

are confiscated. The sole effect of this proclamation, therefore, is to declare the emancipation of slaves of those who are not in rebellion, and who are, therefore, loyal citizens. It is an extraordinary deduction of the right of loyal citizens, and the forfeiture of the same punishment imposed upon them the same punishment imposed upon the insurgents, is calculated to advance the success of the war, to uphold the Constitution and restore the Union. The class of loyal citizens who, above all others, are entitled to the protection of the Government, are those who have remained true to the flag of our country. And yet the sole force of this proclamation is directed against them. May not the measure, so clearly impolitic, unjust and unconstitutional, and which is calculated to create as many barriers to the restoration of the Union, be misconstrued by the world as an abandonment of the hope or the purpose of restoring it, a result to the State of New York is multaneously resisted, and which will not only support the Constitution of the United States and maintain the rights of the States, but we must restore our Union as it was before the outbreak of the war. The assertion that this war was the unavoidable result of slavery is not only erroneous, but it has led to a disastrous policy in its prosecution. The opinion that slavery must be abolished to restore our Union creates an antagonism between the free and slave States which ought not to exist. It is true that slavery must be abolished by the force of the Federal Government; that the South must be held in military subjection; that four millions of negroes must, for many years, be under the direct management of the public; then, indeed, we must endure the waste of our armies in the field, further drain upon our population, and still greater burdens of debt. We must convert our Government into a military despotism. The mischievous opinion that in this contest the North must subjugate and destroy the South to save our Union has weakened the hopes of our citizens, at home and abroad, confidence in our success abroad.

THE CENTRAL AND WESTERN STATES. It is a suggestive fact, affording instruction and hope for the future, that the theories which have exercised an evil influence on our national policies did not originate in what may be called the heart of the Union, among the intimate and well-acquainted populations of the central and western States, where the States permitting and forbidding slavery are in actual contact, nor in the portions traversed by the great east and west lines of commerce and intercourse. They have been developed almost entirely in two sections comparatively isolated by position, traditions and peculiar habits of thought, and least connected with the more homogeneous mass of our people. There have been extreme northern views and extreme southern views; but also the broader and more tolerant views of the more populous central and western States. These extend on both sides of that indurating boundary between "slave" and "free" States, which is not a line of opposing opinions, but of intermingling interests. Their plains are interlocked by confluent rivers, and not divided by mountain ranges. These States are a region of harmonizing views and sympathies. They are not only bound together by peculiar interests, but also by strong reasons resisting a division on that boundary, which would make the frontier States, which would replace their cordial intercourse by hostile relationship, and throw upon them all the greatest and sharpest evils of the separation. Thus, while they do not share the passions and prejudices of those extreme States which strove to resist them in the contest, they have motives of the highest interest to restore the old order of things, and of the gravest apprehension from a separation. This war blights and destroys the hopes and the happiness of this region, while the sections whose passions and interest kindled it are mainly remote from the terrible suffering it has caused.

The western and central States enlisted warmly in the war for the Union and Constitution. The Northern tier of "slave States" (except Eastern Virginia), earnestly supported the Government in its policy while it was consistent with this purpose, while it was known as the "Border State policy." Both the Administration and Congress then declared their sole purpose to be to restore the Union and maintain the Constitution. When the Administration abandoned this policy, and took up the views of extreme Northern States, it lost at the late election, nearly all the political support which the central and western States afforded in the elections of 1860 and 1861. While the North cannot hold the Southern States in subjection without destroying the principles of our Government, the great central and western States can control the two extremes. They will not accept the views of either as safe guides in the conduct of public affairs. This is shown by the political history of our country during the past four years. When it was believed that the late Administration was controlled by the views of the Gulf States it lost its power in the central and western region. The opposing party, to gain public support, were obliged, by assurances and resolutions, to repel the charge that they would interfere with slavery in the States, and they denounced as unjust the limitation that they held the views of the Abolitionists of the extreme Northern section. Without these pledges they could not have gained political power.

When the Gulf States seceded, the central slave States, by a large majority, refused to act with them. They sought to avoid war and division by the peace conference held in Washington. Unfortunately, the dominant leaders of the party which had succeeded at the election of 1860, overlooking the fact that this was done by the vote of about 1,800,000 against a divided opposition of about 2,800,000, rejected all terms of compromise and conciliation as inconsistent with the results of the election, and attempted to govern and control an agitated and convulsed country strictly by the opinions and sentiments of a minority. The outbreak of war involved our whole country in its excitements. The States of Delaware, Maryland, Kentucky, and Missouri, and the western part of Virginia, ad-

hered to the Union. The purpose then avowed by the Administration and asserted by Congress, as to the objects of the war, gave to the Administration overwhelming majorities at the election of 1861, in all the loyal States. All engaged hopefully and unitedly in the work of upholding our Constitution and of restoring our Union to its former condition. When this policy was changed, and it adopted the sentiments of the extreme Northern States, and discarded those of the central and western States, a remarkable political revolution was the result.

EXTREMES WILL NOT PREVAIL. It has been assumed that this war will end in the ascendancy of the views of one of the extremes of our country. Neither will prevail; for neither can command the support of the majority of the American people. The great Central and Western States, which have the largest share of the population and resources of our country, will not accept of either class of purposes. This is the significance of the late elections. Their determination is to defend the rights of States, and the rights of individuals, and to restore our Union as it was. It will be restored by the Central and Western States, both free and slave, who are exempt from the violent passions which bear control at the extremes. It is a fact full of hope that the prejudices between Northern and Southern States are not held on the line of contact; but in the sections most remote from each other, and separated by the great controlling regions and resources of the country. Those of the Central slave States which rejected the ordinance of secession, which sought to remain in the Union, and were driven off by a contemptuous, unbecoming policy, must be brought back to the restoration of the whole Union, with such exertions of power as can be put forth with out necessarily sacrificing the life and treasure of the North in a bloody and exterminating contest. We must not wear out the lives of our soldiers or exhaust the earnings of labor, by a war for uncertain ends, or to carry out vague theories. The policy of subjugation and extermination means, not only the destruction of the lives and property of the South, but also the waste of the blood and treasure of the North. The exertion of armed power must be accompanied by a firm and conciliatory policy, to restore our Union with the least possible injury to both sections.

To make this Union, New York gave up a vast and rightful political power in the Senate. It has proved a greater blessing than the most hopeful expected. To save it we have made great sacrifices of blood and treasure. Is it not also worth a sacrifice of passion? Shall we let it be torn to fragments without one conciliatory effort to preserve it? ADJUSTMENTS OF INTERESTS, ETC. Those at the North and the South who have been laboring to break down our national Constitution and Union, and to make two confederacies, overlook the fact that each of these it would be more difficult to adjust conflicting interests, and State representations, than in our existing Union. The vast extent of our country, and its varied productions and pursuits, have relieved antagonisms between commercial, manufacturing and agricultural interests. They give to each great fields for prosperous pursuits. If the producing States of the West are cut off from the markets of the South, they will demand a free trade policy which will open to them the markets of the world; and even those will not make good the loss. They will not give up their peculiar advantages of raising grain and cattle, for the markets of Europe are not equal to Western productions. The past two years have shown this. With an unusual European call for breadstuffs and provisions, with a vast consumption of these articles by our American armies, there is a great reaction of the West where the prices do not pay for their production. There is bankruptcy and financial distress in the midst of abundant harvests; and a waste of ungathered grain, at a time of the largest exportation of agricultural products known in the history of our country. Reducing the cost of carrying these products to the market, and opening the markets of the world, will not overcome this evil. The cotton raised on the Mississippi is the joint product of the provisions of the North and the labor of the South. The people of the West must have the markets of the Southwestern States to bring back their prosperity. They must be required, politically, socially and commercially, to the valley of the Lower Mississippi. Their grain and provisions must be converted into cotton, and in this form carried profusely to the eastern and European ports. When they have thus gained the returns for their labor, they will once more become the supporters of our commerce. To restore this great region to its former prosperity, and to begin for ourselves its enriching trade, the Lower Valley of the Mississippi must be brought back into the Union; it must be brought back, too, with all its elements of production and wealth unimpaired, with all the advantages of local self-government; not a devastated and ruined territory, under a blighting, debasing military control.

So closely are the Upper and Lower Valleys of the Mississippi bound together by interest that when cotton is burned in Louisiana, Indian corn is used as fuel in Illinois. The ruin of the Southern consumer brings bankruptcy upon the Northern producer. When the capacity of the other to buy is weakened or destroyed. This single instance, from many equally strong, shows that neither in a Northern or Southern Union can the conflicting interests of agriculture, commerce and manufactures be adjusted.

POLITICAL INTERESTS, ETC. The division of our Union into two or more confederacies would re-open in each those questions of distribution of power and relationship between States, which were settled by our national Constitution. Even now, the centralization of power and patronage at the national capital causes uneasiness in those States which now are, or will soon become most populous. The Senate can prevent the passage or repeal of laws by the House which represents the popular

will, and at the same time can control the power of the Executive by rejecting treaties formed or nominations made by the President. At this time, it assumes to dictate the organization of the Executive department. The body also has the advantage of longer tenure of office, while it is further removed from popular control. It is in this powerful branch of government that States have an equal representation, without regard to population. Even under our present Union, it is for the interest of the small States to centralize power in the national Government, as they enjoy a disproportionate control in the most influential branch of that Government. All now acquiesce in that compromise of the Constitution. It is the best adjustment which can be made between the larger and smaller States.

So long as all the States of our present Union were represented in Congress, this tendency was checked by the existence of States with small populations, distributed in different sections of our country, and somewhat equally among the agricultural, commercial and manufacturing regions. New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, Wisconsin, and Iowa in a few years each of these States will have populations greater than that of all New England. This disparity of political power would be increased by the fact that the population and parents of New England, confined within very limited boundaries, while the larger States have diversified and distinctive pursuits to prevent them from acting so readily in concert. The danger of controversy would be increased by our national debt. This, mainly held by a few Atlantic States, divides our country into the perilous sectional relations and debtor and creditor regions. The ownership of this debt cannot be divided over our country so that the same communities which pay taxes will receive incomes. The incidental advantages of protective tariffs growing out of this debt, would be largely gained by the creditor States, which also share this disproportionate share of political power. The great producing States would be compelled to pay a heavy taxation to other communities at a time when the production of our Union would deprive them of their most profitable markets, and heavy duties would tend to diminish the demands of foreign countries for their products. No one can look forward to such agitation and distress as without the deepest concern.

The smaller States, grouped upon the shores of the Atlantic, were all original parties to the Constitution. They are laboriously associated with the history of the revolutionary struggle. They are States that are honored, and have memories that are cherished in every part of the land. They must not, through the folly of blind and bigoted leaders, lose the great political powers which have given to them by the compromise of the Constitution. They must not suffer that instrument, which seems to them peculiar advantages, to be weakened or destroyed.

THE UNION MUST BE RESTORED. There is but one way to save us from depopulation, discord and ruin. Our Union must be restored, complete in all its parts. No sections must be disorganized; must be made to feel that the mighty efforts we are making to save our Union and stimulated by a purpose to restore peace, prosperity and happiness to every section. The vigor of our will will be increased when the public mind and energies are concentrated upon the patriotic, generous purpose to restore our Union for the common good of all sections. It cannot be so stated upon any bloody, any barbarous, any revolutionary, or any unconstitutional scheme, looking merely to the gratification of hatred, or purposes of party ambition, or sectional advantage. Every exertion of power, every inducement of persuasion, every measure of union, must be used to restore the Union to its former condition. Let no man demand that the blood of his neighbor shall be shed; that the fruits of the labor of our citizens shall be eaten up by taxation, to gain this end, and then refuse to give up his own passions, or to modify his own opinions, to restore our country and to stop the fearful waste we are now making of treasure and of life. Let no one think that the people who have refused to yield their Union to rebellion at the South, will permit its restoration to be prevented by fanaticism at the North.

CONCLUSION. The prevailing sentiment of the great controlling sections of our country will not only save our Union, but it will do so in a way harmonizing with the genius of our institutions, the usages of our people, and the letter and spirit of our Constitution. It will manifest itself in the customary manner by discussion and political action. The framers of our Constitution foreseeing that events would render it necessary for the people of the several States, not only thus to address our Government, but also to produce a consent of purpose and action between different communities provided in the Constitution, that "Congress shall make no law abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press, or of the right of the people peaceably to assemble and to petition the Government for redress of grievances." Our present alarming condition naturally calls for such expressions of public opinion with respect to the objects of this war, and the spirit in which it should be conducted, and the end for which it should be waged. When the public will is clearly expressed it must be recognized and respected by Gov-

ernment. It will also make itself effective in our frequently recurring elections which peacefully but rapidly form a body of government in harmony with its purposes. It will influence Congressional action; or it may lead to a Convention of the States. The condition of our country is not hopeless, unless it is made so by passions and prejudices which are inconsistent with the Government of a great country. This war, with all its evils, has taught us great truths, which if accepted by our people will place the future relations of the various sections of our Union on the firmest basis. It has made us know the value of the Union itself not only in our internal but in our foreign relations. It has given us a wisdom and knowledge of each other which had we possessed earlier, would have averted our present calamities. If the interest of different sections of our country are conflicting in some respects, they are so balanced and adjusted by nature, that there is an irrepressible tendency to intercourse, harmony and Union. This tendency must, in the end, overcome neutral misapprehension. We have also learned the great mutual strength of the North and the South, and all the bitterness of feeling engendered by the war, each section has been taught to respect the power, resources and courage of the other. We must accept the condition of affairs as they stand. At this moment the fortunes of our country are influenced by the results of battles. Our armies in the field must be supported; all constitutional demands of our Government must be promptly responded to.

But war all we will not save the Union. The rule of action which is used to put down an ordinary insurrection, is not applicable to a wide spread armed resistance of great communities. It is weakness and folly to shut our eyes to this truth. Under no circumstances can the division of the Union be concealed. We will put forth every exertion of power; we will use every policy of conciliation; we will hold out every inducement to the people of the South to return to their allegiance, consistent with honor; we will guarantee them every right every consideration demanded by the Constitution and by that fraternal regard which must prevail in a common country; but we can never voluntarily consent to the breaking up of the Union of these States or the destruction of the Constitution.

Humily acknowledging our dependence upon Almighty God, and repeating our prayer that our minds may be inspired with the wisdom, the magnanimity, the faith and charity, which will enable us to save our country. HORATIO SEYMOUR. SWINDLING THE SOLDIERS. A few weeks ago we took the Baltimore Express train for Pittsburg. The cars were nearly all filled with sick and wounded soldiers. Some of them were swindled at the late Frederickburg slaughter. Some were mere skeletons, from long confinement in the hospitals, and were unable to walk without assistance. We entered into conversation with them, and were surprised and pained to learn from them, that they had nothing to eat since they left Baltimore, the day before, and were without one cent of money. They informed us that there was eight months pay due them. But the Government would not pay them. We asked them to show us their discharge papers, which they readily did. On examining the back of the discharge, we found stamped or written in red ink, "paid in full." We informed them that the endorsement excluded them from all back pay. They were intensely indignant at the perpetrators of the swindle, and solemnly asserted that they had not received one cent of pay, some for four, some for six, and some for ten months. They pulled out their pocket-books to convince us that they had no money, assuring us that the want of money, alone, was the reason they suffered with hunger. These poor fellows were from Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan and Wisconsin. Some of them appealed to citizen passengers for means to procure something to eat, which was generously responded to by the citizen passengers. They were all indignant at the removal of McClellan, and blamed the Frederickburg slaughter on the impertinent interference of the Washington cabal. To illustrate the strong attachment of the army to McClellan, one of the wounded said that at the battle of Frederickburg, a wounded soldier was being carried off in the field in an ambulance, and in an undertone, "if McClellan was here, we would not have been used so." Instantly those conveying the ambulance exclaimed, "Bring back McClellan! Bring back McClellan!" In less than two minutes the cry of "Bring back McClellan! Bring back McClellan!" rang out in one deafening shout throughout the whole division.

One soldier from Indiana told us he had been in the army nineteen months; that he had volunteered under the conviction that the Administration would wage the war for the restoration of the Union—that before he got into battle he was convinced that he was "sold;" and at once decided that he would not fight for abolition principles, and although he had been in the seven days' fight before Richmond, Malvern Hill and Bull Run, besides several skirmishes, he could thank God that he had shed no man's blood. He always fired high in the air. He might have been killed, but he would not kill any one to free the nigger. He added, "There are many like me in the army." —Pennsylvania Argus.

Johns & Crosby's Cement Glue is now for sale at H. C. Devine's.



J. S. TODD, Editor & Publisher. WEDNESDAY JAN 21, 1863

The Second Triumph.

The election of Hon. C. R. Buckalew to the Senate of the United States, over Cameron, Wilnot and other Abolition demagogues, who sought to secure that position by bribery and corruption, may be regarded as another triumph of the conservative Democracy over sectionalism; and it is with no small degree of pleasure, that we exult over the election of one to that exalted position, whose ability and integrity are beyond reproach. Notwithstanding the wealth of the Middletown Bank, the inducements by bribes and the outside influences from every quarter, which were brought heavily to bear upon the Democratic members, Simon Cameron, who was almost certain of being elected, was obliged to shirk away dishonored and dismayed—although heavy bribes were said to have been offered, a Lebo, a Menear or a Wagonseller were not to be found. The people of this Commonwealth may begin to hold up their heads and look forward to better times, with the hope of seeing peace once more dawn upon our unhappy country; for it is only, through the ascendancy of Democratic principle, that we can ever hope to see the sanguinary troubles of our country quieted. Charles R. Buckalew is from Columbia county, and is about forty-two years of age. He has occupied a seat in the Legislature of this State for several years, in which he was an active and prominent member. During his public life he has not strayed from his political faith; and as a public officer he stands before the people with a record clear from corruption. While he was a representative of the people, he was a vehement defender of their rights and liberties; and when he takes his seat in Washington city, we may expect to see him represent and manfully contend for the interests of Pennsylvania.

The Probable Turn of Political Events.

From the present aspect of the subsiding elements of strife, and the ascendancy of Democratic principles over Abolition fanaticism, we may look forward with hope to a reconstruction of the Union upon the old basis; for the people, who are the real and legitimate sovereigns of a Republic government, begin to awaken to the responsibility and to comprehend the magnitude of the family quarrel which has been agitated by the ruthless schemes of crazy Abolitionists, whose superlative madness, under the plea of "necessity" guaranteed by the "war power," has endeavored to destroy the structure upon which our Government is based, and to deprive the poor man of the sacred privileges which the Constitution guarantees to the humblest. The conservative masses begin to see that the policy espoused by the present Administration involves the sacrifice of our wonted rights, and that in pursuing such a course, we lose the great object for which we are contending. New York has already declared her position, the Legislature of New Jersey is about to declare resolutions of peace and Pennsylvania too, by her recent triumph over bribery and corruption, in the election of a Democratic United States Senator, is determined to stand firm, and to resist the evil tendencies of Radicalism. But in any event, in order to secure the blessings of peace, with a view to a reconstruction of the Union, it must be done by abducting and forever discarding the States of New England.

We rejoice at the election of Hon. W. A. Richardson to the United States Senate, by the Legislature of Illinois, Hon. Jas. A. Bayard, by the Delaware Legislature and the Hon. T. H. Hendricks and Tarpie by the Legislature of Indiana. A few more such elections and we will be able to thwart the unhallowed schemes of Abolition fanaticism.

The Governor of New Hampshire has postponed the draft in that State forever and a day longer. It was to have taken place on the 8th.

Gov. Seymour's Message.

By leaving out that portion which refers to the finances of the State, we are enabled to publish that part of Governor Seymour's message which speaks of our national affairs. And we do this to the exclusion of other matter, because we believe it is a document which should be everywhere circulated and read. We, therefore, bespeak for it a careful perusal by all our readers. It contains the wisdom of a great statesman, as well as the sentiments of a free people. It is not one of those fanciful productions, emanating from a frenzied brain, to shock the reader with coarse language and vulgar anecdotes, nor to grieve the patriot with sentiments of depraved human nature, but it is a clear, forcible and Statesmanlike argument, based upon principle, independent of fear or the prejudices of partisan strife. Horatio Seymour has risen, high above the blundering incapacity of New England fanaticism, to a full comprehension of our country's perilous condition. He attributes our troubles to two extremes into which the opposite sections of our country have so madly run, viz: the fanaticism of the East and the domineering spirit of the extreme South.

The Constitutional Union.

The proprietor of that excellent paper, Hon. Thomas B. Florence, at the earnest request of many prominent Democratic and conservative friends of the country, intends to remove the publication of his paper from Philadelphia to Washington city, with a view of establishing a first class daily. The Constitutional Union has been an able and fearless advocate of Democratic principles and Constitutional rights. We hope this enterprise may prove successful and that the people may endorse it by a liberal patronage, because the exigencies of the times demand, at the seat of our Government, an able, fearless and independent Democratic paper. Mr. Florence extends solicitations to all true Democrats and lovers of Constitutional liberty, to become interested in this enterprise, by subscribing to the paper, such sums as they think proper, which will be credited to them; for which they will be entitled to copies of the paper at the following rates of subscription: \$5 per annum for the Daily, \$2 a year for the Weekly, and \$1 a year for the Monthly. The size of the Daily will be double medium; of the Weekly, double that size; and the Monthly will be an octavo pamphlet of 18 pages. (Common Market Street.) The first number will be issued on the 22d of next month. Over fifty numbers of Congress have taken an interest in this enterprise of Mr. Florence, and earnestly commend it to the people. Persons getting up a club of ten subscribers, will receive an extra copy for his trouble.

The Alleghenian of last week, appears to be a little funny over our literature, and subjects the "letters of a traveller" to a very severe criticism. We do not take notice of this because we think the feelings of "Viator" would be at all hurt at reading that paper, nor do we think it necessary to speak in defence of those letters, as they are yet exact, and will fully speak for themselves; but we merely mention the fact, to illustrate the overweening propensity of some people to appear wise and learned before the public, albeit they do frequently make asses of themselves; and besides we would remind the ostentatious editor of that paper, that we think he need not have gone so far from home in search of matter for criticism. Perhaps he might have found a broader field in the columns of the Alleghenian; for instance the plagiarisms from the Harbinger Telegraph, or the description of a pilgrimage away to the State of Maine, by the apparent editor himself, (which on account of its ambiguity and "murduring of the King's English," is not likely to be fathered by the more real editors,) would make a fit piece for ridicule. fancy eels!

A LITER-ary WESCH.—We learn from the Fulton Democrat, that a pious negro woman living in M'Connellsburg gave birth a short time ago, to three children. The sire of these babies is over sixty years of age and is now the father of twenty-seven children!

We were blessed with a heavy snow last week which raised our mountain streams so that the mills which have been idle so long, were enabled to resume operations.