

Raftsmen's Journal.



S. J. ROW, EDITOR AND PROPRIETOR.

CLEARFIELD, PA., JAN. 16, 1867.

GOV. GEARY'S INAUGURAL.—We publish to-day, Gov. Geary's Inaugural Address in full—enabling our readers to peruse it in advance of receiving the city dailies. It is a firm, plain, and statesman-like document. But we have neither time nor space to give a more extended notice of the inaugural at this time. Let all read it.

A BLACK DEMOCRAT DEFEATED.—The Boston Post, the leading Democratic paper of New England, in noticing the result of the recent municipal election in that city, says:

"We regret to record the defeat of the democratic candidate in Ward Three, Mr. Brown, a most respectable colored gentleman. He was firmly supported by democrats and conservatives, but the radical element in that locality severed his political jugal without any compunctions whatever."

Verily, the world moves! Here is a colored man "firmly supported by Democrats," and only defeated by the numerical superiority of the radicals! Our neighbor, George, should promptly rebuke this "amalgamation" of black and white Democrats, lest his party friends in this county imitate the example set them and nominate for office their "patron saint" John Johnston, whose likeness they carried on their banners a few years ago!

A BAD EGG.—The Doylestown Intelligencer gets off the following: One Charles Dougherty, of Luzerne county, was recently appointed Consul to Londonderry, by President Johnson. Just as he was ready to start, his bail had him arrested as a defaulter, he having been tax collector in the county. For a time he was forced to sojourn in a public institution at Wilkesbarre. We have not learned whether matters have been so adjusted that this new favorite of the President can enter upon his duties, but it is not likely, that a small affair of this kind will cause much interruption.

TERRIBLE.—A Washington copperhead dispatch says: The fact that negro suffrage is now indubitably established in the district of Columbia, has caused quite a panic among property holders. Many have conceived the idea that real estate is bound to decrease in value by reason of the exercise of impartial suffrage. Several of the real estate agencies declare that within the last day or two they have been ordered to sell, even at a sacrifice, handsome old family residences, whose owners refused to abide the new dispensation of radicalism.

COULDN'T SEE IT.—The act of Congress providing for the election of United States Senators, declares that they shall be elected "on the second Tuesday after the meeting of the Legislature." Senator Wallace proposed to the Senate that they should construe the second Tuesday after the meeting to mean the first Tuesday, and bring on the election of Senator on the 8th instead of the 15th. It is needless to say that the Senate adhered to the old-fashioned system of arithmetic.

MEXICO.—Another batch of news is received from Mexico, relating to the abdication of Maximilian, the successes of Juarez, and the ups and downs of Canales, Ortega, Mejia, Escobedo, Berzobal, and other notables with jaw-breaking names; but it would certainly be a new feature in Mexican intelligence if the reports should remain uncontradicted until the printer could get a paragraph like this in type.

SPIRITS, NOT GHOSTS.—The story going the rounds of the papers that Mrs. Surratt's house in Washington City, is haunted by her ghost, turns out, as every person not given to superstition would naturally suppose, to be untrue. It seems that the house is occupied by a jolly Brigadier, named Bullock, who allows none but "good spirits," which he keeps well bottled, to be about the premises.

"SNOW.—Sufficient snow for sleighing would be most acceptable just now."—Tel.

As we have a superabundance of the article in this region, if the editor of the Telegraph will come here, he can sleigh to his heart's content, providing he has the "spoudeux" to foot the bills.

THE Democrats of Ohio, whereof Vallandigham is the high priest, at their recent State Convention, gave the Supreme Court their special indorsement, coupling it with Mr. Johnson, for whom they expressed almost equal admiration. The fact needs no comment.

The number of lumber yards now in Chicago is 107, against 86 at this time last year; and the estimated amount of lumber now piled up in the yards is 150,000,000 feet, against 134,000,000 at the same time last year.

Inaugural Address of
GOVERNOR JOHN W. GEARY,
Delivered Jan. 15, 1867.

FELLOW CITIZENS: Honored by the selection of the sovereign people of my native State as their choice for Chief Magistrate of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, it is with mingled feelings of humility and gratitude that I have appeared in the presence of my fellow countrymen, and before the Searcher of all Hearts, to take the solemn obligation prescribed as a qualification for that exalted station, "to support the Constitution of the United States and the Constitution of Pennsylvania, and to perform my official duties with fidelity."

Profoundly sensible of everything that is implied by this manifestation of the people's confidence, and more deeply impressed with the vast importance and responsibilities of the office, than elevated by its attendant honors, let it be our first grateful duty to return fervent thanksgiving to Almighty God for his constant providence and unnumbered blessings to us as a people, and especially mine to implore His aid and counsel in the discharge of civil trusts, who has been my shield and buckler amid scenes of peril and death.

In addressing you on this occasion, in accordance with a custom originating with the Republican fathers, I propose briefly to express my opinions on such questions as concern our common constituency, and relate to our common responsibilities.

Like countries of the Old World, our nation has had its internal commotions. From the last of these we have scarcely yet emerged, and during which "War's desolation" passed over our land, leaving its blighting influences principally upon those unfortunate States whose people rebelled against the government, and notwithstanding the agonizing sacrifices of a great civil war, the States that maintained the government and determined that the Union should be preserved, have constantly advanced in honor, wealth, population and general prosperity.

This is the first time that a change has occurred in the Executive Department of this State since the commencement of the war of the rebellion; a brief reference, therefore, to that conflict, and to its results, may not be inappropriate.

We have the consolation of knowing that the contest between the North and the South was not, on our part, one for ambition, for military renown, for territorial acquisition, nor was it for a violation of any of the rights of the South, but it was for the preservation of our own rights and privileges as men, and for the maintenance of justice, liberty and the Union. The object of the South was avowedly the dissolution of the Union and the establishment of a confederacy based upon "the corner stone of human slavery."

To have submitted to this on our part, and to have shrunk from a manly resistance under such circumstances, would have been deeply and lastingly degrading, and would have destroyed the value of the priceless legacy bequeathed to us by our fathers, and which we are obligated to transmit unimpaired to future generations. The patriotic and Union-loving people felt that the alternative was that of life or death to the Union; and under the auspicious guidance of Abraham Lincoln, that virtuous and patriotic Chief Magistrate, with the blessing of Him who directs the destinies of nations, after open action and arbitrary violence on the part of the South, the appeal to arms was made. We had a just cause, and our citizens approving it with a degree of unanimity heretofore unknown, in this or any other country, left their various employments, their homes and all that was dear to them, and hastened with enthusiasm to the scenes where duty and danger called, and as the surest pledge of their unswerving love and fidelity to the Union, they unhesitatingly offered their lives for its preservation. Nor was any other tribute withheld in providing the means necessary for the support of our fleets and armies. Nearly two millions of soldiers entered the field from time to time on different terms of enlistment. The citizens generally exhibited the highest degree of patriotism in the prompt payment of taxes, in their liberal contributions to the shape of loans to the government; and the world was astonished by the amount expended in their benevolent care for the sick and wounded, through the agencies of the Sanitary and Christian Commissions, and other charitable associations. More than six hundred sanguinary battles and skirmishes were fought, in which nearly three hundred thousand of our heroic defenders laid down their lives in their devotion to the nation—"for God and Liberty."

In every phase of this terrible conflict, Pennsylvania bore an honorable and conspicuous part. She contributed three hundred and sixty-six thousand three hundred and twenty-six volunteer soldiers to the rescue of the nation; and nearly every battlefield has been moistened with the blood, and whitened with the bones of her heroes. To them we owe our victories, unsurpassed in brilliancy and in the importance of their consequences. To the dead—the three hundred dead—we are deeply indebted, for without their services it is possible our cause might not have been successful.

It is natural and eminently proper that we, as a people, should feel a deep and lasting interest in the present and future welfare of the soldiers who have borne so distinguished a part in the great contest which has resulted in the maintenance of the life, honor and prosperity of the nation. The high claims of the private soldiers upon the country are universally acknowledged, and the generous sentiment prevails that the amplest care should be taken by the government to compensate them, equally and generously, with bounties and pensions, for their services and sacrifices.

I desire that it may be distinctly understood that I do not speak of myself, in connection with this subject; but I am happy to avail myself of this opportunity to speak kind words of Pennsylvania's gallant private soldiers, and the noble officers who commanded them.

The generosity of the people of Pennsylvania to the Union soldiers has been imitated, but not equalled, by other States. There is something peculiar in the loyalty of Pennsylvania. She seemed to feel, from the first, as if upon her devolved the setting of a superior example. The fact that she carried upon her standard the brightest jewel of the Republic, that in her bosom was conceived and from her commercial capital was issued the Declaration of Independence, gave to her contributions, in men and money, and her unparalleled charitable organizations, all the dignity and force of a model for others to copy. The rebel foe seemed to feel that if he could strike a fatal blow at Pennsylvania, he would recover all his losses, and establish a resistless prestige in the old world. But thanks to Divine Providence, and to the enduring bravery of our citizen soldiers, the invasion of our beloved State sealed her more closely to the cause of freedom.

The result of the battle of Gettysburg broke the power of the rebellion, and although the final issue was delayed, it was inevitable from the date of that great event. That battle rescued all the other free States; and when the arch of victory was completed by Sherman's successful advance from the sea, so that the two conquerors could shake hands over the two fields that closed the war, the soldiers of Pennsylvania were equal sharers in the glorious consummation.

No people in the world's history have ever been saved from so incalculable a calamity, and no people have ever had such cause for gratitude towards their defenders.

And here I cannot refrain from an expression of regret that the General Government has not taken any steps to inflict the proper penalties of the Constitution and laws upon the leaders of those who rudely and ferociously invaded the ever sacred soil of our State.

It is certainly a morbid clemency, and a censurable forbearance, which fail to punish the greatest crimes "known to the laws of civilized nations;" and may not the hope be reasonably indulged that the Federal authorities will cease to extend ungrudging mercy to those who inaugurated the rebellion and controlled the movements of its armies? If this be done, treason will be "rendered odious," and it will be distinctly proclaimed, on the pages of our future history, that no attempt can be made with impunity to destroy our Republican form of government.

And while we would remember "the soldier who has borne the battle," we must not forget "his widow and his orphan children." Among our most solemn obligations is the maintenance of the indigent widows, and the support and education of the orphan children, of those noble men who fell in defence of the Union. To affirm that we owe a debt of gratitude to those who have been rendered homeless and fatherless, by their patriotic devotion to the country, is a truth to which all mankind will yield a ready assent; and though we cannot call the dead to life, it is a privilege, as well as duty, to take the orphan by the hand, and be to him a protector and a father.

Legislative appropriations have honored the living soldiers, and entombed the dead. The people, at the ballot-box, have sought out the meritorious veterans, and the noble spectacle is now presented of the youthful survivors of those who fell for their country, cherished and educated at the public expense. Even if I were differently constituted, my official duties would constrain me vigilantly to guard this sacred trust. But having served in the same cause, and been honored by the highest marks of public favor, I pledge myself to bear in mind the injunctions and wishes of the people, and if possible to increase the efficiency and multiply the benefits of the schools and institutions, already so creditably established, for the benefit of the orphans of our martyred heroes.

FREEDOM AND SLAVERY.—The infatuation of treason, the downfall of slavery, the vindication of freedom and the complete triumph of the government of the people, are all so many proofs of the "Divinity that has shaped our ends," and so many promises of a future crowned with success if we are only true to our mission. Six years ago the spectacle of four millions of slaves, increasing steadily both their own numbers and the pride and the material and political power of their masters, presented a problem so appalling, that statesmen contemplated it with undisguised alarm, and the moralist with shame. To-day these four millions, no longer slaves, but freemen, having intermediately proved their humanity towards their oppressors, their fidelity to society, and their loyalty to the government, are peacefully incorporated into the body politic, and are rapidly preparing to assume their rights as citizens of the United States. Notwithstanding this unparalleled change was only effected after an awful expenditure of blood and treasure, its consummation may well be cited as the sublimest proof of fitness of the American people to administer the government according to the pledges of the Declaration of Independence.

We have but to estimate where human slavery would have carried our country, in the course of another generation, to realize the force of this commanding truth. And as we dwell upon the dangers we have escaped, we may the better understand what Jefferson meant when, in the comparative infancy of human slavery, he exclaimed, "I tremble for my country when I reflect that God is just!"

A simple glance at what must have been our fate had slavery been permitted to increase will be sufficient. In 1860 the slave population amounted, in exact numbers, to three millions nine hundred and fifty-three thousand seven hundred and sixty. Taking the increase, 23.39 per cent., from 1850 to 1860, as the basis of calculation for every ten years, in 1900, they would have numbered at least upwards of nine millions. What Christian statesman, as he thanks God for the triumph of the Union arms, does not shudder at the terrible prospect presented by these startling figures?

But while there is cause for constant solicitude in the natural irritations produced by such a conflict, he is not a gloomy prophet who does not anticipate that the agencies which accomplished these tremendous results, will successfully cope with and put down all who attempt to govern the nation in the interests of defeated ambition and vanquished treason.

The people of the conquering North and West have comparatively little to do but to complete the good work. They command the position. The courage of the soldier and the sagacity of the statesman, working harmoniously, have now sealed and confirmed the victory, and nothing more is required but a faithful adherence to the doctrines which have achieved such marvelous results.

EDUCATION OF THE PEOPLE.—The overthrow of the rebellion has changed the whole system of Southern society, and proportionately affected other interests and sections. Demanding the enlightenment of millions, long benighted, it forces upon the North and West the consideration of a more perfect and pervading educational policy.

Much as we have boasted, and have reason to boast, of our common schools we cannot deny, when we compare them with those of New England, and contrast them with

the preparations for the education of the Southern people of all classes, that we have much to overcome, if we would equal the one, or stimulate the other. The recent convention of County School Superintendents of Pennsylvania exhibits some startling facts, which deserve the attention of the people and their representatives. Yet it is not by legislation alone that any people can be brought to understand their relations to each other as citizens. Their best instructors are themselves. However liberal the appropriations may be, if these are not seconded by that commendable spirit which impels the parent to impress upon the child the necessity of a sound moral and intellectual training, your representatives are generous, in vain. Every thing depends upon the people; hence the great complaint, preferred by the convention of teachers, of shortness of terms in some districts, of the small attendance of enrolled scholars, of the employment of unqualified instructors, and of the want of proper school houses, results unquestionably not so much from the indifference of the State, as from the negligence of those who are invited to share and to enjoy the blessings of a cheap and admirable system of popular education. If my fellow-citizens will only recollect the difference between the opportunities of the present generation and those of their fathers, and how much is to be gained by a cultivation of modern facilities they will require little exhortation to the discharge of duties which relate almost exclusively to themselves and to those nearest and dearest to them.

The importance of common schools, in a republican government, can never be fully estimated. To educate the people is the highest public duty. To permit them to remain in ignorance is excusable. Every thing, therefore, should be encouraged that tends to build up, strengthen and elevate our State on the sure foundation of the education of the people. Every interest and industrial pursuit will be aided and promoted by its operations; every man who is educated is improved in usefulness, in proportion as he is skilled in labor, or intelligent in the professions, and is in every respect more valuable to society. Education seems to be essential to loyalty, for no State in the full enjoyment of free schools, ever rebelled against the government.

Pennsylvania should be the vanguard in the great mission of education. She should remember that as she has been the mother of States, she should also be the teacher of States. "The great problem of civilization is how to bring the higher intelligence of the community, and its better moral feelings, to bear upon the masses of the people, so that the lowest grades of intelligence and morals shall always be approaching the higher, and the higher still rising. A church purified of superstition solves part of this problem, and a good school system does the rest."

Nothing, after the education of the people, contributes more to the security of a State than a thorough military system. The fathers of the Republic, acting upon the instinct of preparing for war in time of peace, embodied this knowledge among the primary obligations of the citizen. Yet the rebellion found us almost wholly unprepared. Our confidence in our institutions was so firm that the idea of an attack upon them from any quarter, much less from those who had been the "spoiled children" of the government, was never believed possible, however threatened. The first clash of arms found us equally unprepared and unorganized, and we very soon experienced that the contrivances of the great slave conspiracy had not only strengthened themselves by the stolen ships, arms and fortifications of the government, but had been for years designedly instructing their youth in the science of arms; and when the bloody tempest opened upon us they were ready to spring at the heart of the Republic, while the citizens, in whose hands the government was left, were compelled to protect themselves and their country as best they could.

When we reflect upon the terrible sacrifices we endured to maintain our liberties, and anticipate that glorious period of our country when the whole continent will be dedicated to human freedom, and when the despots of the earth will construe our example into a standing threat against their tyranny, we cannot disregard the consideration of this important subject.

As before remarked, Pennsylvania contributed over three hundred thousand troops to the national cause. Deducting the loss of nearly thirty thousand by wounds and disease incurred in the field, what an immense army has been left to circulate among and to educate the mass of our population! Properly comprehending this thought, we have at once the secret of our past success, our present safety and our future power. It would be easy to create an emulation in the science of arms among the youth of the State, by proper organization, and to disseminate, in all our schools, that loyalty to the whole country, without which there can be no permanent safety for our liberty.

In their late report, the visitors to the West Point Military Academy laid a significant stress upon the necessity of such preceptors, in the future, as would teach the students of that institution their first and unavoidable obligations to the principles upon which the government itself reposes. The neglect of this kind of instruction was felt in almost every movement during the recent conflict; and it is not going too far to say that many who disregarded their oaths, and who drew their swords against the government that had educated and nourished them, found a meretricious consolation in the fact that they were permitted to cherish an allegiance to the State in which they were born, which conflicted with and destroyed that love of country which should be made supreme and above all other political obligations.

If, in our past and recent experience, there has been exhibited the valuable and splendid achievements of our volunteers in the national defence, there has also been shown the necessity for military skill, and that knowledge of, and familiarity with the rules of discipline so essentially necessary in their prompt and effectual employment. In order, therefore, to make our military system effective, we should have particular regard for the lesson, that to prevent or repel danger, our State should always have a well disciplined force, prepared to act with promptness and vigor on any emergency; nor should we forget that it is impossible to tell how soon our warlike energies may again be required in the field.

HOPE RESOURCES AND HOME LABOR.—In nothing have our trials during the war, and the resulting triumph to our arms, been

so full of compensation, as in the establishment of the proud fact we are not only able to defend ourselves against assault, but what is equally important, to depend upon and live upon our own resources. At the time the rebellion was precipitated upon us the whole business and trade of the nation was paralyzed. Corn in the West was used for fuel, and the producer was compelled to lose not only the interest upon his capital, but the very capital he had invested. Labor was in excess, and men were everywhere searching for employment. Mills and furnaces were abandoned. Domestic intercourse was so trifling that the stocks of a number of the most important railroads in the country fell to, and long remained at, an average price of less than fifty per cent. But the moment that danger to the Union became imminent, and the necessity of self-reliance was plainly presented as the only means of securing protection, and the gradual dispersion of our mercantile marine by the apprehension of the armed vessels of the rebels, the American people began to practice upon the maxims of self-defence and self-dependence. From having been, if not absolutely impoverished and almost without remunerative enterprise, depressed by unemployed labor and idle capital, all their great material agencies were brought into motion with a promptitude, and kept in operation with a rapidity and regularity, which relieved them from want, their country from danger, and excited the amazement of civilized nations.

Protection to the manufactures of the country, when rightly viewed, is merely the defence of labor against competition from abroad. The wages of labor in the United States is higher than those in any other country, consequently our laborers are the more elevated. Labor is the foundation of both individual and national wealth; and those nations that have best protected it from foreign competition, have been the most prosperous. It is clearly, therefore, the interest of the nation to foster and protect domestic industry, by relieving from internal taxation every sort of labor, and imposing such heavy duties upon all importations of foreign manufactured articles, as to prevent the possibility of competition from abroad. Not only should individual enterprise and industry be thus encouraged, but all public works, a liberal and properly restricted general railroad system, and internal improvements of every kind, receive the fostering care and most liberal aid of the government. We are rich in every thing necessary to meet our wants, and render us independent of every other country, and we have only to avail ourselves of our own resources and capabilities, to progress continually onward to a degree of greatness never yet attained by any nation. Our agricultural, mineral and manufacturing resources are unequalled, and it should be our constant study to devise and prosecute means tending to their highest development.

Why, then, should not the wisdom of government make available the teachings of experience, and at once legislate for the manifest good of the people? Why permit our manufactures to beg that they may live? The government of Great Britain has, by her protective system, piled duty upon duty, "for more than one hundred and fifty years, and hence upon protection is founded her manufacturing supremacy. Yet her emissaries come to this country, and for sinister purposes, extol "free trade," speak scoffingly of "protection," and endeavor to persuade our people to believe and adopt the absurd theory, that "tariffs hinder the development of industry and the growth of wealth."

The great Republican party, in the Convention which nominated Abraham Lincoln, in Chicago, in 1860, as if preparing for the very war which most of our statesmen were at that period anxious to postpone, adopted a resolution, "which," to use the language of an eminent Pennsylvanian, "declared that the produce of the farm should no longer be compelled to remain inert and losing interest while waiting demand in distant markets; that the capital which daily took the form of labor power should no longer be allowed to go to waste; that the fuel which underlies our soil should no longer remain to be a mere support for foreign rails; that the power which lay then petrified in the form of coal should everywhere be brought to aid the human arm; that our vast deposits of iron ore should be made to take the form of engines and other machinery, to be used as substitutes for mere muscular force; and that all our wonderful resources, material and moral, must and should be developed." Such was the intent and meaning of the brief resolution then and there adopted, to be at the earliest practicable moment ratified by Congress, as proved to be the case when the Morrill tariff, on the memorable 2d of March, 1861, was made the law of the land. To that law, aided as it was by the admirable action of the Treasury in supplying machinery of circulation, we stand now indebted for the fact that we have, in the short space of five years, produced more food, built more houses and mills, opened more mines, constructed more roads than ever before, and so greatly added to the wealth of the country, that the property of the loyal States would this day exchange for twice the quantity of gold than could five years since have been obtained for all the real and personal property, southern chattels excepted, of the whole of the States and Territories of which the Union stands composed.

If the principle of protection proved to be such a talisman in the time of war, shall we reject it in time of peace? If an answer were needed to this question, reference could be had to the repeated concessions to this principle by the recent free-traders of the South. Scarcely one of the ambitious men who led their unfortunate people into rebellion, but now freely admits that if the South had manufactured their own fabrics, on their own plantations, and cultivated skilled labor, in their great cities, they would have been able to prolong their conflict with the government; and now to enjoy substantial, instead of artificial prosperity, they must invoke the very agencies they had so long and so fatally disregarded. Words need not be multiplied upon this important theme, either to make my own position stronger, or to impress upon the people the value of adhering to a system which has proved itself worthy of our continued support, and of the imitation of its former opponents.

FINANCES.—The exhibit of the finances of the Commonwealth, as presented in the late annual message of my predecessor, and the report of the State Treasurer, is certainly very gratifying; and the flattering prospect of

the speedy extinguishment of the debt which has been hanging, for so many years, like a dark cloud over the prospects of our State, combined with the hope that a reasonable reduction will be made in our habitual annual expenditures, will cheer the people onward in the pathway of duty.

Among the most delicate and important obligations required of those in official positions, is a strict and faithful management of the public revenues and expenditures of the Commonwealth. Taxation should be applied where its burdens may be least felt, and where it is most just that it should be borne. Every resource should be carefully husbanded, and the strictest economy practised, so that the credit of the State should be maintained on a firm and enduring basis, and the debt surely and steadily diminished, until its final extinguishment. Unnecessary delay in this would, in my opinion, be incompatible with our true interests.

That these expectations are capable of speedy and certain consummation, has already been demonstrated. The public improvements, the cause of our heavy debt, which seemed to be an incubus upon the prosperity of the State, so long as they were managed by her agents, have been sold; the tax on real estate has been abolished, and considerable reductions have already been made on the State debt.

This important branch of the administration shall receive my constant and zealous attention.

EXECUTION OF THE LAWS

The general and essential principles of law and liberty, declared in the Constitution of Pennsylvania, shall be watchfully guarded. It will be my highest ambition to administer the government in the true spirit of that instrument. Care shall be taken "that the laws be faithfully executed," and the decisions of the courts respected and enforced if within their authorized jurisdiction. Influenced only by considerations for the public welfare, it is my imperative duty to see that justice be impartially administered. That merciful provision, the pardoning power, conferred upon the Executive doubtless for correcting only the errors of criminal jurisprudence, and securing justice, shall not be perverted to the indiscriminate protection of those who may be justly sentenced to bear penalties for infractions of the laws made for the security and protection of society. Those "cruelly" or "excessively" punished, or erroneously convicted, are alone entitled to its beneficent protection, and only such should expect its exercise in their behalf.

Whenever the people deem it expedient or necessary, from actual experience, to alter the laws, or to amend the Constitution, it is their undoubted right to do so, according to the mode prescribed within itself. I here repeat, what I have said elsewhere, that "so long as the people feel that the power to alter or change the character of the government abides in them, so long will they be impressed with a sense of security and of dignity which must ever spring from the consciousness that they hold within their own hands a remedy for every political evil, a corrective for every governmental abuse and usurpation."

THE NATIONAL SITUATION

We are confessedly in a transition state. It is marvelous how prejudice has perished in the furnace of war, and how, from the very ashes of old hatreds and old parties, the truth rises purified and triumphant. The contest between the Executive and Congress, twice elected by substantially the same suffrages, a contest so anomalous in our experience as not to have been anticipated by the framers of the National Constitution, has only served to develop the remarkable energies of our people, and to strengthen them for future conflicts. That contest is virtually decided.

The victorious forces, physical and moral, of the patriotic millions, are simply passing before they perfect the work of reconstruction. Twenty-six States have not only been saved from the conflagration of war, but have been crystallized in the saving. The unrestrained, still disaffected and still defiant, seem to be providentially delaying their return to the Union, so that when they re-enter upon its obligations and its blessings they will be the better able to fulfill the one and enjoy the other. Their condition is a fearful warning to men and nations, and especially to ourselves.

Until slavery fell we did not fully understand the value of Republican institutions. Accustomed to tolerate, and in many cases to defend slavery, we did not feel that its close proximity, so far from assisting, was gradually destroying our liberties; and it was only when rebellion tore away the mask, that we saw the hideous features of the monster that was eating out the vitals of the Republic.

If we are now astonished and shocked at the exhibition of cruelty and ingratitude among those who, having inaugurated and prosecuted a causeless war against a generous government, and having been permitted to escape the punishment they deserve, are once more arrogantly clamoring to assume control of the destinies of this great nation, how much greater cause would we have had for surprise had slavery been permitted to increase and multiply?

Boast as we may of our material and our moral victories, yet it is not true that there is no such thing as a Republican government in the ten States that began and carried on the war? There is not, to-day, a despotic State in Europe where the rights of the individual man are so defiantly trampled under foot, as in the sections which were supposed to have been brought into full submission to the government of the United States. But the disease has suggested its Providential cure.

The abhorrent doctrine, that defeated treason shall not only be magnanimously pardoned, but introduced to yet stronger privileges, because of its guilty failure, seems to have been insisted upon, as if to strengthen the better and the contrasting doctrine, that a nation, having conquered its freedom, is its own best guardian, and that those who are defeated in honorable battle should be constrained to submit to all the terms of conqueror.

The violators of the most solemn obligations the perpetrators of the most atrocious crimes in the annals of time, the murderers of our heroic soldiers on fields of battle, and in loathsome dungeons and barbarous prisons, they must not, shall not, reappear in the council chambers of the nation, to aid in its legislation, or control its destinies, unless it shall be on conditions which will preserve our institutions from their baneful purposes and influence, and secure republican forms of government, in their purity and vigor, in every section of the country.