

THE STAR OF THE NORTH.

W. H. JACOBY, Publisher.

Truth and Right—God and our Country.

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STAR OF THE NORTH

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Choice Poetry.

THE PRINTER AND THE PRESS.

The Printer! How I love thee!
For what you'd hardly guess:
Love them for patient, honest toil,
Their fellow men to bless.

They falter not, though oftentimes,
These poor men go unpaid;
And every line the sheet contains,
Is set without our aid.

How ignorant we all should be,
Without them and the Press,
To furnish, for our famished minds,
A "Literary Mess."

The Printer and the Press,
God bless them, day by day,
For every high and noble thought
They shed around our way.

May wreaths of heavenly love entwine,
The Press, the Printer's soul,
While knowledge spreads from clime to clime,
And truth from pole to pole. [cime,

COMMUNICATED.

Improvement of the Mind.

The mind is a strong piece of machinery, that no one can fully understand, save he who first placed it in these mortal bodies of ours. In regard to depth it is like an unfathomable water. In width it is without boundary. In length it lives through all time and we believe through all eternity. In height it reaches above the penultimate things of time. In regard to motion it is never at rest, and is never satisfied with present attainments, but each draught we drink from the wells of science, serves but to create a thirst for more, and every new idea that strikes the brain finds for itself a ready channel to the mind. Even when all nature falls us to repose and we close our eyelids in slumber, when thus there seems to be a sort of forgetfulness to surrounding objects, the mind rests not wholly, for it leaves these weary bodies and takes its flight to visit distant lands and absent friends, and when our bodies have been refreshed by rest is again ready to reign supreme master of every movement.

But what mind without improvement? Unless we cultivate it, it is as unproductive as the barren fields without tillage, as useless as the untouched ore in the mountain, as rude as the marble without a sculptor. We do not believe in natural genius or superiority of mind; that there are and ever have been great and magnanimous minds we do not doubt, but that they were naturally so far superior to others we do doubt. We think it more the result of extraordinary exertions and perhaps partly owing to the peculiar circumstances in which those great minds may have been placed. Very often the situation in which we have been placed gives formation to the mind. Early impressions made upon the mind of the child are never wholly erased. It is while very young the mind should be taught to labor and to think. If the mind of the child is early taught to love indolence and ease such a life becomes natural, and a love of ease predominates over all the other faculties of the mind. When we see uncommonly dull or careless children we generally find that the aspirations of their young minds have been kept down by the debasing influences around them, or by the mistaken kindness of their parents who fearing to overtask their minds, have failed to give them the requisite amount of food. And have we not often seen children whom we have looked upon as dull boys when through the vicissitudes of fortune or the dispensation of a Divine Providence, they have been called upon to take their place in the busy world and depend upon their own exertions, make the most intelligent and useful men. The mind has thus been called into action, its dormant faculties awakened, the fire of ambition kindled within and thus they have begun their work in earnest.

The mind that would be strong and active must learn to labor early and late without hope of reward except that of being able under every circumstance and in every situation to administer to its own comfort and consolation. And what greater reward can we desire than to know our own minds thoroughly, to have them well stored with useful knowledge, to be able to draw therefrom a balm for every wound inflicted upon erring humanity. The truly cultivated mind finds pleasure and happiness in every object around it, no matter how humble the position, how lowly the circumstances in which it may be placed, it wears triumphantly its crown. Mind is the man or woman the only part worth adorning, the only part that can command either respect or esteem; we may envy the rich man his hoarded wealth and broad domain, but we respect him not for all these. Well has the poet said "their hearts ne'er bow but to superior worth nor ever fail of their allegiance to us." We must labor if we wish to be either useful or happy. Friends nor fortune, books nor schools cannot do this for us;

they may sometimes assist us in removing some obstructions that crowd our pathway, but the work is ours and we must perform it if we wish to obtain the reward.

Inertia is not a law of nature, it is merely a law of circumstance or of chance. All things in nature labor. The Planets pursue their unceasing course from day to day. The earth fails not in yielding her productions. The waters pursue their course obedient to the Heavenly mandate, all in order and harmony. We must also observe order in mental labor less by over exertion on one day we destroy our strength for the next and thereby lose more than we gain; we should never overtask the mind, but endeavor to enlarge before we enlarge the task; otherwise what we intend as healthful food for the mind will but serve to weaken and disorder it, and instead of opening the deep fountain of thought will but throw obstructions in its course.

Some persons, it is true, slide along very easily through the world, without ever having a thought of their own, living on other people's thoughts and words, but it is scanty fare, and worse than folly to steal from their neighbor's gardens and leave their own uncultivated. This is why there are so many in our country who as we often say have no minds of their own. They certainly have no force of character, no purpose of mind—no course marked out which they intend to pursue. Such persons never coin new thoughts from the well within their own minds. They are one day copying after some person whom their fancy may have painted as perfection, and perhaps the very next day copying after another. One week courting the friendship of one set or class of people, and perhaps the very next week trying to gain popularity with another.

A man or woman without purpose of mind and force of character sufficient to enable them to pursue the right course whithersoever it may lead, is like a ship tossed to and fro on the Ocean, in a raging storm, without a Captain to command and without a port in view. We can never become learned by following in the footsteps of another, not because he did not succeed nor because he is not our superior, but merely because his thoughts do not become our thoughts or rather we having a supply of his at hand, do not deem it necessary for us to think at all, but are content to be only imitators, using counterfeit thoughts instead of real, merely because they are better polished and save us the trouble of thinking for ourselves. I love to think of the great minds that have gone before us and have trod the paths of wisdom and of knowledge, and as long as they assist us in thinking and teach us to improve ourselves they are useful, but not when they induce us to build airy castles upon imitation.

The greatest poets, orators, statesmen, and historians labored to become great, and the most obvious reason why they succeeded and surpassed others, is because they have taken a wider view and made greater exertions to attain it. There are instances to the contrary, but generally the lives of all truly great men have been a course of continued study. Milton was regularly at his studies and pursued them until he had mastered the wisdom of his age. Pascal killed himself by study. Cicero's health was impaired by the same course. And although it is not necessary nor indeed right for us all to study, so as to impair our health. Yet when we speak of great minds we should count the cost of their greatness, and the sacrifices they have made to become distinguished. Then perhaps we will not envy them their high position in knowledge nor think that nature placed them upon the summit while we must remain at the bottom. Our Washington was a good and great man, but not naturally so. History tells us he was a man of strong passions but he strove to bring them in subjection to his Heavenly master's will. That he was a great or a successful man without labor no one can for a moment imagine. His boyhood was a life of hardy endurance, and danger never moved him where duty was concerned. The All-wise Creator has placed us here upon this earth and left us to choose good or evil, knowledge, or ignorance. All nature teaches us that he delights in our happiness and improvement. The study of his great work advances both. And if we fail to study them we are disobeying him just as much by omitting to improve as by really doing wrong. He has spread out before us an unexhaustible course of study from which we may continually drink refreshing draughts, yet ever thirst for more. The Planet on which we live is filled with matter to urge us to search out its hidden mysteries.

He who best improves his mind, and studies most, nature's works lives nearest to their Author, and enjoys his approbation. His great work was not finished until he created man to reverence and adore the author of so much wisdom and goodness.

He could have created the mind large enough to have comprehended all his works, and perhaps would have done so, had he not designed us to labor and receive pleasure in improvement.

Aug. 26, 1863.

E. W. W.

A coquette is a young lady of more beauty than sense; more accomplishments than learning; more charms of person than grace of mind; more admirers than friends; more fools than wise men for attendants.

Many women think of nothing but dress. To them, the horizon is but the blue crinoline of creation.

SPECIMEN OF REBEL VERSE.

(From the Richmond Dispatch.)

A SOUTHERN SCENE.

Oh! mammy have you heard the news!
Thus spoke a southern child,
As in the nurse's aged face
She upward glanced and smiled.

What news, you mean, my little one!
It must be mighty fine,
To make my darling's face so red,
Her sunny blue eyes shine.

Why, Abraham Lincoln, don't you know,
The Yankee President,
Whose ugly picture once we saw,
When up to town we went.

Well, he is going to free you all,
And make you rich and grand,
And you'll be crossed in silk and gold,
Like the proudest in the land.

A glided coach shall carry you,
Where'er you wish to ride;
And, mammy, all your work shall be
Forever laid aside.

The eager speaker paused for breath,
And then the old nurse said,
While closer to her swarthy cheek
She pressed the golden head:—

My little missus stop and rest,
You're talking mighty fast;
Jes look up dere, and tell me what
You see in yonder glass?

You sees o'd mammy's wrinkle face,
As black as any coal;
And underneath her handkerchief
Whole heaps of knotty wool.

My darlin's face is red and white,
Her skin is soft and fine,
And on her pretty little head
De yaller tingslets shine.

My chile, who made dis difference
Twixt mammy and 'twixt you?
You reads de Lord's blessed book,
And you kin tell me true.

De dear Lord said it must be so,
And, honey, I for once
Wid thankful heart will always say,
His holy will be done.

I tanks mas Linkum all de same,
But when I wants for free,
I'll ask de Lord of glory,
Not poor buckra man like he.

And as for gilded carriages,
Dey's nothin' 'tall to see;
My massa's coach what carries him,
Is good enough for me.

And honey, when your mammy wants
To change her homaspin dress,
She'll pray like dear old missus,
To be clothed with righteousness.

My work's been done dis many a day,
And now I takes my ease,
A waitin' for de master's call
Jest when de master please.

And when at last de time's done come,
And poor old mammy dies,
Your own dear mother's soft white hand
Shall close dese tired old eyes.

De dear Lord Jesus soon will call
Old mammy home to him,
And he can wash my gully soul
From every spot of sin.

And at his feet I shall lie down,
Who died and rose for me;
And den, and not till den, my chile
Your mammy will be free.

Come, little missus, say four prayers,
Let ole mas Linkum live,
The debil knows who belongs to him,
And he'll take care of his own.

ADDRESS

DEMOCRATIC STATE CENTRAL COMMITTEE.

To the People of Pennsylvania:

An important election is at hand, and the issues involved in it may now claim your attention. The tide of war has been rolled back from our borders; and with thanks to God, and gratitude to the skill and valor which, by his favor, achieved the prompt deliverance of our invaded Commonwealth, we may now give our solemn consideration to the causes that have brought to its present condition a country once peaceful, united and secure. It is now the scene of a great civil war, between States that lately ministered to each other's prosperity in a Union founded for their common good. It was this Union that gave them peace at home and respect abroad. They coped successfully with Great Britain, on the ocean, and the "doctrine" uttered by President Monroe warned off the monarchs of Europe from the whole American continent. Now, France carves out of it an empire, and ships built in England plunder our commerce on every sea. A great public debt and a conscription burden the people. The strength and wealth of the nation are turned from productive industry and consumed in the destructive arts of war. Our victories all fail to win peace. Throughout the land, arbitrary power encroaches upon civil liberty.

What has brought this disastrous change? No natural causes embroiled the North and the South. Their interchangeable products and commodities, and various institutions, were sources of reciprocal benefit, and excluded competition and strife. But an artificial cause of dissension was found in the position of the African race; and the ascendancy in the national councils of men pledged to an aggressive and unconstitutional Abolition policy, has brought our country to the condition of "the house divided against itself." The danger to the Union began where statesmen had foreseen it; it began in the triumph of a sectional party, founded on principles of revolutionary hostility to the Constitution and the laws. The leaders of this party were pledged to a conflict with rights recognized and sheltered by the Constitution. They called this conflict "irrepressible;" and whenever one party is determined to attack what another is determined to defend, a conflict can always be made "irrepressible." They counted on an easy triumph through the aid of insurgent slaves, and, in this reliance, were careless how soon they provoked a collision.

Democrats and Conservatives strove to avert the conflict. They saw that Union was the paramount interest of their country, and they stood by the great bond of Union, the Constitution of the United States. They were content to leave debatable questions under it to the high tribunal framed to decide them; they preferred it to the sword as an arbiter between the States; they strove hard to merit the title which their opponents gave them in scorn—the title of "Union-savers." We will not at length rehearse their efforts. In the Thirty-third Congress the Republican leaders refused their assent to the Crittenden Compromise. On this point the testimony of Mr. Douglas will suffice. He said:

"I believe this to be a fair basis of amicable adjustment. If you of the Republican side are not willing to accept this, not the proposition of the Senator from Kentucky (Mr. Crittenden), pray tell us what you are willing to do? I address the inquiry to the Republicans alone, for the reason that, in the Committee of Thirteen, a few days ago, every member from the South including those from the Union States (Messrs. Davis and Toombs), expressed their readiness to accept the proposition of my venerable friend from Kentucky, Mr. Crittenden, as a final settlement of the controversy, if tendered and sustained by the Republican members. Hence the sole responsibility of our disagreement with the Union States (Messrs. Davis and Toombs), is with the Republican party."—Jan. 3, 1861.

The Peace Congress was another means by which the border States strove to avert the impending strife. How the Republican leaders then conspired against the peace of their country may be seen in a letter from Senator Chardier, of Michigan, to the Governor of that State:

"To His Excellency, Justin Blair:—Governor Bingham and myself telegraphed you on Saturday, at the request of Massachusetts and New York, to send delegates to the Peace or Compromise Congress. They admit that we were right and that they were wrong; that no Republican State should have sent delegates; but they are here and cannot get away. Ohio, Indiana and Rhode Island are coming in, and there is danger of Illinois; and now they beg us for God's sake to come to their rescue, and save the Republican party from rupture. I hope you will send stiff backed men or none. The whole thing was gotten up against my judgment and advice, and will end in this smoke. Still I hope as a matter of courtesy to some of our erring brethren that you will send the delegates."

"Truly, your friend,"
"Z. CHANDLER."
"P. S.—Some of the manufacturing States think that a fight would be awful. Without a little blood letting this Union will not, in my estimation, be worth a rush."
—Washington, Feb. 11, 1861.

In Pennsylvania, too, the same spirit prevailed. It was not seen how necessarily her position united her in interest with the border States. She learned it since, from contending armies trampling out her harvests and deluging her fields with blood.—Gov. Curtin sent to the Peace Congress Mr. Wilmot and Mr. Meredith.

Mr. Wilmot was chiefly known from the connection of his name with the attempt to embroil the country by the "Wilmot Proviso," baffled by patriotic statesmanship, in which Clay and Webster joined with the Democratic leaders; just as Clay and Jackson had joined in the Tariff Compromise of 1863. Mr. Meredith had published his belief that the mutterings of the rising storm were what he called "strident cries," unworthy of the slightest attention.

By Mr. Lincoln's election, in November, 1860, the power to save or destroy the Union was in the hands of his party, and no adjustment was possible with men who rejected the judgment of the Supreme Court, who scorned conciliation and compromise, and who looked to a "little blood-letting" to cement the American Union. Till this time, the Union men of the South had controlled, with little difficulty, the small but restless class among them who desired a separate nationality. The substantial interests of the South, especially the slaveholding interest, were drawn reluctantly into secession. Gen. F. P. Blair, of Missouri, an eminent Republican, said very truly, in the last Congress:

"Every man acquainted with the facts knows that it is fallacious to call this a 'slaveholders' rebellion.' . . . A closer scrutiny demonstrates the contrary to be true; such a scrutiny demonstrates that the rebellion originated chiefly with the non-slaveholders resident in the strongholds of the institution, not springing, however, from any love of slavery, but from an antagonism of race and hostility to the idea of equality with the blacks involved in simple emancipation."

It was the triumph of the Abolitionists over the Democrats and Conservatives of the North, that secured a like triumph to the secessionists over the Union men of South. The John Brown raid was taken as a practical exposition of the doctrine of "irrepressible conflict." The exultation over its momentary success, the lamentation over its failure, had been swelled by the Abolitionists, so as to seem a general expression of Northern feelings. Riots and rescues had nullified the constitutional provision for the return of fugitives. The false pretence that slavery would monopolize the territories, when we had no territories in which it could exist, had been used as a means of constant agitation against slavery in the Southern States. A plan of attack upon it had been published in Hepler's book, formally endorsed and recommended by the leaders of the party that was about to assume the Administration of the Federal Government—leaders who openly inculcated contempt for the Constitution, contempt for the Supreme Court, and professed to follow a "higher law." Thus the flame of revolution at the South was kindled and fed with fuel furnished by the Abolitionists.

It might seem superfluous to advert now to what is past and irrevocable, were it not that it is against the same men and the same influences, still dominant in the councils of the Administration, that an appeal is now to be made to the intelligence of the people. The Abolitionists deprecate these allusions to the past. To cover up their own tracks, they invite us to spend all our indignation upon "Southern traitors;" but truth compels us to add, that, in the race of treason, the Northern traitors to the Constitution had the start. They tell us that slavery was the cause of the war; therefore, the Union is to be restored by waging a war upon slavery. This is not true; or only true in the sense that any institution, civil or religious, may be a cause of war, if war is made upon it. Nor is it a just conclusion that if you take from your neighbor his "man-servant or his maid, or anything that is his," you will thus establish harmony between you. No danger to the Union arose from slavery whilst the people of each State dealt calmly and intelligently with the question within their own State limits. Whete little importance attached to it, it soon yielded to moral and economical considerations, leaving the negro in a position of social and political subordination no where more clearly marked than in the Constitution and laws of Pennsylvania.

The strife began when people in States where it was an immaterial question undertook to prescribe the course of duty upon it to States in which it was a question of great importance and difficulty. This interference became more dangerous when attempts were made to use the power of the General Government, instituted for the benefit of all the States, to the injury and proscription of the interests of some of the States. It was not merely a danger to the institution of slavery, but our whole political system, in which separate and distinct colonies became, by the Declaration of Independence, "free and independent States," and afterwards established a Federal Union under the Constitution of the United States. That instrument, with scrupulous care, discriminates the powers delegated to the General Government from those reserved "to the States respectively, or to the people." And let it be noted, that in speaking of the powers so delegated and reserved, we refer to no vague doctrines or pretensions, but to the clear provisions of the written instrument which it is the duty of every citizen, and especially of every public functionary, to respect and maintain. The protection of American liberty against the encroachments of centralization was left to the States by the framers of the Constitution. Hamilton, the most indulgent of them to the Federal power, says: "It may be safely received as an axiom in our political system, that the State Governments will in all possible contingencies, afford complete security against invasions of public liberty by the national authority." Who can be blind to the consequences that have followed the departure from the true principles of our Government? "Abolition" vies with "secession" in sapling the very foundations of the structure reared by our forefathers. In Pennsylvania, the party on whose side you will pass at the ballot-box has trampled upon the great rights of personal liberty and the freedom of the press, which every man who can read may find asserted in the Constitution of the State and the Constitution of the United States.

The dignity of our Commonwealth has been insulted in the outrages perpetrated upon her citizens. At Philadelphia and at Harrisburg, proprietors of newspapers have been seized at midnight and hurried off to military prisons beyond the limits of the State. Against acts like these, perpetrated before the eyes of the municipal and State authorities, there is neither protection nor redress. The seizure of a journal at West Chester was afterwards the subject of a suit for damages in the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania. It came to trial before Chief Justice Lowrie. Rehearsing the ancient principles of English and American justice, he condemned the acts of the Federal officers as violations of the law that bind alike the private citizen and public functionary. He said: "All public functionaries in this land are under the law, and none, from the highest and lowest, are above it." Impatient at any restraint from law, a partisan majority in Congress hastened to pass and to take from the State courts to the United States courts, all suits or prosecutions "for trespasses or wrongs done or committed by virtue or under color of any authority derived from or exercised under the President of the United States;" and such authority was declared to be a full defence for the wrongdoer in any action, civil or criminal. The American Executive is, as the word imports, the executor of the duly enacted law. Yet the pretension is made that his will can take the place of the laws. The liberty, the character of every citizen, is but at the mercy of new functionaries called "provost marshals." Secret accusation before these officials takes the place of open hearing before a lawful magistrate, and no writ of *habeas corpus* may inquire the cause of the arrest. To illegal arrests have been added the mockery of a trial of a private citizen for his political opinions before a court-martial, ending in the infliction of a new and outrageous penalty, invented by the President of the United States. We need not comment upon acts like these. The President of the United States has no authority, in peace or war to try, even an enlisted soldier by court-martial, save by virtue and in strict conformity with the military law laid down in the act of Congress "est-

ablishing rules and articles for the government of the armies of the United States." Yet by his proclamation of September 24th, 1862, he has assumed to make all citizens amenable to military courts. He has violated the great principle of free government on which Washington conducted the war of the Revolution, and Madison the war of 1812—the principle of the subordination of the military to the civil power. He has assumed to put "martial law," which is the rule of force at a spot where all laws are silenced, in the place of civil justice throughout the land, and has thus assailed, in some of the States, even the freedom of the ballot-box. These are not occasional acts, done in haste, or heat, or ignorance; but a new system of government put in the place of that ordained and established by the people. That the Queen could not do what he could, was Mr. Seward's boast to the British Minister.

The "military arrests" of Mr. Stanton received the "hearty commendation" of the Convention that renominated Governor Curtin; and it pledged him and his party to "hearty co-operation" in such acts of the Administration in future. Such is the degrading platform on which a candidate for Chief Magistrate of Pennsylvania stands before her people. These pretensions to arbitrary power give ominous significance to a late charge in our military establishment. The time-honored American system of calling on the States for drafts from their militia, has been replaced by a Federal conscription, on the model of European despotisms. We would not minister to the excitement which it has caused among men of all parties. Its constitutionality will be tested before the courts. If adjudged to be within the power of Congress, the people will decide on the propriety of a stretch of power on which the British Parliament—styled omnipotent—has never ventured. On this you will pass at the polls, and the next Congress will not be deaf to the voice of the people. For all political evils, a constitutional remedy yet remains, in the ballot-box. We will not entertain a fear that it is not safe in the guardianship of a free people. If men in office should seek to perpetuate their power by wresting from the people of Pennsylvania the right of suffrage—if the servants of the people should rebel against their master—on them will rest the responsibility of an attempt at revolution, of which no man can foresee the consequences or the end. But in now addressing you upon the political issues of the times, we assume that the institutions of our country are destined to endure.

The approaching election derives further importance from the influence it will exercise upon the policy of the Government. The aim of men not blinded by fanaticism and party spirit would be to reap the best fruit from the victories achieved by our gallant armies—the best fruit would be peace and the restoration of the Union. Such is not the aim of the party in power. Dominated by its most bigoted members, it urges a war for the negro and not for the Union. It avows the design to protract the war till slavery shall be abolished in the Southern States, in the language of one of its pamphleteers, "how can a man, hoping and praying for the destruction of slavery, desire that the war shall be a short one?" Mr. Thaddeus Stevens, the Republican leader in the last House of Representatives declared, "The Union shall never, with my consent, be restored under the Constitution as it is, with slavery to be protected by it." The same spirit appears in Mr. Lincoln's late answer to citizens of Louisiana who desire the return of that State under its present Constitution. Mr. Lincoln postulated them till that Constitution shall be amended. The Abolitionists desire the war to last till freedom is secured to all the slaves. Hordes of politicians, and contractors, and purveyors, fatten on the war, desire it to last forever. When the slaves are all emancipated by the Federal arms, a constant military intervention will be needed to keep them above or equal with the white race in the Southern States. Peace has no place in their platform. It proclaims confiscation and abolition as the objects of the war, and the Southern leader catches up the words to stimulate his followers to fight to the last. It is not the interest of Pennsylvania that a fanatical faction shall prevent and protract the war, for ruinous, perhaps unattainable ends. What the North needs is the return of the South, with its people, its territory, its staples, to complete the integrity of our common country. This, and not mere devastation and social confusion, would be the aim of patriots and statesmen. The Abolition policy promises us nothing better than a Southern Poland, ruled by a Northern despotism. But history is full of examples how wise rulers have assuaged civil discord by moderation and justice, while bigots and despots, relying solely on force, have been baffled by feeble opponents. That a temporary constitutional policy will fail, in our case, to reap the fruit of success in arms, cannot be known till it is tried.

The times are critical. France, under a powerful and ambitious monarch, is entering on the scene, willing again to play an important part in an America revolution. The English Government is hostile to us; it has got all it wanted from abolition, and will have nothing more to do with it. The secession leaders, and the presses under their control, oppose re-union preferring, perhaps even an humble dependence upon European powers. But from many parts of the South, and across the picket lines, and

from the prisoners and the wounded, has come the proof of a desire among the people of the South to return to "Constitutional relations with the people of the North." Early in the contest this desire was shown in North Carolina, one of the old thirteen associated with Pennsylvania on the page of Revolutionary history. But the majority in Congress made haste to show that Abolition, not reunion, was their aim. In a moment of depression, on the 22d of July, 1861, being the day after the battle of Bull Run, they allowed the passage of a resolution, offered by Crittenden, defining a policy for the restoration of the Union. But they soon rallied, and filled the statute-book with acts of confiscation, abolition, and emancipation, against the remonstrances of eminent jurists and conservative men of all parties. Mr. Lincoln, too yielding, he said, "to pressure," but his proclamations in place of the Constitution and the laws. Thus every interest and sentiment of the Southern people were enlisted on the side of resistance by the policy of a party which as Mr. Stevens said will not consent to a restoration of the Union "with the Constitution as it is." It is this policy that has protracted the war, and is now the greatest obstacle to its termination.

The reunion of the States can alone give them their old security at home and power and dignity abroad. This end can never be reached upon the principles of the party now in power. Their principles are radically false, and can never lead to a good conclusion. Their hope of setting up the negro in the place of the white man runs counter to the laws of nature. Their statesmanship has been weighed in the balance and found wanting; their "little blood-letting" has proved a defuge. Their interference with our armies has often frustrated and never aided their success, till it has become a military proverb that the best thing for a general is to be out of reach from Washington. The party was founded upon the political and moral heresy of opposition to Compromise, which is the only means Union among States, and of peace and good will on earth among men.

In a popular Government, the people are sovereign, and the sound sense of the whole community corrects, at the polls, the errors of political parties. The people of Pennsylvania have seen, with regret, the unconstitutional aims of the Abolitionists substituted for the original objects of the war. They have seen with indignation many gallant soldiers of the Union driven from its service, because they have not bowed down to the Abolition idol. They will see with horror the war protracted in order to secure the triumph of a party platform, or, as Mr. Chandler said, "to save the Republican party from rupture." The time is now at hand when the voice of the people will be heard. The overthrow of the Abolitionists at the polls and the re-establishment of constitutional principles at the North is the first, the indispensable step towards the restoration of the Union and the vindication of civil liberty. To this great service to his country each citizen may contribute by his vote. Thus the people of the North may themselves extend the Constitution to the people of the South. It would not be a specious offer of politicians, to be observed with no better faith than the resolutions of July, 1861. It would be a return to the national policy of the better days of the Republic, through the intelligence of the people, enlightened by experience. It would strengthen the Government; for a constitutional Government is strong when exercising with vigor its legitimate powers, and is weak when it sets an example of revolutionary violence by invading the rights of the people. Our principles and our candidates are known to you. The resolutions of the late Convention at Harrisburg were, with some additions, the same that had been adopted by the Democratic Assembly of Pennsylvania. They declare authoritatively the principles of the Democratic party. It is, as it has always been, for the Union and the Constitution against all opposers. The twelfth resolution declares, "that while this General Assembly condemns and denounces the faults of this Administration and the encroachments of the Abolitionists, it does, also, most thoroughly condemn and denounce the heresy of secession as unwarranted by the Constitution, and destructive alike of the security and perpetuity of Government and of the peace and liberty of the people and it does hereby most solemnly declare that the people of this State are unalterably opposed to any division of the Union, and will persistently exert their whole influence and power, under the Constitution, to maintain and defend it."

We have renominated Chief Justice Lowrie for the bench which he adorns. Our candidate for Governor, Judge Woodward, in his public and private character, affords the best assurance that he will bring honesty, capacity, firmness and patriotism to the direction of the affairs of the Commonwealth. Long withdrawn, by judicial functions, from the political arena, he did not withhold his warning voice when conservative men took counsel together upon the dangers that menaced our country. His speech at the town meeting at Philadelphia in December, 1860, has been vindicated by subsequent events as a signal exhibition of statesmanlike sagacity.

Under his administration we may hope that Pennsylvania, with God's blessing, will resume her place as "the Keystone of the Federal arch."

CHARLES J. BIDDLE, Chairman.