M'KEAN COUNTY DEMOCRAT.

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M'Kean County Democrat.

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By J. B. OVIATT,

SMETHPORT, M'KEAN COUNTY, PA.

OFFICE, S. E. CORNER OF PUBLIC SQUARE.

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Smethport, Sept 24th, 1863.

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TANNER & CURRIER,

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Entire satisfaction gived.

Connected with my tunnery I have a Boot & Shoe factory, and Harness Shop.

L. L. HEATH.

Portage, Pa., Nov. 3, 1862. v5n8y1.

PROSPECTUS FOR 1864.

THE SATURDAY EVENING POST,

"The oldest and best of the Weeklies."

The Proprietors of the *Saturday Evening Post*,—which paper is now in its *Forty-third Year!*—would simply announce in their Prospectus for 1864, that they design maintaining for their weekly the high character it has already acquired as

A First Class Literary Paper!

They have reason to belie to that the stories of MRS. WOOD, author of "East Lynne," &c.; MISS BRADDON, author of "Elenor's Victory," &c.; MARION HARLAND, author of "Alone," &c; MISS VIRGINIA A. TOWNSEND, and numerous other excellent writers have been generally regarded as possessing the greatest merit and the most absorbing interest; and they design procuring for *The Post* in the future as in the past, the best *Stories, Sketches*, and other *Literary Novelties* which they can possibly obtain. They intend commencing in the first paper in January,

A NEW NOVEL, BY MRS. WOOD,

Author of "East Lynne," &c.,

from advance sheets, expressly forwarded to us from England.

This story will be called

"OSWALD GRAY,"

and will be about the length of "Verner's Pride" and "East Lynne."

In addition to the Storie, written expressly for *The Post*, its Editor also strives to lay before its readers, the best Stories from the English Periodicals, and gives in addition to the Tales and Sketches, more or less Agricultural Matter, with a Riddle, Receipt, News, and Market Departments, every week

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We will *give* to any person sending thirty subscriptions to *The Post* and Sixty Dollars, one of *Wheeler & Wilson's Celebrated Sewing Machines*, such as they sell for Forty-five Dollars. The machines will be selected new at the manufactory in New York, boxed and forwarded *free of cost, with the exception of freight.*

In procuring the subscribers for this Premium we prefer that the thirty subscribers should be procurred at the regular terms of Two Dollars for each, but where this cannot be done, they may be procurred at our club rates, and the balance of the Sixty Dollars forwarded to us in cash by the person desiring the machine. *The paper Will be sent to different Post Offices if desired.* Every person collecting names should send them with the money as fast as obtained, so that the subscribers may begin at once to receive theis papers, and not become dissatisfied with the delay. When the whole number of names (thirty,) and the whole amount of money (Sixty dollars,) is received, the machine will be duly forwarded

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1 copy, one year,	$ 2.00
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☞ As the price of *The Post* is the same as that of *The Lady's Friend*, the clubs may be composed exclusively of the paper, or partly of the paper and partly of the magazine. Of course the premium may be either one or the other, as desired.

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THE ABOLITION PROGRAMME.

In the speech of WENDELL PHILLIPS we find, clearly stated and boldly advanced, the next step in the abolition programme, which first embroiled a nation in war, then prostituted a war for the Union into a war for abolition and now demands for the negro not merely emancipation, not merely political and social equality with the whites, but also the confiscation of the southern lands and their division among the blacks. "The North," says Mr. PHILLIPS, "has conquered the South; let her divide it among her nobles, black and white and we are safe." "Confiscate the land of the South and put it into the hands of the negroes and the white men who have fought for it, and you may go to sleep with your parchment. All will be well. "This naton owes to the negro not merely freedom, but land and education. It is a debt which will disgrace us before the world if we do not pay it. This is the first louging of the negro. His instincts are better then our laws."

Emancipation, abolition, confiscation, southern lands for landless negroes! This is the programme. The *Tribune* will, as usual, wait six months and then follow WENDELL PHILLIPS's lead, face foremost. The *Times* will wait about ten months, and then follow as usual, back foremost. Meanwhile it squirms in this fashion:

The fact is Mr. Phillips and the fanatics who follow his lead, have become complete monomaniacs on the subject of the negro. They have brooded so long over his wrongs that they cannot conceive that anybody else has ary rights. They claim for neroes virtues, immunities, privileges and rights which they would never dream of claiming for whites they profess to support the Constitution until it stands in the way of their schemes for negro supremacy; then they abandon the Constitution and stand by the negro. Their test of patriotism is devotion to the negro. They are for preserving the Union, if it will help the negroes; if not, they are for destroying it. They are for prosecuting the war because it will help the negroes; the moment they find or fancy it will not they are for peace. Mr. Phillips would infinitely prefer disunion with the abolition of slavery to the Union without it; and so would the great body of those who accept him as their political guide.

It is becoming fashionable in some quarters to speak of this as *"unconditional* loyalty."

This is all true of Mr. PHILLIPS. But it is double-faced pusillanimity in the *Times*. There has been no organ of the administration more servile. It has indorsed all the abolitionism of the administration and praised Mr. LINCOLN as another WASHINGTON. Mr. LINCOLN and the *Times* practically stand to-day where WENDELL PHILLIPS stood a year ago. One year hence it will indorse all that Mr. PHILLIPS advocates now, denouncing in the same breath his program...e for the future then ahead. But why this delay? You have the administration. Follow your leader, gentlemen. Abolition, confiscation, extermination. One step more, O Republicans. Keep in line: no stragglers. Southern lands for southern slaves!

EXCHANGE OF PRISONERS.

We believe it is generally known that the exchange of prisoners of war was suddenly stopped sometime last summer, and has not since been resumed; but the *reason* of this sudden stoppage, and long suspension of a system wisely instituted for the alleviation of at least a portion of the rigors of war, is not so well understood. For months past the inquiry has been on every person's tongue, "What stopped the exchange?" "When will it be resumed?" "Whose fault is it?" &c., &c. But nobody could give satisfactory answers, and could only suspect that the everlasting negro was in the way.

It is now clearly ascertained that such is the fact. The interruption was caused by the capture of some hundred or so negro soldiers, whom we had employed, together with the white officers who commanded them. This class of prisoners the Richmond authorities refuse to deliver up, and the Washington authorities decline to exchange any, unless all are included. It is asserted and not denied, that the confederates are willing to exchange man for man until they come down to the negroes, alleging in justification, that many of these negroes have been identified and reclaimed by their masters; and that they had previously given notice to the Federal authorities, that if any soldiers, or officers commanding them—whether white or black—if captured, would not be treated as soldiers, but be held amenable for violating their laws against inciting to domestic insurrection.

Thus stands this grave matter. Some fourteen or fifteen thousand *white* men are held as prisoners by each party, and thus exposed to such hardships and sufferings as will consign many of them to premature graves, and render a large majority of the remainder totally unfit for the active duties of life for all time to come, merely because some hundred or so of "Lincoln's pets" cannot be placed upon terms of "perfect equality" with our white soldiers.—Because Mr. Lincoln cannot convince those stubborn and blind rebels that negroes are just as good as white men, some fourteen or fifteen thousand of our noble heroes are compelled to suffer all the magnified hardships and horrors of the Richmond prisons. The fathers, mothers, sisters, brothers and wives of our noble boys, are daily compelled to read the most frightful pictures of the *starvation* of these loved ones in the prisons of Richmond, and all because Lincoln, Stanton & Co., have determined to carry out their revolutionary and fanatical ideas of negro equality.

If these negroes, and their white officers, possessed the spirit of true men, they would say to their government, "go on and relieve from this suffering all who can be released—restore to their friends and families, and to the Union armies, all who can be restored by exchange, and we will wait the result of future events. We knew the risks to which we were exposed when we entered the service; and we ask not that others shall linger in confinement because we cannot share their good fortune."—*Clearfield Republican.*

The Missouri question remains unsettled, and it is understood that no successor of General Schofield will be appointed until the latter is confirmed by the Senate.

THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY.

We could seldom, with a clear conscience, take either ideas or illustrations from WENDELL PHILLIPS; but, in his speech the other night, he used a figure so apt that we are content to borrow it, although in a different sense from what he intended. PHILLIPS said that Democracy is a raft. The waves may wash over it, and keep your feet wet; but no storms can sink it. We do not stop to inquire whether this is true of abstract democracy, though we believe it is; but we confidently apply it to the Democratic party of the country. The waves indeed, dashed over it in the late elections, but only freshwater sailors or land-lubbers can have any fears that it will therefore go down. Figures of speech, of course, are not arguments; we will quit metaphor, and proceed to state, as succinctly as possible, the grounds of our confidence in the enduring vitality of the Democratic party.

If the Democratic party is founded on principles which are true in themselves and adapted to this epoch, the party will endure; otherwise not. In our estimation, the Democratic party is founded on principles that can never become obsolete. It is in the very nature of power to encroach on liberty; the history of political freedom in all ages in the history of struggles in which popular rights and local franchises are engaged on one side, against the lust of dominion on the other. It is a contest of the rights of the many against the domination of the few a contest that will have to be perpetually renewed as long as the world stands.

The Democratic party of this country came into being at the first formation of parties under our government. It has stood its ground and maintained its identity from that day to this, while its opponents have undergone as many changes as PROTEUS. It has outlived the Federal party, the National Republican party, the anti-Masonic party, the Whig party, the Know Nothing party; and the Black Republican party, its most recent opponent, is in its last agonies, trying to shuffle off its mortal coil and appear in a new body as the so-called Union party. The old Federal and Whig parties did not fall through from any want of talents and ability; they, doubtless, had more intellectual cultivation in proportion to their numbers than the Democratic party has ever had. But talent is naturally ambitious, and ambition covets power; while the sure instincts and unbiased common sense of the people always guide them to correct conclusions respecting their rights and interests. The Democratic party has flourished in undecaying youth because it has alway been in sympathy with the masses of the people.

Superficial thinkers, who are capable of seeing nothing in political struggles but their *costume*, are apt to fancy that when the Alien and Sedition laws, and the bank question, and the tariff question, and the internal improvement question have become obsolete, the Democratic party is therefore hastening to its grave. But all these separate questions are only the battlefield on which successive contests have been maintained between popular rights on the one side, and thirst of power on the other. Ever since our government was founded there has been a party which aimed to concentrate in its hands more power than the Constitution, without a strained construction, confers upon it. It has been the mission or the Democratic party, ever since the origin of parties under the administration of the elder ADAMS, to resist and check this tendency.

To say that the Democratic party has outgrown the necessity for its existence implies either great ignorance of its principles or great ignorance of the tendencies of the time. The one thing which the Democratic party has steadily and persistently done from the begining, is to resist the accumulation of power by the federal government. What a set of political bats must the journalists be that flutter blindly about in the day-time and declare that the Democratic party has outlived the issue on which it was founded There has never been a time when the tendency to the centralization of power in the federal government was a hundredth part as great as it is now. And yet those journalistic bats, who see all the worse in proportion as the light is stronger, flap their membranous wings, and cry out that the Democratic party is not adapted to the present conjuncture. Such persons never understood the Democratic party. The Alien and Sedition laws vested dangerous powers in the head of the federal government. That particular question has been obsolete ever since the election of JEFFERSON; but the principle that the federal government must be restrained within the granted powers can never become obsolete, because attempts to unduly enlarge the authority of the federal government will never cease to be made. The United States Bank tended to consolidation by allying the whole money power of the country with the tendency to federal usurpation; and on this ground it was opposed by the Democratic party. The party opposed a general system of internal improvements on precisely the same principle. Disbursing vast sums of money for local purposes was unconstitutional, and it would have created a mass of patronage dangerous alike to liberty and to political purity. A high tariff an overgrown revenue, and profuse expenditures would in like manner, have tended to render the central authority too strong; the Democratic party was, therefore, bound by its principles to oppose a high tariff. These particular questions, in their turn, became obsolete; but the Democratic party did not die with them, because its principles are as perennial as is the tendency of power to usurpation and abuse. The question of slavery in the territories was the next battle-field; but it was still the same war between centralized power on the one side and local popular liberty on the other. The black Republicans were for clothing the general government with complete power over the local institutions of all the territories. The Democratic party, under the vigorous leadership of DOUGLAS, stood up for popular sovereignty. Had the question been left in the hands of the communities immediately interested, this cruel war wotld never have taken place.

What we beg reader particularly to remark is, that, throughout our whole political history, although the costume has frquently been changed, it has always been the same identical struggle between exorbitant federal pretensions on the one side and popular liberty on the other. To suppose that this struggle has become obsolete, only betokens the shallowness of the supposer. To fancy that the Democratic party has no work before it, the performance of which is demanded by its principles, is to be as incapable of discerning the signs of the times as a bat is of seeing in the day-time. If the Democratic party were annihilated to-day it would spring up again to morrow. It is in the nature of things that overgrown power will become oppressive, and that part of the community who hope to share neither the power nor the plunder—that is to say, the Democratic masses will resist.

But what is the prospect now? To those who are capable of looking beneath the surface of things and seeing the principles that underlie them, the prospect was never better. Mark! we do not say that the prospects of the *country* were never better (for GOD knows they were never worse), but that the vitality of the Democratic party was never so sure to assert itself. Burdensome taxation, suffering, wretchedness, will come to the dwellings of the common people, and they will shake the Black Republican temple till not one stone is left upon another of its ruins. This is as certain as that night follows day; and, in revolutionay times like these changes in public sentiment are often very sudden. In August, last year, the Republican felt secure of a large majority in every state; but the fall elections, nevertheless, all went against them. This fall the Democratic raft dipped into the trough of the sea, and the waves went over her; but the storm is high, and she will mount with the bounding billow. She is so constructed that nothing can sink her.—*N. Y. World.*

THE POOR CONTRABANDS.

It is impossible to read without commissera tion reliable aecounts of the destitution and suffering of the poor freedmen now gathered together in camps at different points along the Mississippi. Four thousand have died of destitution within three months in the camps near Memphis; and—such is the wretched condition of the fifty thousand survivors, scattered between Memphis and Natchez—it is said by those who have visited them that more than half will die this winter of cold, hunger and filth. We presume the case is not very different at other points where the poor wretches have been gathered in large numbers.

What a lesson this should be to mock or mawkish philanthropy. These miserable Africans, healthy, comfortable and happy before the reign of Abolitionism, are now passing away under the pressure of sufferings, at the mere recital of which the heart bleeds. They are without shelter, without clothing, without food—aged and decrepid men and women, childhood and infancy, crying together for food and raiment, and dying with the cry upon their lips. And this is the first fruit of Abolition, negro equality policy. This is the opening chapter of Lincoln emancipation.

The accursed fanatics who have forced this devastating and devouring war upon the country for negro freedom, what are they doing to relieve the wretchedness they have produced? Why are they not all upon the spot ministering to wants of their own creation? Why do they not sacrifice their ease and disgorge their gold, much of it plundered from the government to mitigate the sufferings of the victims of their unwise and wicked policy?

Let them answer if they can—not to man alone, whose feelings they have shocked, but to that God whose name they so often impiously invoke, and whose precepts they have violated.

They would give freedom to the slave—that is what they said. What have they done?—They have enticed the poor deluded creatures from a comparatively light bondage, from the estate of their masters, which supplied them at least with comfortable shelter and clothing, and wholesome food, and the vaunted liberty they have bestowed upon them, is the liberty to go naked, wallow in filth, and finally die of starvation. For bread they have been given a stone—for fish a serpent.

And this is Abolition philanthropy—this is what the war is waged for—this is the result of three years bloody strife, which has shaken the republic to its center, drenched the land in blood, and created a debt of $3000,000,000.

Let all the people shout, "God bless Abraham Lincoln!"—*Patriot & Union.*

A MOTHER'S GRAVE—Earth has some sacred spots where we feel like loosening the shoes from our feet, and treading with holy reverence; where common words of pleasure are unfitting; places where friendship's hands have lingered in each other, where vows have been plighted, prayers offered, and tears of parting shed.

How the thoughts hover around such places, and travel back through immeasurable space to visit them.

But of all the spots on the green earth, none is so sacred as that where rests, waiting the resurrection, those we once loved and cherished.

Hence, in all ages, the better portion of mankind have chosen these spots where they have loved to wander at eventide and weep alone.

But among charnel houses of the dead, if there is one spot more sacred than the rest, it is a mother's grave. There sleeps the mother of our infancy—she whose heart was a stranger to every other feeling but love, and who could always find excuses for us when we could find none ourselves. There she sleeps, and we love the very earth for her sake.

The Louisiana Free State Convention met on the 15th instant, a delegation of colored men being admitted to seats in the house and talking a considerable part in the business of the session. The object was to choose delegates to the convention of the Union men of the slave states, to be held on the 31st instant.

Gen Butler sent five hundred rebel prisoners to City Point on Friday last for exchange, and a flag of truce boat from the rebels subsequently delivered five hundred Union prisoners at Fortress Monroe. The rebel government are said to refuse any further exchange, unless all questions are given up about which our government has been contending and their laws about negro soldiers recognized. They also refuse to carry on negotiations with General Butler, on account of his having been outlawed last year.

LOCAL SOVEREIGNTY.

The Manchester (New Hampshire) *Democrat* truly says, "the peculiar feature which distinguishes our government from all others is the local sovereignty of the States. Destroy this and we become a monarchy. There is not a nation in the world that is not marked by geographical sub-divisions; but they generally have no power independent of the central government, even over their exclusive interests. The States here are, or have been, different, and we imagine they will remaen so. We do not think the idea of consolidation which some people entertain will be realized; and if not, what is the use of fighting to liberate the negroes?

"New Hampshire can establish slavery at any time it pleases a majority of her people to do so. So can any States hereafter, unless our institutions are subverted. Now, suppose South Carolina is dragooned into the Union under the President's proclamation, what is to hinder her from readopting her old institutions the day after? If it is said that the general government has any power to prevent it, it is said we have ceased to be a Republic and become a monarchy."

In relation to the attitude of the servile Abolition press, the change of base of the administration, and the position of the Democracy, the same paper observes:

"It requires a great deal of patience to preserve a becoming equanimity of temper in dealing with the Abolition press. They assume that they are honest and right, as a matter of course, because they sustain the administrition; and that others must necessarily be wrong, at least, if not traitorous. This view of the subject ignores the very question at issue whether or not the administration is honest and right. This is the issue; and when we remember how bitterly and persistently the Abolitionists have warred against all the administrations we have recently had, it does not become *them* to insist that the support of an administration shall be made the test of patriotism.

"To say nothing of the causes which led to the war, when it had become inevitable, there seemed to be but one opinion as to its management. That was handsomely expressed in the Crittenden resolution, which was adopted with almost entire unanimity. Mr. Lincoln seemed to stand upon that ground, in spite of very vigorous efforts to drive him from it, until the action of "loyal Governors" frightened him, in September of last year. Then by his own admission to Wendell Phillips, he committed the great mistake of his life. There was not an honest and thoughtful man, of any party, in the whole North who did not recognize and deplore the error. There was hardly a press or a prominent Republican statesman that was not committed against the policy then inaugurated. But they slowly and gradually followed the President in his great mistake, and have now adopted it so thoroughly that they dare to denounce us because we won't do so too.

"It is hardly possible that the convictions of an intellectual man have really changed. But the interests of a great many demand an apparent change, and mercenary and ambitious men are quick to respond to the necessity.—Democrats stand where they did before, and can abundantly vindicate their position by the testimony of Mr. Lincoln himself, and the best part of his present supporters. The orginal theory was that the States were not out of the Union at all, however rebellious a portion of their people might be; that it was the duty of the government to recover its jurisdiction, and that this could best be done through the agency of the Southern people, a majority of whom were not original Secessionists, and would bring their States back again whenever they were satisfied that Mr. Lincoln and his party intended to abide by the Constitution.

The policy was changed, not in the expectation that peace would be attained earlier, or the Union restored easier, but because the "loyal Governors" intended that the war should be waged against slavery, as a primary purpose, leaving peace and union to take care of themselves. This purpose does not commend itself to the judgment of any conservative man; and he will not sustain it; as an honest man, he cannot. He sees no reason why he should commit a great mistake because Mr. Lincoln has done so. He would rather arrest the consequences of that mistake, and encourage Mr. Lincoln to recover from the error which is so sure to prove disastrous, and fatal if persisted in much longer."

Gen. M'Clellan's Report of his Operations in Virginia.

WASHINGTON, Dec. 23.—Gen. McClellan's report was transmitted to the House to day. It consists of seven hundred and sixty five foolscap pages, and is divided into four parts. He concludes as follows:

I shall not, nor can I, while living, forget that when I was ordered to take command of the troops for the defence of the Capital, the soldiers with whom I had shared so much of the anxiety and pain and suffering of the war, had not lost their confidence in me as their commander. They sprang to my call with all their ancient vigor, discipline and courage. I led them into Maryland. Fifteen days after they had fallen back, defeated, before Washington, they vanquished the enemy on the rugged heights of South Mountain, pursved him to the hard fought field of Antietam, and drove him broken and dispirited down the Potomac into Virginia. The army had need of rest, after the terrible experience of battles and marches, with scarcely an interval of repose, which they had gone through with from the time of their leaving the Peninsula—the return to Washington, the defeat in Virginia, the victory at South Mountain, and again at Antietam—it was not surprising that they were in a large degree destitute of the absolute necessaries to effective duty.

Their shoes were worn out; their blankets were lost, and their clothing was in rags. In short, the men were unfit for active service, and an interval for rest and equipment was necessary. When the slowly forwarded supplies come to us, I led the army across the river, renovated, refreshed, and in good order and discipline, and followed the retreating foe to a position where I was confident of decisive victory; when in the midst of the movement, while my advanced guard was actually in contact with the enemy, I was removed from my command.

I am devoutly thankful to God that my last campaign with this brave army was crowned with a victory which saved a nation from the greatest peril it had then undergone.

I have not accomplished my purpose if by this report the Army of the Potomac is not placed high on the roll of the historic armies of the world. Its deeds ennoble the nation to which it belongs. Always ready for battle, always firm, steadfast and trustworthy. I never called on it in vain, nor will the nation ever have cause to attribute its want of success, under myself or under other commanders to any failure of patriotism or bravery in that noble body of American soldiers.

No man can justly charge upon any portion of that army, from the commanding general to the private, any lack of devotion to the United States Government, and to the cause of the Constitution and the Union. They have proved their fealty in much sorrow, suffering and danger, and through the very shadow of death. Their comrades, dead on all the fields where we fought, have scarcely more claim to the honor of a nation's reverence, than the survivors to the justice of a nation's gratitude.

The report covers the period from the 26th of July 1861, to November 7th 1862.

SECRETARY STANTON AT THE INVALID HOSPITALS.—We have mislaid a little speech made by Secretary Stanton, on Christmas, we think, to the soldiers in one of the invalid hospitals at Washington, and consequently cannot give its precise language; but we recollect the substance, which was this: he hoped the war would be over by the return of next Christmas, and then the brave soldiers who had suffered from wounds in battle, or sickness contracted by exposure in the field, could return to their homes happy in the thought that they had contributed to the emancipation of the millions of negroes held in bondage by the South

We pity the soldiers who cannot retire with any higher consolation than this, and we cannot forbear despising the narrow minded official who could think of no greater comfort to administer, no nobler theme to dwell upon in the presence of men who had entered the service not only impressed with the idea that they were to do battle for the maintenance of the constitution and the restoration of the Union, but who were bound by an oath to do so. It seems that the highest ambition of the highest officials of the Government as well of the lowest scribler and blatant brawler in the service of the administration, is to impress upon the mind of the soldier that his single duty is to fight for the policy of the Abolitionists and consider himself not under the banner of the Constitution and the Union, but under that of Abraham Lincoln and Emancipation. Having perjured themselves by violating what they had solemnly sworn to support, and perverted the war from its originally avowed and only legitimate purpose, the Government officials are now working to deceive, corrupt and demoralize the army—to turn it from the path of honorable warfare for the integrity of the Union into the slimy and devious windings which the fiendish fanatics who control the Government have marked out for it to pursue.

In opposing the schemes of these traitors at heart it is not necessary to enter upon any defence of the instution of slavery as it exists in the Southern States, or of slavery in any form. The idea of slavery is, perhaps, as revolting to us as it is to Abraham Lincoln or Wendell Phillips. We "would not own a slave to till our land, to carry us, to fan us while we sleep, and tremble when we wake, for all the wealth that sinews bought and sold have ever earned." But the question is not now what we think—it is a question of constitutional right, of local State sovereignty. It is not because we approve of slavery—although we believe it to be the best condition *for the negro* when, as here, he is placed in juxtaposition with another and superior race—but because we condemn the policy, manifestly unconstitutional and unjust, by which it is sought to abolish it. When we see the liberty of the dominent race threatened by a series of Presidential usurpations and arbitrary acts, all emanating from nefarious policy of unconstitutional emancipation, the condition of the inferior and servile race becomes with us a question of secondary consequence. With us the preservation of our republican system, formed solely by the white man and for the white man, is and always must be the primary question. We are not willing to subvert the Government, to yield up our constitutional rights, to centralize power in the hands of an unprincipaled, clownish and fanatical dictator, in order to give freedom to 4,000,000 negro slaves, whose freedom would be their own curse, and the curse of the country, and lead finally to their extermination.

There is neither Christianity nor philanthropy in the Abolition movement—which, while it is *not* conducted in accordance with the teachings of God as they are made known to us in the scriptures, *is* prosecuted in violation of the Constitution and its understood compromises and in defiance of law, reason and common humanity.

No, it is not slavery which we *favor*, but the unscrupulous usurpation of power to suppress it, which we *condemn*, by opposition to the administration.

We hold that the President has no constitutional right to issue edicts of emancipation, and that Congress has no right to pass unconstitutional acts to put down slavery. It is a State institution, originating in and controlled by State laws, which, not being in conflict with the Federal Constitution, neither the President nor Congress has any right to meddle with. If it must die, let it die legally, by by State action, or as a consequence of war justly waged for the maintenance of the Constitution and the resteration of the Union.—*Patriot & Union.*