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WILL LEE MOVE NORTH?

Several leading journals have persisted in defining a Spring campaign for Gen. Lee, involving the early invasion of Pennsylvania, and a simultaneous movement by Johnston into Kentucky and Ohio. We do not share the apprehension that the rebels will take the offensive with the view of transferring the war to Northern soil. Doubtless Gen. Lee would be glad to do so, and could such a movement reasonably promise success, it would be attempted; but the sad experience the rebels have had during two invasions of the North, will not incline a soldier like Lee to repeat so perilous an enterprise, unless it can be done under circumstances much more favorable than have ever yet presented.

Gen. Lee's first offensive movement was made just after he had driven Gen. McClellan back upon the James River; raised the siege of Richmond, and subsequently defeated Gen. Pope, driving the Union army into the entrenchments of Washington. The Army of the Potomac had been fearfully decimated by battles and disease on the Peninsula; was sadly dispirited by defeat both under McClellan and Pope, and was demoralized alike by disaster and incompetent and unfaithful commanders. Thus wasted and disorganized, Gen. Lee, with an army flushed with victory, boldly crossed the Potomac and aimed to revolutionize Maryland. But gently as he wooed "My Maryland" to the embrace of the Despotism of Treason, he was confounded at the obstinacy with which the people of that State, even in those dark days of the Republic, maintained their fidelity to their Nationality. Defeated at South Mountain and terribly shattered at Antietam in a bloody drawn battle, he was glad to retrace his steps and lodge his legions of crime safely again upon the soil of Virginia. That invasion was barren of all fruits, save the thousands of dead and wounded he left behind him, to find sepulchres or ministers of mercy among their foes.

The disastrous fields of Fredericksburg and Chancellorsville next crimsoned the pages of our history, and the Spring of 1863 saw Treason strengthened by triumphs in almost every section of the Union. The Iron-clads had been repelled at Charleston; Grant had reeled back in bloody failure from his assaults upon Vicksburg; Banks had vainly attempted to storm Port Hudson with terrible loss; several of our best Iron-clads had been captured by the rebels on the Mississippi; and at all points the hearts of traitors were cheered in their unholy work. In addition to this painful record which chilled the hopes of the loyal army and loyal men, fully one-third of the troops in the Army of the Potomac were discharged soon after the defeat at Chancellorsville—their terms of service having expired. The Union army was weaker at that time by many thousands than it had been at any period since its organization in 1861; and the triumph of the Democracy in the leading States of the North—electing Peace Executives in New York, New Jersey, and like legislatures and Congressional delegations in Pennsylvania, Indiana, and Illinois—pointed the rebel chief with tempting distinctness, the way to Peace and Dismemberment through rebel victories and Copperhead revolutions upon Northern soil. Thus invited by the successive defeats and serious depletion of our army, and by the power attained by sympathizing friends in the loyal States, Lee again turned toward the North Star, defiant in his consciousness of strength. His legions were mightier than ever before, and the teeming wealth of our garrisons and stores made his march a merry one to the rich harvest of death. At Gettysburg he met the shattered remains of the Army of the Potomac—worn and foot-sore from forced marches, and scarce knowing who commanded them; but they realized that by their heroism and by their baptism in their own blood, alone could a State and Nation be delivered from the ruthless despoiler, and they closed the history of the second invasion by

hurting the invader and his defiant hosts back upon the Potomac, with half his warriors killed, wounded or deserted. Glad again was the rebel chief to find his broken column upon the soil of Virginia; and his dead were left for burial and his wounded for mercy, in the hands of the people whose land he sought to desolate.

Since then the Army of the Potomac and the Army of Northern Virginia have not met in battle. Each has sent its gifts to the South-west, and each has shared in triumphs on the historic soil of East Tennessee. Longstreet brought victory to Bragg; Hooker wrested it from him in his terrible charge above the clouds on Lookout Mountain and Missionary Ridge; and the campaign closed with the signal discomfiture of treason. Now the victor of the Mississippi and of Chattanooga confronts the victor of Fredericksburg and of Chancellorsville—the two most successful, honored and trusted chieftains, and the best armies of the continent, are face to face. As yet the rebel leader is at Orange Court House and covers his capital, with a command in all not exceeding 120,000, not one-half of whom could be made effective upon a field in an offensive campaign. He is outnumbered by Gen. Grant fully 100,000 men; and were he to leave his defensive position for an aggressive movement, his army and capital would both be madly periled. He could not reach the soil of Pennsylvania unless by consent of General Grant, without first defeating an army equal to his own in bravery and surpassing it largely in positive strength. Even give him Longstreet with his command, which would end the possibility of offensive rebel movements in Tennessee, and he would be unequal to the task of transferring the war to the Northern States. Nor would the defeat of the Union army in a pitched battle in Virginia make invasion, a wise campaign, for our shortened lines would again oppose him with increased numbers and desperation.

Looking at the positions and relative strength of the opposing armies, we cannot regard the invasion of the North as any part of Gen. Lee's plan for the Spring campaign. If in this we err, it must be because Gen. Lee and the rebel cause are much weaker and nearer the verge of despair than we have supposed. Nothing but the desperation of death itself could hurl the army of traitors Northward again, when the Union ranks are filled with brave defenders of our country's cause, and their hearts abounding with hope of early and decisive triumph. For this Gen. Lee is not prepared. He will not hazard all in hopeless mockery of experience and reason; but he will rather await the shock that is gathering over him, and yield the prize of desolated Virginia, already crowded with hecatombs of dead, only when his sword becomes powerless to defend it. If discredited—as we trust he shall be—it will be upon the fields of Virginia, where his capital, his honor and his kindred inspire him to heroism, and where, with his defeat, will expire the last hope of murderous usurpation.

THE MUTATIONS OF POLITICS.

The apportionment of the State into legislative districts, with the manifest view of making the Union strength of the State most available in maintaining legislative ascendancy, recalls to us the singular political mutations exhibited in the last ten years. Taking the vote for Governor in 1863, with the meagre majority of 15,000, in a poll of over half a million, the apportionment likely to be enacted would give the Democrats about one-third of the Senators; but the history of apportionments and the "glorious uncertainty of elections," defy the most judicious calculations as to political results.

The revolution of 1854 severed the North from the Democracy, and it has since been most faithful in its adhesion to Freedom; but beyond that immediate section of the State, the people have cut all manner of fantastic tricks politically. Philadelphia is now relied upon to furnish three Union Senators and not less than twelve members;—yet no later than 1858 the delegation from that city was unanimously Democratic in both branches. Chester and Delaware are to furnish one Union Senator of course, and make Montgomery contribute another,—yet in 1857 Chester and Delaware elected a Democratic Senator and four Representatives, while Montgomery chose a Republican in 1858. Bucks is now conceded to the Democrats in the Senatorial calculations; but it has had anti-Democratic Senators fully half the time during the last fifteen years, and has been chosen Assemblymen with equal impartiality; in 1858-9 and 60, electing Republican members. Lancaster has had Democratic Representatives at least twice during the last ten years, and has been twice earnestly contested for Congress. York elected a Whig Senator in 1846; defeated Democratic Representatives in 1854 and twice or thrice during the last legislative apportionment—varying from 3,000 Democratic to several hundred the other way. Dauphin had Democratic Representatives in 1858 and 1861, and would have made a Democratic Senator in 1857 but for Lebanon giving 800 for Rutherford—electing him by twelve. Cumberland gave 1,200 against Bonham ten years ago, and elected American members, and has defeated

Democratic members three times in the last seven years. Every county South of the Susquehanna had Democratic members in 1858, excepting one only in Franklin; and the same year Somerset, Huntingdon and Blair each contributed one to the two-thirds Democratic vote in the House. Cambria elected Republican members, three times out of the last seven; Armstrong, Westmoreland and Fayette have twice or thrice done likewise in the same period, and Westmoreland and Fayette elected Republican Senators in 1854 and 1860. Greene has had anti-Democratic Senators twice in ten years—Mifflin in 1854 and Lawrence 1860—and Washington has gone 500 either way in the same time. Allegheny had two Democratic Senators in 1856, and in 1855-7 sent solid Democratic delegations to the House.—Eric had Democratic members twice with ten years, and Clearfield, Elk, &c., have had a Republican Senator and members three years since 1855. Lycoming has rotated from 500 Republican to 1200 Democratic within several years; and Centre has given 800 both ways since the last apportionment. Northumberland has voted 1,000 for both tickets since 1854, and with Columbia, Montour and Snyder elected a Republican Senator in 1860; Schuylkill has given 1,000 Republican and 2,500 Democratic within four years, and has defeated Democratic legislative candidates about one-third of the time during fifteen years past. Berks has been debatable several times within our recollection—had anti-Democratic members in 1855 and defeated Democratic candidates for Congress in 1858 and 1859. Lehigh and Northampton had a Whig Senator from 1847 to '50; Lehigh and Carbon have twice had Republican members since 1858, and Lehigh has chosen anti-Democratic Congressmen several times since the present issues have agitated the people. Luzerne was Republican nearly half the time during the last legislative apportionment, and with the intensely Democratic counties of Columbia and Montour, elected Butler once and Fuller and Scranton each twice to Congress since 1846.

But a little more than one year ago, Franklin, Adams, Fulton, Bedford and Somerset district elected a Democratic Congressman—defeating a strong and efficient Representative who had twice carried the district with Junia in place of Somerset. The Dauphin, Juniata, Union, Snyder and Northumberland district also elected a Democrat, in the face of 1,000 majority that ought to be. Hon. J. H. Campbell, who had three times been chosen in Schuylkill and Northumberland, was defeated with his district improved over 1500 by the exchange of Lebanon for Northumberland; and Graw was defeated 2,000 by Luzerne with over 1200 majority in Susquehanna, although Luzerne had gone Republican three years out of the previous four. Indiana was also overborne for Congress in 1862 by counties which had voted with her more than half the time since 1858, and so with Lawrence, in the face of nearly 2,000 given by each to their favorite candidates. And the general results in the State have been equally conflicting. In 1853 the Democrats carried it by nearly 40,000, and in 1854 Gov. Pollock had 40,000 over Bigler, while Mott, Democrat had over 190,000 over Darsie. In 1857 Packer defeated Wilmot by 38,000; in 1858-9 the Republicans carried the State by decisive majorities which culminated in 32,000 for Curtin and 60,000 for Lincoln in 1860. In 1861-2 the State was carried by the Democrats on the popular vote, and in 1863, the heaviest vote ever polled, with over 50,000 disfranchised in the army, gave Curtin 15,000—thus barely saving the Country's cause at a period when disaster would have been a fearful if not a fatal disaster to our Nationality.

Such are the mutations of political history in this State; and if there is any man shrewd enough to make an apportionment, based upon the experience of the past, that will promise Union supremacy in the legislature for seven years to come, his laurels will be of the rarest order.

LEGISLATION—OUR FINANCES.

The Senate has fixed the 28th inst. for the final adjournment of the legislature, and our advices indicate that the House will concur. If so but two weeks remain for the passage of all the important public bills, not one of which has reached even to second reading in either branch. The apportionment bill, the appropriation bill, the militia bill and the tax bill, have been reported by their respective committees—noting more; and to assume that all these, with the flood of local legislation that ever will be accommodated, can be judiciously disposed of in two weeks' time, is to concede a degree of wisdom, industry and skill to the present legislature hitherto unknown in similar bodies, and to which it has yet to earn its claim.

We appreciate the anxiety of members to get home, and especially the Union members who have been in no degree responsible for the worse than waste of two months of the session; but the responsibility of legislation is upon the Union party; and the personal convenience of members must not weigh against the great interests of the State, already

fearfully periled in credit by the unscrupulous treachery of the Democracy. The appropriation and apportionment bills will be passed of course; but the revision of our revenue and militia laws is demanded most imperatively. Our militia is entirely without organization, and in case of invasion an army has to be created for local defence, at enormous cost and with perilous delay, and when organized it lacks in every element of efficiency save in the single quality of destructiveness upon friends. If we had a well organized militia, uniformed, armed, equipped and officered by skillful men, we could call out fifty thousand men at any time, and they would have some degree of organization at once; and if not eminently efficient against the foe, they would at least not leave as monuments of their triumphs a line of march marked by wanton destruction.

Equally imperious is the necessity for a revision of our revenue laws. The treasury is literally bankrupt, with immense resources and unparalleled prosperity in every channel of industry and trade. The revolutionary experiment of the Democratic Senators cost the State over half a million dollars by defeating legislation authorizing the payment of the interest in currency; and it has so depleted the treasury that it is unequal

to the ordinary demands of the government with the vast drafts made upon it to provide for our soldiers.

We cannot refuse to minister to them when racked by fevers or writhing under ghastly wounds in hospitals.

We cannot refuse to our heroic martyrs in the cause of our Nationality, the poor boon of the right of sepulture with their kindred.

These and hundreds of other expenditures are essential to the honor of our State and the comfort of our soldiers;

and they involve in the aggregate a vast outlay.

Unless our tax laws are revised so as to increase our revenue materially the treasury must be fearfully embarrassed before the close of the fiscal year; and the constitutional limitation of State indebtedness renders us utterly unable to meet the expenditures by loan.

The collection of the large amount of money due the State for unpatented lands is dictated alike by common honesty and necessity.

The people can pay now if ever, and it is a mistaken liberality that would give longer indulgence.

It is unjust to our exhausted treasury to allow the holders of lands to owe some five millions, while others have paid the just claims of the Commonwealth. This source of revenue alone would make the treasury abundantly able to meet all demands that could be lawfully made upon it; and it would be a gross wrong to the people, and to the credit of the State, if with such large resources due and available, the legislature fails to demand prompt payment of these claims.

The Democrats want the treasury bankrupt—the Union men must do their duty and save our finances and the fame of our Commonwealth. How they can do it, is clear to every one.

THE U. S. Senate, on Friday last, adopted by a vote of 38 to 6, the following proposed amendments to the Constitution of the United States:

Be it resolved, By the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, two-thirds of both Houses concurring, that the following article be proposed to the Constitution of the United States, which, when ratified by three-fourths of said Legislatures, shall be valid to all intents and purposes as a part of the said Constitution namely:

ART. XIII.—Section 1. Neither Slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime, whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist within the United States, or any place subject to their jurisdiction.

Section 2. Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

The vote was as follows:

YEAS—Messrs. Anthony, Brown, Chandler, Clark, Collamer, Conness, Cowan, Dixon, Dooley, Fessenden, Foot, Foster, Grimes, Hale, Harding, Harlan, Harris, Henderson, Howard, Howe, Johnson, Lane (Ind.), Lane (Kans.), Morgan, Morrill, Nesmith, Pomery, Ramsey, Sherman, Sprague, Summer, Ten Eyck, Trumbull, Van Winkle, Wade, Wilkinson, Wiley, and Wilson—38.

NAYS—Messrs. Davis, Hendricks, McDougal, Powell, Riddle, Saulsbury—6.

We trust that the House will take early action on the same resolution, and pass it by the requisite two-thirds vote, so that it may be acted upon by the States as promptly as possible. If passed within the next ten days, the Pennsylvania legislature would formally accept it before the adjournment of the session, and our great State, ever foremost in every measure looking to the preservation of our Nationality, would be the first to declare in favor of the fundamental prohibition of Slavery within the limits of the Union.

THE wave of Union triumphs at the polls in 1864, like that of 1863, is unbroken; and from the "land of steady habits" and Rhode Island on the Atlantic; from the golden slopes of the Pacific; from "My Maryland" just disentangled from the withering blight of Slavery; from the home of the traitor Vallandigham; and from the great commercial emporium of Slave Missouri, the struggling Nation bears but one voice, and that a declaration of the invincible purpose of the People to maintain the Union of the States, and crush out Treason of every shade in disunion. Faithful People to the noblest of Governments!

We appreciate the anxiety of members to get home, and especially the Union members who have been in no degree responsible for the worse than waste of two months of the session; but the responsibility of legislation is upon the Union party; and the personal convenience of members must not weigh against the great interests of the State, already

THE UNION STATE COMMITTEE met at Harrisburg on Wednesday last, and was very fully attended by members or their substitutes. After a free exchange of sentiment, a State Convention was called to meet at Harrisburg on Thursday, the 28th of this month. There was entire unanimity in the preference for ABRAHAM LINCOLN as the Union candidate for President, and it cannot be doubted that the preference reflected the earnest conviction of the Union men of Pennsylvania. The State Convention will be entirely harmonious in its instructions for our present patriotic and faithful National Executive; and contests, if any, must be on mere matters of detail.—Judging from the expressions in the Committee, Pennsylvania will prefer HON. ANDREW JOHNSTON of Tennessee, for Vice President, if any preference should be declared.

The time is short for the selection of delegates in some counties; but promptness of action by local committees will insure a full representation. The district delegates to the National Convention are to be selected by local conferences; and while electing delegates to the State Convention, Congressional conferences should also be chosen by the several counties. Two National delegates are to be elected in each district.

BOTH branches of the legislature have reported legislative apportionments, differing materially as to some parts of the State, but harmonizing as to the districts in this section. Franklin and Adams constitute our new Senatorial district, and Adams has one member while Franklin and Perry are associated to elect two members. Somerset, Bedford and Fulton elect two members jointly and one Senator.

York has three members and Cumberland one, and the two counties form a Senatorial district. Either bill might be called a clear double shuffle on the Democracy; but we do not see any such gerrymandering as crowding Franklin down by a little county like Fulton, in imitation of the Democratic apportionment of 1857.

LIEUT. GEN. GRANT has, by general order, notified all sutlers, citizens and other non-combatants to move to the rear on or before the 16th, because of the near approach of "the time when this army may be expected to resume active operations."

The order means that he may move any time after the 16th; that he don't care who knows it, and that he will have none but fighting men with him when he does move.

FULTON COUNTY has elected M. Edgar King, Esq., Representative delegate to the Union State Convention, and ratified in advance the choice of Franklin for Senatorial delegate.

HON. JOHN BANKS, of Reading, died suddenly last week. He was at one time a very prominent Whig politician in this State—having represented one of the Western districts in Congress, some thirty years ago. In 1841 he was the Whig candidate for Governor against Porter, but was defeated, and in 1847 he was elected State Treasurer. He was a native of Juniata county, and was popularly known as "Honest John Banks." He has practiced law Reading for over twenty years.

THE STEAMSHIP PERSIA, with European dates to the 27th ult., arrived at New York last Wednesday evening Queen Victoria, it is reported, had two State receptions. A coolness is said to have arisen between Russia and France, the former having acquired the conviction that France is plotting mischief in Turkey. The allies withdrew from before Frederick on the 22d. Prussia and Austria have accepted the conference.

THE FRIENDS OF GEN. FREMONT held a meeting in Pittsburg last week to present his name for the Presidency. Ex-Mayor Barker presided, and Gov. Johnston was the chief speaker. How many delegates will Allegheny send to the Baltimore Convention for Fremont? If any one county in the State is more for Lincoln than another, it is Allegheny.

UNION STATE CONVENTION.

The loyal men of Pennsylvania, comprising the National Union party, will meet in State Convention in the Hall of the House of Representatives, at HARRISBURG, at noon, on Thursday, April 28th, 1864. Each district will be entitled to the same representation it now has in the State Legislature, and the delegates will be chosen at such times and in such manner as shall be directed by the respective county committees.

The State Convention is called for the purpose of placing in nomination an Electoral Ticket, selecting delegates at large to the National Convention of the Union Party, to be held at Baltimore, on the 7th of June next, and taking such action as it may deem proper in reference to the approaching Presidential canvass.

The selection of the district delegates from Pennsylvania to the National Convention is left, whereof properly belongs, to the people assembled in their county conventions: but the different county committees are earnestly requested to adopt such measures as will procure a full attendance at their respective conventions, and thereby secure, in the choice of delegates, a full and fair expression of the will of the people.

The committee cannot forbear to congratulate all lovers of liberty and the Union upon the recent triumphs of the good cause in New Hampshire and Connecticut, and to express the hope, shared by all loyal men, that they are only the forerunners of more splendid victories to come. It will be won in the same cause alike by the bullet and the ballot.