

The Alleghanlian.

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

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Address of the Union State Central Committee.

To the People of Pennsylvania:

FELLOW-CITIZENS:—The result of the recent election on the amendment to the Constitution of the State, allowing soldiers in the field to vote, is gratifying, inasmuch as it shows that the great heart of the Commonwealth is right, in the fearful and bloody struggle going on to preserve the great republic, and that these brave men are worthy to help govern the country for which they make so many sacrifices and suffer so many privations.

The friends of the Union have brought about this result, while the opposition have used their powerful organization to prevent it, with the evident object of weakening the Union armies by disfranchising the soldier, and thereby strengthening themselves at the approaching Presidential election; and in connection with this election let us reason together. The campaign of 1864 is now fairly opened. The issue upon which the campaign is to be made is clearly indicated. The enemies of the government have publicly and authoritatively declared their purpose in the contest. That declaration places the duty of patriots in a light as broad and clear as that of noon. There is no mistaking either the spirit or the object of our opponents; it is the same that impelled the chiefs of armed treason to attempt the overthrow of free government on this continent in 1860-61. Neither time nor reflection, nor regard for the peace of society in the loyal States, nor the desolations which have devoured the prosperity of the South in the grip of war, have wrought any modification of their hatred for a government founded upon opinions of the people expressed through the ballot-box.

It is the part of wisdom to anticipate evil, and to prepare to destroy it before it grows too formidable to overthrow. The attitude of the parties to the Presidential contest gives rise to a serious question—the most serious of any which can engage the attention of the true patriot and good citizen. That question is briefly stated: Shall we have lasting peace, through a vigorous prosecution of this war for national life, or interminable war, through a peace based upon disunion? The utterances of the Baltimore Convention decisively declare for peace through effective war; the utterances of the Chicago Convention as decisively pronounce for the alternative presented in the question stated. They mean that, or they are without meaning. The opposition to Mr. Lincoln contemplates disunion as a cure for the ills under which we lie. His defeat would divide the continent into factions States. Nor is this mere assertion. The political history of the country for the last four years is a mass of overwhelming evidence in support of its entire, its disgraceful truth.

And first, in evidence of its truth, we have the declaration, informal but not less weighty (because reiterated and unvarying) of the rebel chiefs, that the South will not treat for peace save upon the basis of a recognition of its independence. The press of the South omits no opportunity to impress upon us and the world that peace can only come through recognition. Recognition is but another name for separation. And finally, every European nation has come to regard the result of this war as certain to be one of two things—either subjugation or disunion. It is the clear conviction which truth brings to every rational, enlightened mind. It is, therefore, entitled to great weight, second only to the resultant fact.

It is due to the opponents of Mr. Lincoln to state that they pretend to believe in the probability of peace and Union through some compromise, the terms of which are not clearly stated. It will be easy to show the futility of such hopes, if it has not already been done. It will not be a difficult task to show that such a belief does not take root in conviction. The leaders of the opposition are men of great ability and more than ordinary sagacity. They cannot, therefore, be ignorant of the facts which are of public record. These facts effectually preclude the possibility of peace and Union through any compromise, unless the terms involve recognition; and that would be disunion.

But let us thoroughly consider this question of peace through compromise.—It is reasonable to suppose that the chiefs of the rebellion would have accepted terms at the outset, if at all. It is alleged by opponents that Mr. Lincoln hurried the nation into war, not only without constitutional warrant, but even against the wishes of the rebel chiefs themselves.—They reproach the Congress then in session with having refused to adopt the Crittenden Compromise measure, and

thus forced the South into rebellion in exercise of the right of self-defence and self-preservation. It is unnecessary to pause to show that all this transpired while the reins of power were held by Southern men, most of whom are now in arms against the government. Let it pass. The question hinges upon the responsibility of the rejection of the Crittenden Compromise. It was rejected. By whom?

Reference to page 409, part first of the *Congressional Globe* of the second session of the Thirty-sixth Congress, will place the responsibility for the rejection of that Compromise where it properly belongs.—It will be seen that the Crittenden Compromise was defeated by the substitution (in effect) of what is known as the "Clark Amendment." The record shows that the vote on the motion to substitute was—yeas 25, nays 30. The vote on the adoption of the Clark proposition, taken directly afterward, was—yeas 25, nays 23. The presumption would be, naturally, that if the south had voted enough to reject the substitutes, it would also have had enough to reject the proposition when offered independently. There was a falling off in the negative vote on the proposition, as compared with that on the first motion to substitute, of seven votes. This is accounted for by the fact that Senators Benjamin and Shidell, of Louisiana; Wigfall and Hemphill, of Texas; Iverson of Georgia, and Johnson, of Arkansas—the Southern Senators—sat in their seats and refused to vote. Had these six southern men voted "no," the Clark proposition would have been defeated by a majority of four votes, and the Crittenden Compromise could have been taken up and carried by the same majority. It appears of record, then, that the Crittenden Compromise was rejected because six of the leading Senators from the south virtually refused to vote for it. A motion to reconsider was carried some weeks later, and a direct vote upon the Compromise was taken. The proposition was lost by a single vote. But one of the six Senators referred to, voted on that occasion, nearly all of them having withdrawn on the secession of their respective States. Had they remained to vote for the Compromise, it would have been adopted.

The chief object in alluding to this matter is to show that when, before the overt act of war was committed, the south had the election of compromise or war, she, though her highest dignitaries, deliberately chose war.

The south would not have compromise then. Is it reasonable to suppose that it would accept such an accommodation now? Her rulers have the southern masses by the throat, and can mould them to their imperious will. They are playing for a great stake. They could not withdraw from the contest now unless forced into withdrawal. Pride, love of power—both inbred and fostered by the institution of slavery—would force them to elect, as they declare they do elect, extermination rather than submission and union.

Early in the struggle—before the government had taken the aggressive—President Lincoln offered peace in the "most liberal terms." The terms were, briefly, the laying down of arms and the abandonment of their hostile attitude. The world knows how those terms were met. It need not be repeated here. The desolation of southern fields; and the vacant seats in thousands upon thousands of homes, both north and south, bear the record.—Still later, amnesty and pardon have been offered by the President; still the chiefs of rebellion abate not a tittle of their energy to maintain themselves in their wrong. They demand recognition and independence of a government they hate.—Intimate knowledge of the directing minds of the rebellion teaches that they will never abandon their wicked scheme until obliged to do so by the sheer force of such iron circumstances as control the results of war.

There is no ground, then, for the hope of peace through compromise: no hope of permanent peace. There is no such discharge in this war. Those who go before the country upon such vicious pretences, are not deceived themselves, however much they may deceive the ignorant and unsuspecting. To charge self-deception upon them in a matter so unmistakably clear, would be equivalent to charging them with imbecility. They do not deceive themselves. The pretext of seeking the defeat of Mr. Lincoln that peace may return to our borders covers a sinister purpose. If they wish peace they can have it but in two ways—in a cowardly abandonment of the struggle, followed by disunion, or by a more vigorous (if possible) prosecution of the war.

Thus the true issue upon which the campaign is to be made becomes sharply defined. None can deprecate the horrors of war or desire the return of peace more

than do the warmest supporters of the National Union nominees. But they ask for and will acquiesce in no peace that is not founded upon the integrity of the Union and established upon the principles of the Declaration of Independence. They recognize greater evils than war, such as this is in which the nation is plunged.—Divide the nation geographically, and to what end do we inevitably gravitate?—With the precedent and justice of secession established, who can presume to say that we shall not repeat the humiliating history of Mexico and the South American States? United, the common danger was, and would continue to be, our common security. Divided, the land would groan with the wailing of individual vengeance. Divided, the torch and brand would never be idle along the line of division. The country would at last awake to the bitter knowledge that open, vigorous war, prosecuted with a high purpose, is a thousand times less to be dreaded than an armed peace.

As an example, a little more than a year since, when Lee, with his rebel army invaded Pennsylvania, and when the fate of the Republic was decided by the battle of Gettysburg, how prompt wicked and designing men were to inaugurate the insurrection in New York city, trusting in the hope that the Government was not able to maintain the supremacy of the Constitution and the laws. It will be long before the blackness of the crimes committed by that conspiracy will be obliterated.

As another example, take the recent conspiracy discovered in the northwest—the banding together in secret of a large number of men, the concentration of thirty thousand stand of arms and a large supply of ammunition. The papers of this conspiracy, which were seized, evidencing too clearly that their design was, and is, the overthrow of the Republic, trusting that division and anarchy would shield them from harm, but in utter disregard of the concomitant wrongs to the people—murder, robbery, arson—in a word, desolation for the time.

Now, fellow-citizens, in both these examples the moving spirits are prominent men in the Opposition, and controlled the nomination and platform at Chicago.

Yet it is to such a peace as this that our opponents invite you. They ask your suffrages for a man who either is pledged to such a peace, if elected, or who is determined on a war grander in scale and bloodier in results than the world has yet witnessed. There can be but two issues out of the present difficulty. The intelligent freemen of Pennsylvania need not be led like children. They will not fail to comprehend the nature of these issues, and to choose between them. In so choosing, they choose for their children and their children's children. They can do nothing of a public nature in these pregnant times that shall not cause coming generations either to revere or despise them. The re-election of Mr. Lincoln, and the election of Andrew Johnston as his associate, will indicate to the chiefs of the rebellion that the war for union and permanent peace must go on until those ends shall be attained. It will also signify to the nations of Europe that the people of the whole United States will, soon or late, become an united people, and the government remain, as it has heretofore been, a star of hope to all the oppressed peoples of the civilized world, and an everlasting monument to the wisdom of the grand old heroes who conceived it. If we could afford to basely abandon the struggle now, the world, mankind, could not afford the sacrifice. If we could afford to bear the shame, and wear the shackles of defeat so cravenly invited, our children could not stand erect under the deathless reproach of our behavior. As men, as freemen, as patriots, we have no choice but to stand by the government as administered. The alternative presented by our opponents is disunion and dishonor, which is national death. If a man recognizes the existence of the principle of Eternal Justice, he could not despair of the republic. There may be some in whom the principle of hope maintains but a feeble existence, unless stimulated by uninterrupted success. Such must be encouraged and sustained by the example of the more hopeful and enduring. They must be assured of what the philosophy of history and of events teaches, that danger lies in turning back, as security lies in pressing forward. The desolations, and bereavements, and burdens of war may be, nay, are terrible, but the tempest which ravages forest and field, destroying the increase of labor, and even human life, is also terrible. Yet it is beneficent. With unvarying calm, the atmosphere would degenerate into putridity, and the earth would revolve in endless night. So war involves nations in its fearful vortex that social and political renovation may follow. As

a fire sweeping over the fields licks up the chaff and stubble, yet affects not the solid earth, so the fiery trial which we are called upon to endure is consuming the notorious crimes of society. The nation will issue out of this struggle stronger and purer than before. Wrong, such as confronts us, cannot drive right into exile. Craft and villainy are not to be the subjugators of wisdom and virtue. And whatever crimes may have been, or may yet be, perpetrated in the name of civilization, it is not now to be proved either a farce or a failure. But these calamities are not to come upon the American people, for the reason that the masses are to remain true and steadfast in this great effort to establish their liberties upon a surer foundation than the anomalies upon which they have hitherto rested.

The victory is to be won by unremitting labor, and a watchfulness that shall be proof against the surprises planned by traitors at home or abroad. We are to look for no fortuitous happenings, no miraculous interpositions. The friends of the Government, working together, cannot be overthrown by any combination possible among their opponents. They may seek to divide and distract, as they have done, and they may partially succeed.—But not if the people remain firm, calm, and self-contained. United, we are invincible against any force that can be brought against us; divided, we would invite defeat, and attach to ourselves the name of having rejected the counsels of experience and enlightened reason.

Our victorious armies are bravely doing their duty in the field. What is required of the loyal men of Pennsylvania is a great victory at the polls in October and November. It is not only essential that the Federal government and the policy required to crush rebellion should be endorsed by the re-election of Abraham Lincoln, but at the coming contest in October it is important that in the election of Congressmen and members of the Legislature, as many districts as possible should be carried by the loyal candidates now in and to be put in the field. We want the moral effect of overwhelming majorities, as well as the prestige derived from military power and force. We expect to close the war as much by the influence of the ballot as the bullet. We hope to stop the effusion of blood by the unmistakable demonstration at the polls that the war is to be waged till the rebellion is ended, and that hostilities will not cease while there is an armed traitor in the field. Such a cessation of hostilities cannot be obtained by compromise or negotiation. It must be achieved by the stern influence of force—by the unmistakable, clear and well defined proofs of the ability of the government to cope with and conquer all or any of its foes.

Men of Pennsylvania, the issues are now before you for consideration and decision. You must abide the result as you establish it, for good or evil. We ask you to support Abraham Lincoln because we believe his re-election will fully vindicate the authority of the national government, and fully establish the fact that the freemen of the loyal States are able to sustain the existence of the Union and the government against the hazard of opposition from abroad or at home. We ask you to assist not only in the re-election of Abraham Lincoln, but in the election of all loyal candidates for State and Federal offices, because their triumph will recognize our nationality—a result which must contribute to the maintenance of the national government. It needs no argument of our own to establish this position, because our opponents antagonize us to achieve entirely the opposite results.

Can we hesitate—can there be any trust or confidence reposed in men placed in nomination by such men? Men of family, hesitate—men of property, hesitate—young men, who hope to enjoy both these blessings, hesitate before you cast your votes for nominees made by such agencies.

By order of the Union State Central Committee.
SIMON CAMERON, Pres.
A. W. BENEDETTO, } Secretaries.
WILEY FORENEY, }

An exchange says that a New York and Massachusetts regiment were camped together on the Rapidan, and that a wholesome rivalry existed between them. A revival suddenly broke out in the Massachusetts regiment and twelve were baptized. The New York Colonel looked savage when he heard it, and roared out, "Adjutant, have seventeen men detailed for baptism. I'll be hanged if that Massachusetts regiment shall beat us."

A fellow contemplated in utter wonderment the magnitudinous dimensions of a bystander's feet, and in a tone of astonishment, as he surveyed the man's proportions, said, "You'd have been a tall man if they hadn't bent you so far up."

Geo. Francis Train on General McClellan.

Geo. Francis Train has written Gen. McClellan a letter, wherein he fiercely criticizes and sarcastically denounces the small warrior's letter of acceptance of the Chicago nomination. It is the richest thing of the season. Read:—

ROCKAWAY-ON-THE-SEA, Sept. 11, 1864.
To Major-General George B. McClellan, Orange, New Jersey:

DEAR SIR: It is a mean thing to listen at the keyhole. It is meaner to open a private letter. It is meanest of all to accept hospitality and abuse the host. But these mean things are Christian virtues compared to the act of accepting the nomination of a party in order to destroy it. A platform is the party's soul. A candidate is the party's body. Separate the body from the soul, and death ensues. It is as difficult to sit between two stools as to sleep with one eye open. You cannot worship God and Mammon. Honesty is not only the best policy, but the only one for an honest man. To cheat in politics is as wicked as to cheat in money. You know the Peace men controlled the Convention. They gave you a platform that was neither fish, flesh, fowl nor mackerel. Yet you insist upon the mackerel. Hence the *Daily News*, the *Metropolitan Record*, *Freeman's Journal*, and *Ohio Crisis* fly off from you like hoops from an effervescing barrel. Singleton will follow Wood; Vallandigham will fall in, and in two weeks Pendleton will decline to be shipwrecked with the rest. "Come out from under the bed," said the indignant wife to her undecided husband. "Not," said he, "so long as I have the spirit of a man within me!"

Mark my words, General, you will not carry a single State except New Jersey, and you will sacrifice seven Democratic members of Congress out of ten. Look at Vermont. Maine will be the same. Indiana will only lead the other States by a month.

You will find it as hard as the rebel have to fight such Democratic names as Foote, Farragut, Porter and Dupont, on the sea, or Grant, Meade, Burnside, Sickles, Hancock, Thomas and Sherman, on the land—all of whom are against you. The late letters of Sherman and Grant rattle through the Democratic ranks like lightning through a gooseberry bush. It only costs two thousand dollars to get up a McClellan Meeting. Young Ketchum said so. If the explosion of a limited quantity of gas in Union Square killed two women and wounded several the other night, what will be the disaster when your whole party bursts up in November.

James Buchanan said that he was no longer J. B., but the Cincinnati platform. You reverse it, and say that you are not the Chicago platform, but G. B. Mac.—Said Lord Byron in Don Juan?—

The well known Hebrew word, I am, We English used to govern d—m

But to our letter. Buller said, the "Pen was mightier than the sword."—Then he had not made your acquaintance, General. Nominated on your record.—Yes. The draft. The Proclamation. The suspension of *habeas corpus*. The arrest of Legislatures. Military at the polls, and disobedience of orders. Is not that your public record? Do you mean, by alluding to your record, that you will do the same again?

"Gentlemen—I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter, informing me of my nomination (of course, who else did you suppose it was?) by the Democratic National Convention (certainly it was not the Republican National Committee,) recently assembled at Chicago (that's so; it did not assemble at Cleveland or New York,) as their candidate at the next election for the President of the United States. (Exactly; it was not for the last election.)

"It is unnecessary for me to say to you that this nomination comes to me unsought." (Why say it, then?)

"Take the whole letter, paragraph by paragraph, dissect it as I have this sentence, and you will find it as weak as dish water; undecided, inconsistent, ungrammatical and egotistical. The six allusions to the Union remind one of the stereotyped cry in the "Fortunes of Nigel," Watches, Clocks, Barnacles. The bright boy who cried Barnacles, Watches, Clocks, introduced a new idea into Scotland.

"If a frank, earnest and persistent effort to obtain those objects should fail, the responsibility for ulterior consequences will fall upon those who remain in arms against the Union."

Why not say war right out, not dodge round a corner this way. Don't forget that old Cass killed himself with the Nicholson letter.

"Believing that the views here expressed are those of the Convention and the