

The Alleghenian.

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I WOULD RATHER BE RIGHT THAN PRESIDENT.—HENRY CLAY.

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Mr. President and Gentlemen:—Gratefully do I accept your kind invitation to address you to-night, conscious that however humble my effort, I bear the earnest purpose to aid the Republic. If ever there was a time when heroism and self sacrifice were needed, it is the present; and fortunate, indeed, are we, who now have an opportunity, which centuries may not bring again, to cultivate and exercise these great qualities which all history reveres.

We need no longer point to the past, to the revolutionary sires, to establish our greatness as a nation. It is the glorious present, in which we are now actors, which stamps us as worthy of the past; and the achievements of our national childhood have been proportionately exalted by the deeds of our national manhood. So great is the present—so wonderful our display of national heroism and power, and so triumphant our faith in the future, that millions of aspiring spirits will sigh, and sigh in vain, that they were not with us partaking the glory of the present.

THE PRINCIPLES OF GOVERNMENT.

There are only two ideas upon which all human governments are based—one is the idea of despotism and aristocracy, and the other that of republicanism and democracy. The former is based upon the assumption that one man, like Napoleon in France, or a particular class of men, like the aristocracy of England, are more capable of administering public affairs than the masses—"the hewers of wood and drawers of water;"—while the latter assumes that the great mass of citizens in their collective capacity is wiser and more capable than any one class. Profoundly convinced that the idea of republicanism is based upon truth and justice, I hold that we ought to maintain it against all assaults, foreign or domestic, and by every sacrifice which the occasion demands.—Rising above all creeds or parties, we must take our stand upon the broad platform that the right of the majority of the people to rule the nation, in accordance with the Constitution, must be maintained.

SELF-GOVERNMENT A DUTY.

Self-government is not so much a privilege as a duty, for the correct discharge of which we are amenable to ourselves, to the future, and to God. We cannot escape this solemn responsibility. If in times of peace and prosperity we must express our best judgment through the ballot-box, how much more is it necessary to do so now in times of great peril? We must not only be willing to die for the Republic, but to stay for the Republic, and above all it is our solemn duty to think for the Republic. Never did the country need wise counsels more—never were ideas, whether in the field of statesmanship or mechanics, more acceptable, and never was just criticism more necessary to enable those in authority to correctly discharge their duties. In fact, in no way can we serve the Republic better than by giving it our highest thought.

THE CAUSE OF THE WAR.

It is not the fault of republican institutions that the present deplorable war exists. There is nothing in the structure of a Republic that could cause such a conflict. It is the departure from the idea upon which the nation was founded—the willful violation of the fundamental law of its being which has well nigh caused its destruction. And if we survive as a nation, we owe it chiefly to that small band of reformers, the so-called Abolitionists and Free Democrats, who, despite the influences of wealth and power, prepared the mind of the people for the dreadful conflict. A little less anti-slavery sentiment in the North—a little more copperhead sympathy in the great States of Ohio, Pennsylvania and New York, would have inevitably ruined public affairs. He, therefore, who strained every nerve to increase the anti-slavery sentiment of the people for the last ten years, and particularly during this war, was the farseeing statesman, while those who aided in corrupting the public mind, for partisan purposes, were undermining the foundation of the Republic.

Surely I need not prove to you that slavery is the cause of the war—the whole world knows it, and the South proclaims it. The present struggle was foretold by many citizens, and the inevitable and irrepressible conflict pointed out by eminent statesmen.

THE JUSTIFICATION OF THE WAR.

The present war can be justified before the tribunal of history and mankind upon the ground that a nation, like an individual,

has the right to defend its own life. Had the slave-oligarchs proposed peaceful secession from the "hated and mean spirited Yankees," by packing up their "duds" and taking their departure for Central America or some other hot climate, we might have said, "Stand not upon the order of your going, but go at once."—But when they proposed to create a hostile nation upon our own territory, when they claimed a right not only to the Southern States but to the Territories of the United States south of 36 deg. 30 min. to the Pacific Ocean, when they endeavored by foreign alliances to crush out our power at home and our influence abroad, the war became a necessity.

Frederick the Great waged the Seven Years' war, against the great powers of the Continent, for the purpose of retaining possession of Silesia, a province of so small a territorial extent that we might put it into the pocket of Texas and scarcely miss it. Yet history has justified that monarch and the Seven Years' war, tho' it subjected the people to extreme privations. If, then, this war were waged solely to retain possession of our territories, the war would be just.

But we are fighting for a grander object—the inalienable rights of man. We are endeavoring to maintain the right of the majority to govern, in accordance with the Constitution, and the right of the minority to enjoy personal freedom. We maintain that every man by virtue of his manhood has the right to "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness," of which no majority can deprive him, except for crime.

The people of Germany waged war from 1618 to 1648—to establish religious freedom. For thirty years the conflict raged, until nearly one-third of the cities and villages were in ruins and deserted. Famine reigned over the land, and in 1629, in the village of Nuremberg, a single egg sold for a florin. At the end of the war, notwithstanding the natural increase of an entire generation, Germany had lost fully one-third of its inhabitants; and yet history justifies that most desolating of all wars upon the ground that the right of private judgment in matters of religion was worth all the sacrifices. The grand idea of human freedom and personal liberty for which we wage the conflict is such a priceless boon that a thirty years' war waged in its behalf would not be too great a price. In fact, if all of us were required to offer up our lives to maintain this great temple of Republican freedom, so that the world might have the benefit of its example, and future generations secure its blessings, we ought not to falter or to hesitate.

We, who are the immediate spectators of this revolution, count its duration by days, weeks and months, but the historian will count it only by years. And on the 15th of April, 1864, only three years will have elapsed since the tocsin of war summoned a peaceful people, engaged in the pursuits of peace, to the arena of deadly strife. The progress, moral and physical, which we have made is great beyond conception, and the enumeration of a few leading points will convince the most skeptical of our final and not far distant success.

OUR MORAL PROGRESS.

Gov. Chase, representing the radical wing of the Republican party, begged the Border State men in the Peace Convention, to stay their fratricidal hands,—promising that slavery, within the limits of the States, should not be interfered with, but that, if they would give up all idea of its further extension, he should be willing to compensate the slave holders from the public treasury for their losses in fugitive slaves. Gov. Seward and many others were ready to go further, even to the adoption of a new article in the Constitution, eternalizing, as far as human legislation could do it, American slavery in the Southern States.

Even after the war broke out, a McClellan proclaimed in West Virginia, a Butler in Maryland, and a Sherman in South Carolina, that slavery should be protected by the armies of the Republic, and that the rebel, though he might forfeit his right to life, could not forfeit his right to hold slaves. So thoroughly pro-slavery were many of our Generals, that in the West General Halleck issued his notorious Order No. 3, excluding every colored person, free or slave, from the lines of the Union army, and in the East, the Hutchinson family—those sweet minstrels of freedom—were expelled by military order from the camps of our soldiers. And it was during the winter of 1862, when the Army of the Potomac was systematically rendered disloyal to the central idea of the conflict, that the germs of all its misfortunes and inefficiencies were planted. Aye, we may thank a merciful Providence that the army was saved in time from the intrigues of military demagogues whose

names are well known, before they had quite turned "it against our own Government; and when the secret history of that army is published, it will appear that we made a narrow escape. Our brothers were even compelled to storm forts, erected by the hands of bondmen whom we resolutely refused to absolve from rebel masters.

Step by step an unwilling people and a hesitating Government were compelled by the logic of events, by defeats and disaster, to call upon all loyal men, free or slave, white or black, to strike for the Republic; and thus the very power and intensity of the rebellion has worked the destruction of slavery.

As Moses in the wilderness, when the children of Israel were afflicted with the plague, set up the brazen serpent, that all who should behold it might be saved, so has Abraham Lincoln, the Liberator, planted our flag, that all who rally around its folds shall be forever free. Though born in chains, and divested by state laws of all civil and political rights, as soon as the slave takes refuge beneath the banner of the free, the chains shall drop from his limbs, and he shall stand free and disenthralled by virtue of his humanity. Grateful for this boon, the black man to-day stands shoulder to shoulder with ourselves to shed his blood for a common fatherland—he is to-day fighting for our rights, for our liberties, and the unity and power of the nation.

OUR MILITARY ACHIEVEMENTS.

On the 4th day of March, 1861, after President Lincoln had made his successful escape into Washington, eight hundred regulars and some two thousand district militia were all the military force on hand to protect the Capital, and to uphold the dignity of the nation. No wonder that Foreign Nations, accustomed to large military displays, believed that all was lost; and that the traitors, whose spies filled our hotels, held that this nation would be an easy conquest. Entirely disarmed, officers and men alike untaught, the people commenced the conflict thus suddenly forced upon them, and at the end of two years we hold two-thirds of the territory which the self styled Confederacy claimed as its own. Maryland, Delaware, Kentucky, Tennessee, Missouri, Arkansas and Louisiana, one half of Virginia and Mississippi, and portions of the Carolinas, Alabama, Florida, Georgia and Texas, and all the Territories to the Pacific, are now in our possession. Napoleon, the Great, when he planted his victorious eagles in Poland and in Spain, had conquered less territory than we now hold. Even if we should not gain another rood of soil, but only hold what we have already conquered, the independence of the South could never be attained. Virginia is a conquered province while we hold Fortress Monroe, and our fleet commands the York and James rivers. South Carolina can have no trading intercourse while its commercial capital is at the mercy of our arms, nor can any of the Western States lay claim to independence, while New Orleans and Chattanooga are in our possession and the navigation of the Mississippi is secured by our gun boats. The Richmond *Enquirer*, fully realizing the truth of this position, has itself declared: "We may win victories upon our own soil, but independence, never.

OUR NAVAL ACHIEVEMENTS.

Our Navy, which scarcely deserved the name at the beginning of this war, has risen in dignity and power until it is preeminently the first among nations. Never were our mechanical genius and resources put to a more severe test, and gloriously have we sustained our reputation.

One single Monitor needs the labor of several thousand mechanics, day and night, for months, with all the advantages of improved machinery, before the huge iron turtle is complete in all its parts. Never was I more impressed with our wonderful mechanical genius, than when witnessing the building of the Monitors, at Green Point, near New York. Think of the thousands of square feet of wrought iron plates, riveted to the huge iron ribs, the turrets, the engines and the armament—all begun in an impromptu manner, and so little failure—so much success. In another year our iron-clad navy will equal in strength and general efficiency those of France and England, and our naval renown, so dearly purchased in previous wars, has been augmented by the capture of New Orleans and the passage of the Vicksburg batteries.

OUR FINANCIAL TRIUMPHS.

But there is an element of strength beyond all these, which most inspires the hope of success—it is the astonishing financial prosperity of the nation, dazzling alike to Europe, and to the rebels, themselves.

In times of peace, the main and almost only duties of the Treasury Department consisted in collecting the Custom House duties, and in disbursing the public

monies according to law. If, indeed, any financial skill was needed in the head of that Department, it was to invest the surplus revenue to the best advantage for the United States. So successful, however, was Howell Cobb in disposing of the public funds, that no similar financial skill was necessary in his successor. Temporary loans were negotiated at 11 and 12 per cent. per annum, and the London *Times* remarked that "war in the United States was an impossibility, because our treasury was bankrupt, and that we need not look to England for assistance."

In these circumstances, when the nation deemed one hundred millions of dollars an enormous debt, and when confidence in the integrity of the Union was at its lowest ebb, Secretary Chase took charge of the finances of the Government. He laid aside the ease and independence of a Senatorship, to share the responsibilities of a government whose policy, in many instances, he could not control, so that the ideas and principles for which he had made so many sacrifices in the past, might not be imperilled.

For nearly one year, in the face of the Bull Run disaster, and the inexplicable inactivity of our armies, he maintained the gold standard in the payment of public dues; and while he had no control over the expenditures, made with lavish hand, upon his shoulders alone fell the responsibility of providing the necessary funds, and of maintaining the national credit.

The Custom House duties were entirely inadequate; and direct taxation promised but barren results. It is true, Treasury Notes were no new experiment—legal tender notes having been tried in the American and French revolutions—but the results were extremely unsatisfactory. The financial skill, therefore, consisted not in resorting to them, but in sustaining their value. The rebels at once issued "Gray Backs," but, like the French Assignats and the Continental money, a haful is scarcely worth a dollar.

The Internal Revenue system, yielding a revenue of one hundred millions of dollars per annum, was created; and the new banking law was devised to encourage capitalists to fund the Demand Notes.—Already 130 banks, with a capital of fifteen millions, have been organized, and their prospective increase is so great that the Five-Twenty bonds are rapidly absorbed in anticipation of a future demand. Aside from these positive advantages to the government, the people themselves will be greatly benefitted. It cannot be expected that the great mass of our citizens shall know the condition and solvency of some twelve hundred banks, issuing some five thousand different bank bills. The new system will give them, instead, a uniform currency, based upon the highest security, which will become so familiar to the eye that successful counterfeiting will be well nigh impossible. It is safe to assert that the losses caused to the nation by the insolvency of banks, by the circulation of counterfeit and broken bank money, and particularly by the great difference of exchange, reaching at times 10 per cent.,—amount to thirty millions of dollars per annum, which would pay the interest on five hundred millions of dollars of the national indebtedness. The public debt is also more equally distributed—more can be absorbed by the people of the West, so that the interest can remain in their own States, and their surplus will not be gathered up in taxes, to be disbursed on the seaboard.

To the people of the West so many new sources of wealth presented themselves—mines, manufactures and agriculture—that they borrowed capital from the East, at the enormous rates of one to two per cent. per month, and, although individuals in these circumstances failed, the West, as a whole, was progressive. Now when the increased volume of currency has reduced the value of money to six per cent., the West flourishes beyond precedent. New mines are opened, new manufactures are established, more soil is cultivated by means of the most approved machinery, colleges and churches rise up in magnificence, and a much superior style of architecture has been adopted in the erection of private buildings. Never were the creative energies of a people more aroused, or surplus capital more rapidly accumulated. I have traveled extensively in the West, and know that its progress is substantial. So promising are the fields of enterprise that capital borrowed at six per cent. is earning twenty, and thus the national debt is enriching the nation.

This brief review of our moral, military and financial progress assures us of final success, and the only question that remains to be considered is "how shall we be able to secure permanent peace, at the least expense to the loyal people."

A UNITED PEOPLE.

1. The first element of success is a

union of the people for the sake of the Union. Democrats should remember that it is necessary to have a country, before it can be ruled, and to have a government, before it can be administered. They need not be afraid, that if slavery dies, there will be no room for political parties, for new questions will soon arise and new parties will be organized. But during the pending contest we must know no creed or party, but only our common country. As in great business enterprises, to secure colleges, railroads and manufactures, the *en masse* unite for the common benefit, so must we all unite to recruit our armies, and to uphold the arm of the government. We must never forget that this is our war, that our armies defend our homes, and that, when they are no longer able to invade the enemy's country, our own firesides are laid waste.

EMANCIPATION IN THE BORDER STATES.

2. Nothing will discourage the rebellion so much as speedy measures for the extinction of slavery in the Border States. Every rood of soil upon which free institutions are established is forever redeemed from the grasp of the rebels.—The anti-slavery parties in these States must be encouraged by the influence and power of the central government. The recent victories in Maryland, Delaware and Missouri, if properly sustained, will sweep the last vestige of slavery from the land.

ENLISTMENT OF COLORED MEN.

3. The black population everywhere must be encouraged to enlist. Every rebel destroyed by a black man's bayonet, brings us nearer to peace. If the government has a prior claim to my son, although he owes me service until he is twenty-one years of age, surely the country has prior claims to all her sons of whatever hue, to fight the common foe. Slavery must not rob the nation of a single defender in this war of self-defence against the Slave Oligarchy. The slave-owners of the Border States have no greater rights to the services of their slaves, than the parent has to his own offspring.

CONFISCATION JUST AND CONSTITUTIONAL.

4. We must have indemnity for the past and security for the future. If all the leading traitors were strung along Mason and Dixon's line, they could not atone for a single life so ruthlessly sacrificed by their lust of power. The confiscation, in fee simple, of the property of the leading traitors—the President, members of Congress, Governors and commissioned officers—is absolutely necessary to secure permanent peace. These men, ruined in fortune and disappointed in ambition, will never cease to hate our government, and at all times plot for its overthrow. The constitutional power is perfectly clear, and it is singular that a provision so lucid as the annexed can be open to doubt construction:

"The Congress shall have power to declare the punishment of treason; but no attainder for treason shall work corruption of blood or forfeiture, except during the life of the person attained."

The first clause, "the Congress shall have power to declare the punishment of treason," is absolute. The Congress may punish traitors by hanging, shooting, imprisonment, the loss of political rights, and the loss of property. Congress, under the above clause, may even pass a bill of attainder, but its forfeiture must be limited to the life-time of the person attained, for the Constitution wisely provides that the children shall in no wise suffer on account of the crimes of the parent. Now confiscation of property is not attainder,—no more than imprisonment or fine. The essence of attainder consists not in the confiscation of property acquired, but in declaring the traitor incapable of acquiring by inheritance or otherwise new property, and the operation of such a law is restricted to the life-time of the attained person.

Do you claim that it is unjust to punish and disarm traitors? Allow me to relate an incident. In July, 1862, marched through the city of Adrian, Michigan, its first contribution to the war, the Fourth Michigan, with the brave Col. Woodbury at its head. One thousand gleaming bayonets, upheld by stout and gallant hearts—our sons and brothers—glittered in the sun. I shall never forget that parting scene—the music, the cheers, the fervent "God bless you," the waving of a last farewell by many a fair hand, the shriek of the locomotive and the firing of cannon. I knew war was no holiday frolic. I could see these noble boys then, on weary marches, on long vigils, sick in hospitals, wounded, maimed and dying—and my soul was filled with grief and indignation, that such sacrifices were demanded by the infernal and bloody genius of Slavery. Where are they now? Its war-worn banner is scarce upheld by a score of the original members, and its brave Colonel sealed with his life his

devotion to his country. In the name of these our brothers, and thousands of others already sacrificed—in the name of the widows, the orphans and the bereaved parents, I demand of the Congress and the Government, that no measure be neglected that promises security for the future.

TERRITORIAL GOVERNMENTS.

5. To the end that all may be secure in their lives and personal liberty, I am in favor of the establishment of Territorial Governments, because they give the largest liberty to its inhabitants consistent with public safety. Many pretended friends of the South prefer Military Governments and a military regime until order is restored. Strange infatuation! It is only another evidence that the Radicals—the Abolitionists if you please—have always been, and now are, the best friends of the South. Surely no loyal man would wish to see Jeff. Davis and Stevens in the Senate, nor any other men of similar political training, tho' bearing different names. If then, some strong supervising power is necessary, as in Tennessee and Louisiana, where virtually there is no civil Government, surely the substitution of a Territorial Government would be a step in the right direction.—But if the peculiar champions of the South, and the Southern people, prefer the discipline of the camp, the arbitrary rules of Military Governors, and the petty annoyances of Provost Marshals, their tastes ought to be gratified. But it certainly seems, rising above all party considerations, and having solely the safety of the country and the liberty of the nation as our object, that Territorial Governments would best meet the wants of the people.

Some thoughtless people deal in the phrase "the Constitution as it is, and the Union as it was,"—as if the Republican party cherished different principles. We all are for the "Constitution as it is." The clauses concerning slavery become inoperative by its extinction, and in every other respect that grand instrument has filled the purposes for which it was designed. We all are for "the Union as it was." The Union as the Revolutionary sires designed it,—to "secure the blessings of liberty" to all the people. We are in favor of the Union in all its pristine vigor, when slavery was considered a dying institution as it now really is. As to the Union of 1850 and 1860—when Slaveholders ruled the land—it is forever gone. The dead cannot be restored to life by human power; and no Executive act or judicial dictum can ever breathe life into slavery. That time is past. Justice and Truth may be slow to conquer prejudice and ignorance; but their conquest is as eternal as the throne of God itself.

ARMED COLONIZATION.

6. We must re-people the South. As soon as the war is ended European emigration will pour its millions of people upon our shores. The expanding power of free institutions is so great, that armed and organized colonies numbering five hundred thousand people per annum can be planted in every State. They will carry with them a free press, schools, churches and all the enterprise and energy of a free people, and teach the South by example the advantages of free labor.—They will prove to the poor whites that by the abolishment of servitude, they have been lifted up in the scale of being to a position of self respect and independence.

AN AMERICAN CONGRESS.

7. We are the natural protectors of the American Continent, and must encourage the friendship of all our sister Republics. We ought to have a great American Congress, for the arbitration, as far as an expression of opinion goes, of internal disputes, and more especially for the purpose of protecting the weaker nations from European rapacity. Very soon the American Continent will be greater in material power than Europe, for within the United States there is room for 300 millions of people. An American Congress, supported by the power of the Union, would be as much respected by Europe as a European Congress is in America. We must also keep alive the military spirit of the nation as the best means to preserve permanent peace.

THE PATRIOTISM OF THE GERMANS.

This war is not an unmixt evil, for it has taught us many a valuable lesson.—We have not only become conscious of our immense national power and resources, but have also learned more fully to appreciate the blessings of Republican institutions. The American nation has been true to religious toleration, and generous to the emigrants from other lands. There is no country in the world where citizenship is so fully and freely conferred—nor has that confidence been misplaced; and the seed thus sown has yielded a bounteous harvest. Upon every battle field the