

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.

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Valandigham in Congress.

The Speech for the Hour.

By C. L. VALANDIGHAM DE-
MOCRAT.

Call for "PEACE" that we may
Reconstruct it!

WHY WHO DON'T LIKE RECON-
STRUCTION CAN "STAY OUT!"—
ESPECIALLY NEW ENGLAND.

A Statesman's Views.

Delivered in Congress January 14, 1863.

[Continued.]

And again, in 1848: "But after the war was declared, by the authority of the Government, I acquiesced in what I could not prevent, and which it was impossible for me to arrest; and I then felt it to be my duty to limit my efforts to give such direction to the war as would, as far as possible, prevent the evils and dangers with which it threatened the country and its institutions."

Sir, I adopt all this as my own position and my defence; though, perhaps, in a civil war, I might fairly go further in opposition. I could not, with my convictions, vote men and money for this war, and I would not as a Representative vote against them. I meant that, without opposition, the President might take all the men and all the money he should demand, and then to hold him to a strict accountability before the people for the results. Not believing the soldiers responsible for the war, or its purposes, or its consequences, I have never withheld my vote where their separate interests were concerned. But I have denounced from the beginning the usurpations and the infractions, one and all, of law and Constitution, by the President and those under him: their repeated and persistent arbitrary arrests, the suspension of *habeas corpus*, the violation of freedom of the press, of the private house, of the press, and of speech, and all other multiplied wrongs and outrages upon public liberty and private right, which has made this country one of the worst despotisms on earth for the past twenty months; and I will continue to rebuke and denounce them to the end; and the people, thank God, have at last heard and heeded, and rebuked them, too. To the record and to time I appeal again for my justification.

And now, sir, I recur to the state of the Union to-day. What is it? Sir, twenty months have elapsed, but the rebellion is not crushed out; its military power has not been broken; the insurgents have not dispersed. The Union is not restored; nor the Constitution maintained; nor the laws enforced. Twenty, sixty, ninety, three hundred, six hundred days have passed; a thousand millions have been expended; and three hundred thousand lives lost or bodies mangled; and to-day the Confederate flag is still near the Potomac and the Ohio, and the Confederate government much stronger than at first. Not a State has been restored, not any part of any State has voluntarily returned to the Union. And has anything been wanting that Congress, or the States, or the people in their most generous enthusiasm, their most impassioned patriotism, could bestow? Was it power? And did not the party of the executive control the entire Federal Government, every State government, every county, every city, town, and village in the North and West? Was it patronage? All belonged to it. Was it influence? What more? Did not the school, the college, the church, the press, the secret orders, the municipality, the corporation, the railroad, telegraphs, express companies, the voluntary association, all, all yield to the utmost? Was it unanimity? Never was an Administration so supported in England or America. About five men and half a score of newspapers made up the opposition. Was it enthusiasm? The enthusiasm was fanciful. There has not been anything like it since the Crusades. Was it confidence? Sir, the faith of the people exceeded that of the patriarch. They gave up the Constitution, law, right, and liberty, all at your demand for arbitrary power that the rebellion might, as you promised, be crushed out in three months and the Union restored. Was credit needed? You took control of a country, young, vigorous, and inexhaustible in wealth and resources, and of a Government almost free from public debt, and whose good faith had never been tarnished. Your great national loan bubble failed miserably, as it deserved to fail; but the bankers and merchants of Philadelphia, New York, and Boston lent you more than their entire banking capital. And when that failed too, you forced credit by declaring your paper promises to pay, a legal tender for all debts. Was money wanted? You had all the revenues of the United States, diminished indeed, but still in gold. The whole wealth of the country, to the last dollar, lay at your feet. Private individuals, municipal corporations, the State governments, all in their frenzy gave you money or means with reckless prodigality. The great eastern cities lent you \$15,000,000 Congress voted, first, the sum of \$25,000,000, and next \$5,000,000 more in loans; and then, first, \$50,000,000, then \$10,000,000, next \$90,000,000, and, in July last, \$150,000,000 in Treasury notes; and the

Secretary has issued also a "paper postage currency," in sums as low as five cents, limited in amount only by his discretion. Nay, more; already since the 4th of July, 1861, this House has appropriated \$2,000,000,000, almost every dollar without debate, and without a record vote. A thousand millions have been expended since the 15th of April, 1861; and public debt or liability of \$1,500,000,000 already incurred. And to support all this stupendous outlay and indebtedness, a system of taxation, direct and indirect, has been inaugurated, the most enormous and unjust ever imposed upon any but a conquered people. Money and credit, then, you have had in prodigal profusion. And were men wanted? More than a million rushed to arms! Seventy-five thousand first, (and the country stood aghast at the multitude,) then eighty-three thousand more were demanded; and three hundred and ten thousand responded to the call. The President next asked four hundred thousand, and Congress, in its generous confidence, gave him five hundred thousand; and, not to be outdone, he took six hundred and thirty-seven thousand. Half of these melted away in the first campaign; and the President demanded three hundred thousand more for the war, and then drafted yet another three hundred thousand for nine months. The fabled hosts of Xerxes have been outnumbered. And yet victory strangely follows the standards of the foe. From Great Bethel to Vicksburg, the battle has not been to the strong. Yet every disaster, except the last, has been followed by a call for more troops, and every time so far they have been promptly furnished. From the beginning the war has been conducted like a political campaign, and it has been the folly of the party in power that they have assumed that numbers alone would win the field in a contest not with ballots but with musket and sword. But numbers you have had almost without number—the largest, best appointed, best armed, fed, and clad host of brave men, well organized and well disciplined, ever marshaled. A Navy, too, not the most formidable perhaps, but the most numerous and gallant, and the costliest in the world, and against a foe almost without a navy at all. Twenty million people, and every element of strength and force at command—power, patronage, influence, unanimity, enthusiasm, confidence, credit, money, men, an Army and a Navy the largest and the noblest ever set in the field or afloat upon the sea; with the support, almost servile, of every State, county, and municipality in the North and West; with a Congress swift to do the bidding of the Executive; without opposition anywhere at home, and with an arbitrary power which neither the Czar of Russia nor the Emperor of Austria dare exercise; yet after nearly two years of more vigorous prosecution of war than ever recorded in history; after more skirmishes, combats and battles than Alexander, Caesar, or the first Napoleon ever fought in any five years of their military career, you have utterly, signally, disastrously—I will not say ignominiously—failed to subdue ten million "rebels," whom you had taught the people of the North and West not only to hate but to despise. Rebels, did I say? Yes, your fathers were rebels, or your grandfathers. *He who now before me on Congress looks down so sadly upon us, the false, degenerate, and unbecoming guardians of the great Republic, which he founded, was a rebel.* And yet we, cradled ourselves in rebellion, and who have fostered and fraternized with every insurrection in the nineteenth century everywhere throughout the globe, would now, forsooth, make the word "rebel" a reproach. Rebels certainly they are; but all the persistent and stupendous efforts of the most gigantic warfare of modern times have, through your incompetency and folly, availed nothing to crush them out, cut off though they have been by your blockade from all the world, and dependent only upon their own courage and resources. And yet they were to be utterly conquered and subdued in six weeks, or three months! Sir, my judgment was made up and expressed from the first. I learned it from Chatham: "My lords, you cannot conquer America." And you have not conquered the South. You never will. It is not in the nature of things possible; much less under your auspices. But money you have expended without limit, and blood poured out like water. *Defeat, debt, taxation, sepulchres, these are your trophies!* In vain the people gave you treasure and the soldier yielded up his life. "Fight, tax, emancipate, let these," said the gentleman from Maine [Mr. Pike], at the last session, "be the trinity of our salvation." Sir, they have become the trinity of your deep damnation. The war for the Union is, in your hands,

a most bloody and costly failure. The President confessed it on the 22d of September, solemnly, officially, and under the broad seal of the United States. And he has now repeated the confession. The priests and rabbis of abolition taught him that God would not prosper such a cause. War for the Union was abandoned; war for the negro openly begun, and with stronger battalions than before. With what success? Let the dead at Fredericksburg and Vicksburg answer.

And now, sir, can you continue? Whence the money to carry it on? Where the men? Can you borrow? From whom? Can you tax more? Will the people bear it? Wait till you have collected what is already levied. How many millions more of "legal tender"—to-day forty-seven per cent below the par of gold—can you float? Will men enlist now at any price? Ah, sir, it is easier to die at home. I beg pardon; but I trust I am not "discouraging enlistments." If I am, then first arrest Lincoln, Stanton, and Halleck, and some of your other generals, and I will retract; yes, I will retract. But can you draft again? Ask New England—New York. Ask Massachusetts. Where are the nine hundred thousand? Ask not Ohio—the Northwest. She thought you were in earnest, and gave you all, all—more than you demanded.

The wife whose babe first smiled that day, The fair, fond bride of yester eve, And aged sire and matron gray, Saw the loved war-bus haste away, And deemed it sin to grieve."

Sir, in blood she has atoned for her credulity; and now there is mourning in every house, and distress and sadness in every heart. Shall she give you any more?

But ought this war to continue? I answer, NO! Not a day! Not an hour! What then? Shall we separate? Again I answer, no, no, no! What then? And now, sir, I come to the grandest and most sublime problem of statesmanship from the beginning; and to the God of Heaven, illuminer of hearts and minds, I would humbly appeal for some measure, at least, of light and wisdom and strength to explore and reveal the dark but possible future of this land.

CAN THE UNION OF THESE STATES BE RESTORED? HOW SHALL IT BE DONE? And why not? Is it historically impossible? Sir, the frequent civil wars and conflicts between the States of Greece did not prevent their cordial union to resist the Persian invasion; nor did even the thirty years Peloponnesian war, springing, in part, from the abduction of slaves, and embittered and disastrous as it was—let Thucydides speak—wholly destroy the fellowship of those States. The wise Romans ended three years social war after many bloody battles, and much atrocity, by admitting the States of Italy to all the rights and privileges of Roman citizenship—the very object to secure which these States had taken up arms. The border wars between Scotland and England, running through centuries, did not prevent the final union, in peace and by adjustment, of the two kingdoms under one monarch. Compromise did at last what ages of coercion and attempted conquest had failed to effect. England kept the crown, while Scotland gave the king to wear it; and the memories of Wallace and the Bruce of Bannockburn, became part of the glories of British history. I pass by the Union of Ireland with England—a Union of force, which God and just men abhor; and yet precisely "the Union as it should be" of the Abolitionists of America. Sir, the rivalries of the houses of York and Lancaster filled all England with cruelty and slaughter; yet compromise and intermarriage ended the strife at last, and the white rose and the red were blended in one. Who dreamed a month before the death of Cromwell that in two years the people of England, after twenty years of civil war and usurpation, would, with great unanimity, restore the house of Stewart in the person of its most worthless prince, whose father but eleven years before they had beheaded? And who could have foretold in the beginning of 1812, that within some three years, Napoleon would be in exile upon a desert island, and the Bourbons restored? Armed foreign intervention did it; but it is a strange history. Or who then expected to see a nephew of Napoleon, thirty-five years later, with the consent of the people, supplant the Bourbon and reign Emperor of France? Sir, many States and people, once separate, have become united in the course of ages through natural causes and without conquest; but I remember a single instance only in history of States or people once united, and speaking the same language, who have been forced permanently asunder by civil strife or war, unless they were

separated by distance or vast natural boundaries. The secession of the Ten Tribes is the exception; these parted without actual war, and their subsequent history is not encouraging to secession. But when Moses, the greatest of all statesmen, would secure a distinct nationality and government to the Hebrews, he left Egypt and established his people in a distant country. In modern times, the Netherlands, three centuries ago, won their independence by the sword; but France and the English channel separated them from Spain. So did our Thirteen Colonies; but the Atlantic ocean divorced us from England. So did Mexico, and other Spanish colonies in America; but the same ocean divided them from Spain. Cuba and the Canadas still adhere to the parent Government. And who, now, North or South, in Europe or America, looking into history, shall presumptuously say that because of civil war the re-union of these States is impossible? War, indeed, while it lasts, is disunion, and, if it lasts long enough, will be final, eternal separation first, and anarchy and despotism afterward. Hence I would hasten peace now, to-day, by every honorable appliance.

Are there physical causes which render re-union impracticable? None. Where other causes do not control, rivers unite; but mountains, deserts, and great bodies of water—*ocean dissociabile*—separate a people. Vast forests originally, and the lakes now, also divide us—not very widely or wholly—from the Canadas, though we speak the same language, and are similar in manners, laws and institutions. Our chief navigable rivers run from North to South. Most of our bays and arms of the sea take the same direction. So do our ranges of mountains. Natural causes all tend to Union, except as between the Pacific coast and the country east of the Rocky mountains to the Atlantic. It is "manifest destiny." Union is empire. Hence, hitherto we have continually extended our territory; and the Union with it, South and West. The Louisiana purchase Florida, and Texas all attest. We passed desert and forest and scaled even the Rocky mountains, to extend the Union to the Pacific. Sir, there is no natural boundary between the North and the South, and no line of latitude upon which to separate; and if ever a line of longitude shall be established, it will be east of the Mississippi valley. The Alleghenies are no longer a barrier. Highways ascend them everywhere, and the railroad now climbs their summits and spans their chasms, or penetrates their rockiest sides. The electric telegraph follows, and stretching its connecting wire along the clouds, there mingles its vocal lightning with the fires of heaven.

But if disunionists in the East will force a separation of any of these States, and a boundary purely conventional, is at last to be marked out, it must and will be either from Lake Erie upon the shortest line to the Ohio river, or from Manhattan to the Canadas.

And now, sir, is there any difference of race here, so radical as to forbid re-union? I do not refer to the negro race, styled now, in unctious official phrase by the President, "Americans of African descent." Certainly, sir, there are two white races in the United States, both from the same common stock, and yet so distinct—one of them so peculiar—that they develop different forms of civilization, and might be said to belong, almost, to different types of mankind. But the boundary of these two races is not at all marked by the line which divides the slaveholding from the non-slaveholding States. If race is to be the geographical limit of disunion, then Mason and Dixon's can never be the line.

Next, sir, do not the causes which, in the beginning, impelled to Union still exist in their utmost force and their extent? What were they? First, the common descent—and therefore consanguinity—of the great mass of the people. Had the Canadas been settled originally by the English, they would doubtless have followed the fortunes of the thirteen colonies. Next, a common language, one of the strongest ligaments which bind a people. Had we been contiguous to Great Britain, either the causes which led to a separation would have never existed, or else been speedily removed; or, afterwards, we would long since have been re-united as equals and all the rights of Englishmen. And along with these were similar, at least not essentially dissimilar, manners, habits, laws, religion, and institutions of all kinds, except one. The common defence was another powerful incentive, and is named in the Constitution as one among the objects of the "more perfect Union" of

1787. Stronger yet than all these, perhaps, but made up of all them, was a common interest. Variety of climate and soil, and therefore production, implying also extent of country, is not an element of separation, but, added to contiguity, becomes a part of the ligament of interest, and is one of its toughest strands. Variety of production is the parent of the earliest commerce and trade; and these, in their full development, are, as between foreign nations, hostages for peace; and between States and people united, they are the firmest bonds of Union. But after all, the strongest of the many original impelling causes to the Union, was securing of domestic tranquillity. The statesman of 1787 well knew that between thirteen independent but contiguous States without a natural boundary, and with nothing to separate them except the machinery of similar governments, there must be a perpetual, in fact an "irrepressible conflict" of jurisdiction and interest, which, there being no other common arbiter, could only be terminated by the conflict of the sword. And the statesmen of 1862 ought to know that two or more confederate governments, made up of similar States, having no natural boundary either, and separated only by different governments, cannot endure long together in peace, unless one or more of them be either too pusillanimous for rivalry, or too insignificant to provoke it, or too weak to resist aggression.

These, sir, along with the establishment of justice, and the securing of the general welfare, and of the blessings of liberty to themselves and their posterity, made up the causes and motives which impelled our fathers to the Union at first. And now, sir, what one of them is wanting? What one diminished? On the contrary many of them are stronger to-day than in the beginning. Migration and intermarriage have strengthened the ties of consanguinity. Commerce, trade, and production, have immensely multiplied. Cotton, almost unknown here in 1787, is now the chief product and export of the country. It has set in motion three-fourths of the spindles of New England, and given employment, directly or remotely, to full half the shipping, trade, and commerce of the United States. More than that; cotton has kept the peace between England and America for thirty years; and had the people of the North been as wise and practical as the statesmen of Great Britain it would have maintained Union and peace here. But we are being taught in our first century and at our own cost, the lessons which England learned through the long and bloody experience of eight hundred years. We shall be wiser next time. Let not cotton be king, but peace maker, and inherit the blessing.

A common interest, then, still remains to us. And union for the common defence, at the end of this war, taxed, indebted, impoverished, exhausted, as both sections must be, and with foreign fleets and armies around us, will be fifty-fold more essential than ever before. And finally, sir, without union, our domestic tranquillity, must forever remain unsettled. If it cannot be maintained within the Union, how then outside of it, without an exodus or colonization of the people of one section or the other to a distant country? Sir, I repeat that two governments so interlinked and bound together every way by physical and social ligaments cannot exist in peace without a common arbiter. Will treaties bind us? What better treaty than the Constitution? What more solemn more durable? Shall we settle our disputes, then, by arbitration and compromise. Sir, let us arbitrate and compromise now, inside of the Union. Certainly it will be quite as easy.

And now, sir, to all these original causes and motives which impelled to union at first, must be added certain artificial ligaments, which eighty years of association under a common government have most fully developed. Chief among these are canals, steam navigation, railroads, express companies, the post office, the newspaper press, and that terrible agent of good and evil mixed—"spirit of health, and yet goblin dinned"—if free, the gentlest minister of truth and liberty; when enslaved, the supplest instrument of falsehood and tyranny—"the magnetic telegraph. All these have multiplied the speed or the quantity of trade, travel, communication, migration, and intercourse of all kinds between the different States and sections; and thus, so long as a healthy condition of the body-politic continued, they became powerful cementing agencies of union. The numerous voluntary associations, artistic, literary, charitable, social, and scientific, until corrupted and made fanatical; the vari-

[To Be Continued.]