous empire. Still, for all this, the African has continued to prowl on through his long night of barbarism, and thus, in all human probability, he will continue forever. Tell us not that his wont of progress as the inhabitants of Asia or of Africa. The Saracens, the most polished race of their time, founded and maintained for centuries a contiguous empire. Still, for all this, the African has continued to prowl on through his long night of barbarism, and thus, in all human probability, he will continue forever. Tell us not that his wont of progress as the inhabitants of Asia or of Africa. 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