

STAR OF THE NORTH

W. H. JACOBY, EDITOR.

BLOOMSBURG, WEDNESDAY, OCT. 7th, 1863.

DEMOCRATIC STATE NOMINATIONS.

FOR GOVERNOR,
GEORGE W. WOODWARD,
OF LUZERNE COUNTY.
JUDGE OF THE SUPREME COURT,
WALTER H. LOWRIE,
OF ALLEGHENY COUNTY.

FOR SENATE,
DAVID B. MONTGOMERY,
OF Northumberland.

FOR ASSEMBLY,
GEO. D. JACKSON, of Sullivan,
JOHN C. ELLIS, of Montour.

PROTHONOTARY,
JESSE COLEMAN, of Orange.
REGISTER AND RECORDER,
COL. JOHN G. FREEZE, of Bloom.

TRIASURER,
DANIEL McHENRY, of Fishing Creek.
COMMISSIONER,
THOS. J. VANDERLIGHE, of Hemlock.

AUDITOR,
JOHN R. YOHE, of Mifflin.
CORONER,
WILLIAM T. SHUMAN, of Catawissa.

DEMOCRATIC MEETINGS

The following Democratic Meetings will be held in Columbia county, between this and the Elections:
Jerseytown, Thursday, at 12 M., Oct. 8th.
Mifflin, Thursday evening, do do.
Sturow, Friday afternoon, do do.
Beaver, F. Shuman's, Saturday, do 9th.
Rohrburg, Saturday afternoon, do do.
Papsioren, Monday evening, do 12th.

The above Meetings will be addressed by some one or more of the following gentlemen:
J. C. Bucher, Esq.; Col. Wm. Brindle; Hon. Paul Leidy; Joseph H. Campbell Esq.; Hon. Levi L. Tate; Hon. M. E. Jackson; E. H. Little, Esq.; W. Wirt, Esq.; Lieut. A. B. Tate; Col. John G. Freeze, and W. H. Jacoby.

Oct. 1, 1863

Is It Defeat or Victory?

When an army is driven from the offensive to the defensive; when it is forced back from an advanced line to a rear line; when from the open field, after two days' hard fighting, it takes refuge behind entrenchments, and those who most loudly proclaim their deep interest in its welfare can only "hope it is safe," or "believe it can hold its position," or "feel confident that it can maintain the struggle till reinforcements arrive"—if we want to speak truly should we say it had gained a victory or that it had sustained a defeat? The telegrams, examined by Federal officials, announced that Secaucus was "badly beaten"—and we think there is no doubt that he was. Nor is there any thing surprising in it. Fifty thousand men could not reasonably be expected to contend successfully against one hundred and twenty or forty thousand. None but crazy Abolitionists—the "On to Richmond" fools—would think of such a thing. That's all.

Curtin on the Germans.

During the Know Nothing campaign of 1854 Curtin is said to have been exceedingly severe in his abuse of naturalized citizens. Towards the Germans, or "Dutchmen," as they are commonly called, he is represented to have been very bitter. On one occasion he is reported to have used this language: "A Dutchman is not like another person; he has two skulls, and in order to get an idea in his head, you must break one of his skulls."

This was spoken at a time when it was supposed that votes were to be made by abusing citizens of a foreign birth. The Governor has probably changed his opinion since—but it is a hard record to "wipe out."

The Tyrant condemned by his own Party.

The Albany Statesman, an out-and-out Abolition paper, on the subject of arbitrary arrests and suspension of *habeas corpus*, says:

"Our readers well know that we have been opposed from the start to such extreme measures of the Government as arbitrary arrests, (which were abandoned,) martial law, except in extreme cases, and the trial, unless absolutely unavoidable. We also regret the supposed necessity of suspension of the writ of *habeas corpus*."

"We do not hesitate to declare, that any attempt on the part of the Federal authorities to infringe upon the rights of the citizen, will be candidly condemned, as indeed it will not fail to meet the severest resentment."

The eldest son of Judge Woodward is now in the army holding an honorable position, and prepared to perform any duty the service may require of him. Another son has fought gallantly on many fields and only returned from the army after he had received a wound which will cripple him for life. Chief Justice Lowrie has also a son fighting for the Union. To the best of our knowledge, neither Andrew G. Curtin nor Daniel Agnew have sent sons or relatives of any kind into the field. Yet James Woodward and Lowrie are called "sympathizers with traitors" by Republican papers, while Curtin and Agnew are held up as the embodiment of patriotism. "By their fruits ye shall know them."

Hon. M. E. Jackson and J. S. Sanders, of Berwick, addressed a Democratic Meeting in Centre township on Saturday week last. The Democracy are enthusiastic in Little Centre. Look out for a good report from them.

Facts for the People to Ponder.

We are indebted to the Pittsburg Post for valuable facts in relation to the National debt, the proportion which will fall upon Pennsylvania, and the heavy taxation which her people will have to pay annually for an incalculable period. We take the facts as we find them set forth in that paper, except in one or two instances, in which we have taken the liberty to correct what we believe to have been slight errors.

We assume that the National debt is now or very soon will amount to the enormous sum of THREE THOUSAND MILLIONS OF DOLLARS, of which the proportion chargeable to Pennsylvania will be one-sixth, or FIVE HUNDRED MILLIONS OF DOLLARS the annual interest upon which will be THIRTY MILLIONS OF DOLLARS. In addition to this, we have the facts that on the first day of September, according to the returns from the Surgeon General's department, the list of soldiers entitled to pensions amounted to one hundred and seventy thousand, [170,000]. To this formidable list we fell perfectly safe in adding eighty thousand [80,000] more, making the whole number of pensioners to be provided for, two hundred and fifty thousand [250,000]. And we assume eight dollars per month to each as a low average. This would amount to ninety six dollars per annum to each pensioner, making the aggregate TWENTY-FOUR MILLIONS OF DOLLARS to be paid annually, of which Pennsylvania's share—one sixth—would be FOUR MILLIONS OF DOLLARS, equal to a principal of \$66,666,666 2/3, [sixty-six millions six hundred and sixty-six thousand six hundred and sixty-six dollars and two thirds cents] at six per cent. For the sake of even figures we will call it SIXTY-SEVEN MILLIONS. This will make Pennsylvania's share of the National debt, FIVE HUNDRED AND SIXTY SEVEN MILLIONS, the interest on which at six per cent., say in round numbers, THIRTY-MILLIONS, she will have to pay annually in the shape of taxes. Of these taxes the county of Dauphin, containing one sixtieth of the whole population of the State, will have to pay nearly FIVE HUNDRED AND SIXTY SEVEN THOUSAND DOLLARS. For the sake of round numbers—as we did before—we will say five hundred and fifty thousand—which would be seven dollars for every man, woman and child in the county; or, computing the taxable inhabitants at ten thousand, fifty-five dollars for each one to pay every year.

Let us look at this calmly for a moment in the light of facts, and see what is the ability of the State to meet this demand of FIVE HUNDRED AND SIXTY SEVEN MILLIONS ANNUALLY. The Post having examined the documents filed that the Revenue Board in 1863, fixed the valuation of all the property in the State, Real and Personal, at FIVE HUNDRED AND NINETY-SIX MILLIONS. Now in order to balance the books fairly we must not forget the State debt, which is in round numbers, \$38,000,000. Taking then into the calculation the whole debt, State and National, which we have to tot, and the valuation of all the property of the State, as computed by the Revenue Board, and the account will stand thus:

PENNSYLVANIA, Da.	
To her share of National debt,	\$500,000,000
To principal, at 6 per cent of	67,000,000
her share of pension list,	38,000,000
To her own State debt,	\$605,000,000
PENNSYLVANIA, Cr.	
By her own valuation of her	\$596,000,000
own property,	
Balance against the State,	\$9,000,000

So that if Pennsylvania were put up at auction to-morrow and sold for the full sum at which her own Revenue Board has valued her, she could not meet her obligations by NINE MILLION OF DOLLARS. That is, her debt is nine millions more than she is worth. And this is the result of Abolition plunder and mismanagement! Tax payers of the State—tax payers of Columbia Co., "how do you like the picture?"

The democratic party has always roled well: It has preserved the liberties and constitutional rights of the people; has maintained the honor and made the history of the country—has always been national in its aims and purposes. It was maligned (as now) when it opposed the alien and sedition laws; when it made war with Great Britain to maintain the rights of our commerce on the seas, and when Texas and California were annexed to the Union. History has vindicated its position and justified nearly every important act since its organization. On the other hand, the party of which A. G. Curtin, is the head, is the sectional, one idea party, the fruits of whose teachings have fomented discord, and set both sections of the Union at war, in order to enfranchise the negroes of the south. In the language of Wendell Phillips: "There is no merit in the Republican Party. It is the first sectional party ever organized in this country. It is the north arrayed against the south. The first crack of the iceberg is visible. You will yet hear 'it go with a crash through the centre!'"

The great State of Pennsylvania now lies cowering and powerless at the feet of the Washington authorities, and Curtin is any thing a Governor, but in name. If you are in favor of giving him a new lease of power and are satisfied with his official conduct, vote for him. But if on the other hand, you are in favor of having a man to rule Pennsylvania, who knows its rights, and "knowing, dare maintain them," vote for that eminent man, GEORGE W. WOODWARD, the friend of Law and Constitutional Rights.

It is said that the Hollidaysburg Whig refuses to support the "shoddy" candidate—probably for the reason assigned by the Pittsburg Gazette—that "his nomination is a disgrace and his election impossible."

Poor Curtin! Denounced by his own party and opposed by a united, zealous and determined Democracy, his prospects are gloomy indeed.

Vote the Democratic Ticket on next Tuesday, and nothing else, if you wish a show war.

What Curtin Did Not do, and What he Did do.

The friends of Gov. Curtin evidently do not feel very sanguine of his election, or they would not resort to the miserable shifts they do to bolster him up. At this moment they are pulling the "Soldiers' Friend" string with great energy, but to little purpose. They seem to have settled down in the conviction that only a very strong military feeling in his favor and a general belief that his election is necessary to preserve the Nation (Heaven save the mark!) can secure his election; and hence they resort to every means to produce such a feeling and such a belief. The people are assured by them that he is very "loyal" and Woodward is very disloyal—that the President desires his election and dreads the election of Woodward more than anything else; that his election would confirm the administration, put down the rebellion, and save the life of the nation, while Woodward's election would cripple the President, insure the independence of the Southern Confederacy, and of course sever the Union forever. This is said to the people to frighten them into the support of Curtin. It is mainly false in regard to Curtin, and entirely false in relation to Woodward. But what of that? It is the only means by which Curtin can be elected, and therefore they do not scruple to use it. This is their course with the people. They pull another string for the soldiers. They tell them that Curtin furnished the President with 200,000 troops—that he armed the Reserve Corps, and has since watched over it as a hen does over her brood—(if they would say as a hawk does over a partridge they would be nearer right)—that he, after the Reserves were sent to the army, made extraordinary exertions to raise a second similar body of troops to protect the frontier, and many other things equally silly and equally false. These are things which Curtin did not do—let us see what he did do, to entitle him to the confidence and support of the soldiers and the people.

Here is a catalogue of some of the praiseworthy acts which he did perform, as we find it in the Watchman, published in the town of Bellefonte, Centre county, Curtin's home:

WHAT CURTIN DID DO.
Who appointed contractors that clothed the three months men in shoddy, gave them blankets thin as air—furnished them shoes with pine shaving soles—and fed them on rot ten Herring and Stinking Beef? A. G. Curtin.

Who rode over the terrible battle field at Gettysburg, and on hearing a wounded officer exclaim, "this is an awful slaughter of Pennsylvanians," remarked, "it mattered little, there were plenty more to take their places?" A. G. Curtin.

Who attempted to force the State militia into the service of the United States, for six months or longer? A. G. Curtin.

Who keeps that miserable pack of shoddy contractors, horse thieves, and public robbers, that furnished the three months men with rotten blankets and worthless clothes, still in the employ? A. G. Curtin.

Who approved a bill that took from the tax payers of Pennsylvania, eighteen millions of dollars, and gave it to the Pennsylvania railroad company? A. G. Curtin.

Who transferred the State and its Legislature into the hands of this plundering corporation? A. G. Curtin.

Who made an agreement with this same company, by which it was to pay the State \$75,000 per annum—concealed that agreement and afterwards surrendered it to the company, without even preserving a copy or memorandum of it? A. G. Curtin.

Who permitted the soil of our State to be invaded by the Confederates, and then said he had no power to defend the State when thousands upon thousands of our citizens were on hand ready to repel an invasion and protect our homes? A. G. Curtin.

Who crawled to Washington, like a poor miserable beggar, and there on tattered knees implored Father Abraham to allow him to protect our State Capitol? A. G. Curtin.

Who boasted in this town, on the night of the election, that he had his heel on the necks of Democrats, and would keep it there for three years? A. G. Curtin.

Who permitted the minions of Federal authority to enter the Capital of our State and drag from their homes honest, patriotic citizens, and incarcerate them in the loathsome cells of military prisons, without warrant or cause? A. G. Curtin.

Who pardoned the Abolition miscreants at Bloomsburg, after they had been found guilty of rioting by judge and jury? A. G. Curtin.

Who gave a respite to a negro murderer in Philadelphia, and at the same time refused to grant a few days to a fishman convicted of the same offence? A. G. Curtin.

Who took an oath before high Heaven swearing that he would not vote, nor give his influence for any man for any office in the gift of the people, unless he be an American born citizen, nor if he be a Roman Catholic? A. G. Curtin.

Who took an oath before high Heaven, swearing that if ever elected or appointed to any official station giving him the power to do so, he would remove all FOREIGNERS, ALIENS or ROMAN CATHOLICS from office or place, and that in no case would he appoint such to any office in his gift? A. G. Curtin.

Who swore to keep the above infamous oaths sacred and inviolate through life? A. G. Curtin.

Who was the first Secretary of State under a Know Nothing Governor? A. G. Curtin.

Who traveled over the State in 1854, organizing Know-Nothing Lodges? A. G. Curtin.

Who took an oath to proscribe you on account of your birth-place and religion? A. G. Curtin.

Curtin says he is troubled with the "inflammatory rheumatism." Well, according to Republican logic now-a-days, if Curtin is elected the Government will have the "inflammatory rheumatism." Having had a slight touch of the blasted thing, we vote against it.

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 incompetency 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 a useful 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, are we 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, 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 numbers; 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 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 prolongs 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 policy. 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 spurn 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 started 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 is 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 you 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—or—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 utterances 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 Republicans; 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 now 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 measure—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 widows; all this heaping up of mighty masses of debt to press upon the back of labor for generations; all those bitter passions let loose in hitherto peaceful communities; all those 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 marvelous vitality, and though 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 mismanaged 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 doctrines 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 act 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, nor 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 fanatical 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.

The Soldiers' Right to Vote.

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 a 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.

The learned Judge deprecates a Constitution that shall disfranchise our volunteer soldiers. It strikes us that this is an inaccurate use of language. The Constitution would disfranchise no qualified voter. But, to secure purity of election, it would have its voters in the place where they are best known on election day. If a voter voluntarily stays at home, or goes on a journey, or joins the army of his country, can it be said the Constitution has disfranchised him? Four of the Judges of this Court, living in other parts of this State, find themselves, on the day of every Presidential Election, in the City of Pittsburg, where their official duties takes them and where they are not permitted to vote. Have they a right to change the Constitution with disfranchising them? Such is our case and such is the case of the volunteers in the army. The right of suffrage is carefully preserved for both them and us, to be enjoyed when we return to the places which the Constitution has appointed for its exercise.—Geo. W. Woodward.

Honest Abraham—His Honest Acts and Honest Supporters.

Even the warmest supporters of this administration—its most servile and mercenary advocates—its hired scribblers and orators—the very scoundrels and scum of the kitchen, admit that the President's proclamation suspending the privilege of the writ of *habeas corpus* was a dangerous exercise of power. Forney, the most abused and unscrupulous among all the servants in the White House, says:

"The power which this suspension will give the President will be dangerous in the hands of a corrupt ruler, but the honesty and incorruptible patriotism of Abraham Lincoln guarantee its upright and impartial exercise."

What if the "honesty" imputed to Lincoln by these advocates of arbitrary power should prove to have no existence—then, confessedly, he is now exercising a power "dangerous" to the liberties of the country. And what evidences have we had of his "honesty"—what but the mere assertion of his interested supporters, men who make a trade of falsehood? His words and actions—to which we most look for proof of his "honesty," rather than to the opinions of the vernal sycophants who are thriving upon plunder and patronage—all testify against him, and proclaim him to be disingenuous and dishonest. His record shows him to be inconsistent and insincere—a man of no fixed principles or opinions—reckless alike of what he says and what he does. Ever since his inauguration his practices have given the lie to his professions, and even those who have had the most influence in moulding his policy, the radicals who would perish if he should fail them, are obliged to confess that they find him weak, vacillating and false. At the very outset of his administration he proclaimed to the world that he had neither the right nor the inclination to meddle with slavery in the States, and yet every act of his since has proved that his almost sole aim is to crush slavery wherever it exists. Having no "right" under the Constitution, he has not scrupled to usurp the power. His proclamation of emancipation and his proclamation suspending the writ of *habeas corpus* are both the spawn of usurpation.

And yet we are asked to confide in the "honesty" of this dishonest man, and commit our liberties to his keeping without a question or a doubt. Innocent and unsuspecting as the people are, this is asking too much of them. They see that this man whose "honesty" is so ostentatiously proclaimed, has not scrupled to violate the Constitution and trample upon the laws whenever they have stood in his way, and they know that such a man cannot be "honest," and must be unsafe. It is an insult to their intelligence, a denial of their common sense to address them as the Lincoln press and the hired stump orators who are now prowling over the State do. They know as well as we that the policy of the President is a policy against the freedom of the white man—that his proclamation of suspension places every white citizen at the mercy of the minions of power, and that to-day we are a nation virtually without a constitution and subject to the will of one man. And yet they have the audacity to ask for this administration the confidence and "unquestioning support" of the people. In effect they say to us: True, Lincoln has absorbed all power, both of Congress and courts; violated the Constitution; assumed imperial powers; undermined the foundation of the Government; committed "every act which you may define a tyrant;" but he is "honest;" he can be trusted; good people confide in him, lean upon him—give him your liberties, and thank God that it is "Honest Abe" to whom you yield them!

We must be much mistaken in our estimate of the good sense and patriotism of the people if they see it in this light. They are not insensible to their rights, nor to the danger which threatens them; and on the 13th of October will record the opinion which they entertain of "Honest Abe" and his Lieutenant, "Shoddy Andy."

Let the soldiers who may be at home on the day of the election, remember that ANDREW G. CURTIN, the shoddy candidate for Governor, was in the conspiracy against Gen. McCLELLAN, and that it was his influence as much as any other cause, that induced the President to remove McCLELLAN from the command of the army. McCLELLAN is the "soldiers' friend," and the soldiers are his friends, and they owe it to themselves to strike down the enemies of their heroic commander.