

# Democrat and Sentinel.

THE BLESSINGS OF GOVERNMENT, LIKE THE DEWS OF HEAVEN, SHOULD BE DISTRIBUTED ALIKE, UPON THE HIGH AND THE LOW, THE RICH AND THE POOR.

NEW SERIES.

EBENSBURG, PA. WEDNESDAY, DEC. 3, 1862.

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**Song of the Democracy.**  
Addressed to Father Abraham.

BY DOUGLAS A. LEVINE.

Oh, my darling, Father Abraham, Three  
hundred thousand strong,  
I come from the clutches of the Abol-  
itionist,  
I have been speaking through her  
tongue to you!  
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## How to Save the Country.

A Letter from Gov. Bigler.

CLEARFIELD, PA., Nov. 1, 1862.

My DEAR SIR:—In reply to your favor of the 30th ultimo, I have to say that you have been rightly informed. I do not intend to be a candidate for United States Senator at the coming election, and have so expressed myself to friends on all proper occasions. I have a number of reasons, public and private, for this course, one of which is that the eastern and northern sections of the State make special claim to the Senator, at this time, on the ground that we have one in the West recently elected, and cannot reasonably claim both for so long a term.

The other question you ask, "what can be done to save the country," is not so readily answered. The usual response, God knows. Few of our best thinkers seem to have any clear views on the question; and it is not even certain that the administration at Washington has a well defined policy to that end. I have some thoughts on the subject which I do not hesitate to give you. They may seem to you crude, and on some points even novel and startling; but they are the result of some reflection.

The sword is the only agency at work. But the sword cannot do all. It is an agent of destruction. It can tear down but cannot build up. It may chastise and silence the rebels in the field; but it cannot make a nation of States. It cannot restore confidence and fraternity amongst a people estranged and alienated from each other. If the war was against the leaders in the South only, as many at the beginning supposed, then the sword might put them down and the masses could return to their allegiance. But the conflict turns out to be with the whole mass of the people within the revolted States, old and young, male and female, numbering many millions. With such a power, sooner or later, we shall have to treat and negotiate. The sword alone will never restore this people to the Union.

You well know that when the present calamities befallen the nation, I was for peaceful means to avert the blow. Then our present suffering and sacrifice could have been avoided, as I believe, if the unity of the States preserved for generations, without the sacrifice of principle, or honor, or any other thing, had been maintained. If we had given way, and I still think, now, I am sure that other means would have been necessary to save our country—a war which would have cost more in blood and treasure than the present conflict.

I know how easy it is to talk about war and courage, about strategy, positions and brilliant victories; about the prompt subjugation of the South by the North; how eloquent it may be to some to flout in the open court of excitement and passion; and especially how unpleasant, if not unwise, it is to stem this tide. But the time is coming, if it be not now, when the man who would render his country a substantial service must do this. He must look at the whole war before us, and strike for the right regardless of clamor or consequences to himself personally.

We have had war for eighteen months, the like of which the world has seldom witnessed before, to sustain which a national debt of startling magnitude, which must hang over posterity long into the future, has already been created, and more than a quarter of a million of invaluable lives sacrificed on the Union side alone, in addition to the many thousands that have been crippled or diseased for life; and yet but little, if any, substantial progress has been made in the good work of re-establishing the Union, or even of maintaining the Federal authority within the revolted States. Has not, then, the experiment of war, as a means of extracting the country from its present deplorable condition, been already tested—tested at least to such an extent as to prove its utter futility unaided by other means.

It was a happy thought of President Lincoln, expressed in his Inaugural, that if we went to war we could not fight all ways; "and when, after much loss on both sides and no gain on either, you cease fighting, the identical old questions as to terms of intercourse are again upon you." This prophetic and highly significant sentiment shows that even Mr. Lincoln, before the war began, anticipated the time, in case it did begin, when it would be necessary to put the sword to rest, at least for a season, in order to resume the identical old questions about intercourse and settlement. It does not seem to have occurred to him that the sword could do the whole work, but that, inevitably, we would have to come back to the original

point to compromise and settle. If, then, we cannot fight always, what amount of fighting is necessary to render it proper to prepare to cease or suspend in order to consider terms of reconciliation. There has already "been much loss on both sides and no gain on either;" and whilst the time to cease fighting may not be yet, the period has surely come when other means besides the sword should be employed in the effort to save the government and country. Certainly the object of the war, and the extent to which it is to go, should be definitely known to the country. If it be intended to subjugate the States in rebellion, and hold them, not as States in the Union, but as conquered provinces, then the sword must be kept in constant motion and the war and carnage be the order of the day. New levies and fresh supplies may be properly raised, for it will require a formidable army in each of the seceded States to execute and maintain this scheme. If extermination be the object, then the sword should have unrestrained license to deal death and destruction amongst the rebels in all parts of their country, regardless of sex, or age, or condition. But neither of these purposes, if practicable, would re-establish the Union, although there might remain a Union, composed of certain States. But, when the Union is re-established, the South as well as the North must be in it; the family of States must exist as heretofore, else it will not be the Union about which we have talked so much and for which so many brave men have offered up their lives. The physical triumph of the North over the South in the field, as the North in the end may triumph, is not the whole of the task. The States must be brought together; the feelings of the people of both sections must be so constrained and moderated that they can fraternize and live together, else the Union is gone forever. To subjugate the Southern States, and so hold them until they submit to good end for either section, and in no way, that I can discover, advance the welfare of the North; for so long as the South was so held their hate of the North would increase, and whilst the North so held the South it could do but little else; meanwhile its material interest must languish and die. But, in addition, such a work is utterly inconsistent with the genius of our institutions, and could scarcely fail to lead to their utter perversion and ultimate overthrow, adding to the calamities of disunion the sacrifice of free government, Congress and empire, however magnificent, could not compensate for such a loss.

To exterminate the inhabitants of the South, would be a deliberate emancipation of the Union, rendering its reconstruction at once impracticable and hopeless, and involve a work of barbarity from which the northern people would shrink in horror. The existence of the Southern States, in some form, with their inhabitants, and on some terms of intercourse, is highly essential—nay, I will say, indispensable—to the welfare of the North. I am, therefore, against extermination and against the policy of holding the Southern States as conquered provinces. This ground can be so easily maintained on purely selfish considerations for the North, which will occur to all, that I need not trouble you with their presentation on this occasion. I am for re-establishing the Union as it was, or making a Union as similar as practicable, the States to be equals and to be sovereign to the extent the States now are, each to have and enjoy such domestic institutions as it may choose; and, were I in Congress, I should sustain that measure of war, and that only, that would clearly tend to the accomplishment of these ends; but no war of subjugation or extermination.

I know it may be said in reply to all this: "Then let the Southern people lay down their arms and come back into the Union, and all will be right again. Would to God they could be induced so to do! There is no guaranty in reason that I would not be willing to grant them. But do we see any indications of such a return to reason and duty? I can see none, and I expect to see none, so long as the sword is unaccompanied by agents for settlement and peace. When our army went to Mexico it was accompanied by a peace commission, in order to embrace the earliest opportunity for settlement. In God's name, I would ask, should we do less when engaged in war amongst ourselves? It is idle, and worse than idle, to delude ourselves about the nature of the conflict in which we are engaged. We cannot make a Union by force alone, though we may triumph over the South in the field, and we may as well look the complications square in the face as not. The first question is, Do we intend, do we desire, to have all the Southern States back into the Union, on the terms of the

Constitution? If we do, then it is seen that they are to be the equals of the Northern States in rights, sovereignty and dignity. Does any one believe that such a Union can be established and maintained by the sword alone? Should a certain number of the States subjugate and humiliate the others, when they could not live together as equals and friends, for the subjugated are always the enemies of the subjugators. When all the States, therefore, resume their former relations, or new relations of union and intercourse, it must be the act of all, if the settlement is to be complete and permanent.

I have heard a great deal about patching up a dishonorable peace—about the humiliation and disgrace to the North involved in any and every proposition for settlement—and there is nothing that is said about the affairs of the country for which I have less respect. It is even held by some that he is a disloyal citizen who seeks to re-establish the Union by other means than the sword. How absurd! The sword has been at work—its agency has been tested, vigorously and terribly tested—and how stand the States now that should be in harmony? The sad response is, Where they were when the war began, arrayed in grim and relentless hostility. Then why spurn other agencies to aid in the good work? In the words of Mr. Lincoln, we cannot fight always, and we should not longer unless we can do so as a means of ultimate Union and permanent peace.

What then can be done? and I regret that all that should be done cannot be accomplished promptly. The States now in the Union should be in convention, or have delegates ready to go into convention, in order to reaffirm the present constitutional relations amongst the States, with explanations on controverted points or to make such new relations as may be found necessary to bring together and retain all the States. The State Legislature could petition Congress for such a convention as provided by the Constitution, and Congress could make the necessary provisions for it before the close of the coming session. Such State legislatures as do not meet in the regular order could be specially convened; and when the necessary number of States petition, it is obligatory on Congress to comply. The body thus constituted would be competent to adjust and settle all the complications which now beset us. In the midst of war, then, we should be prepared to make peace; whereas, when the time comes for settlement, in the absence of such a body, it might be found that we have no competent authority in existence to do the things that may be necessary. Neither Congress, nor the Executive, nor the two together, have rightful authority to change the old or to make new relations amongst the States. Congress may submit amendments to the Constitution for the ratification of the States, and I believe the present calamities of the nation could have been averted in that way in the winter of 1861; but now the disorders of the country are probably too complicated to be reached in that form.

Meanwhile, the President and Congress should prepare the way for settlement. Indeed, by consulting the people through the ballot box, they might make a settlement, to be ratified by the States thereafter. Let the President propose an armistice, for the purpose of considering some programme of reunion and settlement, in which the feelings and rights of the masses in the South shall be duly appreciated and provided for. Invite them to come back on the conditions of the Constitution with explicit definitions on controverted points, or on new conditions, with the fullest assurance of justice and equality when they do come. Let him do this, and challenge the rebel authorities to submit such propositions as may be agreed upon to an unrestrained vote of the Southern States, as he will, at the same time, submit such propositions to a vote of those of the Northern States, with the understanding that if a majority of free States accept the proposition, its conditions should be binding until ratified or superseded by the States. Suppose the Confederate authorities reject this, or any similar proposition, no harm could ensue to the Northern cause. Such action would only leave them in a worse light before the world, and the government at Washington in the better. The preliminaries for such a movement could be readily arranged by commissioners selected for that purpose.

It may be said that we are constantly inviting the southern people to lay down their arms, and come back into the Union, and this would seem to be conclusive; but it must not be forgotten that they rebelled, because, as they say, the party

now in power at Washington, would not permit them to enjoy, in peace, the real conditions and covenants of that Union, and that there is no evidence that they would fare better now. Besides, he has studied human nature to a poor purpose; who cannot discover that unconditional submission involves a degree of humiliation to which they will never come so long as they have any means of resistance.—In the efforts to gain back even the masses, their passions, and pride, and self-respect may be wisely considered. We must give them some new ground, some pretext, if not complete and substantial guarantees, before we can expect them to entertain the idea of forsaking their present leaders, and embracing the old government.

I am fully aware of the indignation, and even contempt, with which these suggestions will be pursued by some in both sections, but I care not; are we not engaged in an effort to re-establish and maintain the Union, and are not the seceded States to compose part of that Union? Then why not endeavor to rescue them from destruction, and cultivate good relations with them?

When the family of States again exists as heretofore, they must become our brethren and our equals in every particular. What pleasure, then, can we have in their destruction or humiliation? If there be any friends of the old flag and the old government within the seceded States, they should cultivate the same spirit toward the North. The absent element of a substantial Union is fraternity amongst the people, and that can never be furnished by the sword. Again, in the words of Mr. Lincoln, "there has been much loss on both sides and no gain on either," and the identical old question as to terms of intercourse are upon us, and we should seek so to adjust them as to re-establish the Union on an imperishable basis. But, it may be asked, is this a war for the Union? Are we sure that those in authority intend nothing else? They certainly profess nothing else, and I attribute to them nothing else. If the war is not for the Union, and is not directed with sole reference to that end, then it is the most stupendous fraud that has ever been practised upon the world. We all know, however, that many, very many of its partisans will not be satisfied with that issue. It might be very important, therefore, to the salvation of the country, when the time for reconstruction comes, if ever it should come, to have the soundings on this point taken in advance. I should like exceedingly to see a popular vote taken in the North, especially in New England, between the proposition to receive all the States back into the Union, on the terms of the Constitution, which makes the States equal and alike sovereign, each with the right to have such domestic institutions as it may choose; and a proposition to recognize the independence of the Southern Confederacy. It might be interesting, as well as instructive, to unveil the hypocrisy of a certain school of politicians who have clamored so zealously about the war for the Union. It is painfully apparent that notwithstanding this clamor, they do not intend that the Union shall exist hereafter on the terms of the Constitution, if it is to embrace all the States. The ratio of slave representation, and the rendition of fugitive slaves, are features of the Constitution which they condemn and a blot. Between the maintenance of these and the recognition of the Southern Confederacy, many of them, in my judgment, far to one, would prefer the latter. Their aversion to these clauses of the Constitution was a primary cause of the alienation and hostility of the South, and I fear they would not yield that aversion now to render the Union what it once was. Let Mr. Lincoln try this question if he would solve the problem of the nation's integrity.

Do not understand me that I would yield the sword or any other means calculated to render the Union what it was. What I mean is, that if the Union, and that only is the object, the sword will never find the belligerents in a better condition to consummate that work than they are now, and that other agencies should be promptly employed. I yield to no man in devotion and loyalty to the Union as it was, and to the principles of government transmitted to us by our fathers. The maintenance and perpetuation of those shall be the object nearest my heart, whether I be in private or public life. With much esteem, I remain,

Yours truly,  
WM. BIGLER,  
To S. D. ANDERSON, Esq., Philadelphia,  
Pennsylvania.

A young man without money among the ladies, is like the moon on a cloudy night—he can't shine.

## From Burnside's Army.

AGUA CALIENTE, Nov. 24.—The reports from General Burnside's army represent everything as quiet and without material change. The city of Fredericksburg has not yet been shelled, for reasons satisfactory to the Commanding General. The preparations for a further advance are steadily progressing, and the present state of expectancy will soon be relieved by prompt and vigorous action. The army is in good condition and ready and anxious to move forward.

The enemy are still in force on the opposite side of the river, and improving the time to prepare for as vigorous a resistance as our crossing is possible. The locomotive and cars were placed upon the track here to-day, and the road will be opened to the Potomac to-morrow. The rebel sympathisers still continue to cut the military telegraph wires, so as to impede communication between headquarters and Washington.

HARPER'S FERRY, Nov. 24.—News of interest has reached me from the headquarters of Stonewall Jackson, as late as Saturday last. Jackson then had his headquarters at Berryville, and was there in person. His force was thirty thousand and the number of his guns sixty. Gen. Echols' division was with Jackson. On Friday evening Jackson received the following telegram from Jeff. Davis: "If you do not leave the valley at once, and come to help us to defend Richmond, it will not be worth your while to come to its defence at all." Jackson's reply is not known, but his forces were not in motion on Saturday morning. The inference is that he replied in the negative. This was the fourth dispatch Jackson received from Davis calling on him to come to the defence of Richmond.

The completion of a new fort was celebrated here to-day, Generals Jackson and Green were present. Miss Atwell, of Pittsburg, broke a wine bottle over the fort and named it Fort Geary. Captain Fletcher, of the Fourteenth Infantry, was master of the ceremonies, Colonel Van Horn, of the One Hundred and Second New York volunteers, delivered an appropriate address.

WASHINGTON, Nov. 24.—For several days past the Washington press has been industriously striving to create excitement by sensation paragraphs in reference to the proximity of Stonewall Jackson's force to the national capital. Yesterday it was reported that the advance of this army was at Drainesville, sixteen miles from this city, preparing to attack some of the outer defenses. There is no reliable information that Jackson has moved in this direction. If he is not, as reported from Harper's Ferry, still in the Shenandoah valley, he is unquestionably hastening to the relief of the main rebel army. Advances from Harper's Ferry, and along the line of the Potomac to Williamsport, represent that the rebel pickets are stationed on the Virginia side of the river.

A gentleman who came under parole to this city represents Jackson as still in the valley with a large force. Our pickets are stationed on the Maryland side, vigilantly watching the motions of the rebel pickets and their reserves. The Potomac, at certain places between Harper's Ferry and Williamsport, is still fordable. FALMOUTH, Nov. 24.—The day passed off quietly without anything of note transpiring. The church bells in Fredericksburg were ringing to-day, announcing the hour of Divine worship, although most of the inhabitants had fled the doomed city. If the passage of the river by the United States troops should be resisted by the rebels, their claims have been heard for the last time. A great many unarmed soldiers were seen walking through the city to-day, probably for the purpose of attending church. During last night the enemy's works were somewhat extended, but no additional guns are visible. NASHVILLE, Nov. 24.—A rebel Brigade is at Shelbyville, under Gen. Johnson. The Union men are making an ardent resistance to the conscription in several portions of Middle Tennessee. Ten thousand rebels are at Tullahoma. It is rumored the rebels are bringing siege guns to Murfreesboro. The rebel force between Chattanooga and Murfreesboro is said to be 60,000 men. The rebels are removing their negroes and property South. Four Union men have been murdered in Wilson county by the guerrillas.