

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, FEB. 25, 1863.

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Valandigham in Congress.

The Speech for the Hour.

HON. C. L. VALANDIGHAM DENOUNCES THE WAR DISUNION.

He calls for "PEACE" that we may Reconstruct it!

WHOSE WHO DON'T LIKE RECONSTRUCTION CAN "STAY OUT"—ESPECIALLY NEW ENGLAND.

A Statesman's Views.

Delivered in Congress January 14, 1863.

[Concluded.]

...and of Plymouth Rock, and more

...the toleration. Let her banish now

...her dreamers and her sophists

...administration and into the national

...her men of night, her grand in

...some of them still live—and she

...the dangers which now

...her with isolation.

...Mr. Seward, while I am inexorably hos-

...the domination in religion or

...or politics, I am not in favor of

...the exclusion of New England.

...I would have the Union as it was; and

...New England as she was. But if

...England will have no union

...with us, I will not be content

...with the Union as it was," then upon

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ment; or else the line of separation will be the Potomac to its head waters. All of Delaware and Maryland, and the counties of Accomac and Northampton; in Virginia, would, in that event, follow the fortunes of the Northern Confederacy. In fact, sir, disagreeable as the idea may be to many within their limits on both sides, no man who looks at the map and then reflects upon history and the force of natural causes, any considers the present actual and the future probable position of the hostile armies and navies at the end of this war, ought for a moment to doubt that either the States and counties which I have named must go with the North, or Pennsylvania and New Jersey with the South. Military force on either side cannot control the destiny of the States lying between the mouth of the Chesapeake and the Hudson. And if that bay were itself made the line, Delaware and the Eastern Shore of Maryland and Virginia, would belong to the North; while Norfolk, the only capacious harbor in the south-eastern coast, must be commanded by the guns of some new fortress upon Cape Charles; and Baltimore, the now queenly city, seated then upon the very boundary of two rival, yes, hostile, confederacies, would rapidly fall into decay.

And now, sir, I will not ask whether the North-west can consent to separation from the South. Never. Nature forbids. We are only a part of the great valley of the Mississippi. There is no line of latitude on which to separate. The South would not desire the old line of thirty-six degrees thirty minutes on both sides of the river; and there is no natural boundary east and west. The nearest to it are the Ohio and Missouri rivers. But that line would leave Cincinnati and St. Louis, as border cities, like Baltimore, to decay, and extending fifteen hundred miles in length, would become the scene of an eternal border warfare without example even in the worst of times. Sir, we cannot, ought not, will not, separate from the South. And if you of the East who have found this war against the South and for the negro, gratifying to your hate or profitable to your purse, will continue it till a separation be forced between the slaveholding and your non-slaveholding States, then, believe me, and accept it, as you did not the other solemn warnings of years past, the day will dawn upon the North from the South, that will some day decide eternal divorce between the West and East.

Sir, our destiny is fixed. There is not one drop of rain which descending from the heavens, and fertilizing our soil, causes it to yield an abundant harvest, but flows into the Mississippi, and there, mingling with the waters of that mighty river, finds its way, at least, to the Gulf of Mexico. And we must and will follow it with travel and trade, not by treaty but by right freely peaceably, and without restriction or tribute, under the same Government and flag, to its home in the bosom of that Gulf. Sir, we will not remain after separation from the South, a province or appendage of the East; to bear her burdens and pay her taxes; nor hemmed in an isolated as we are, nor without a sea-coast, could we long remain a distinct confederacy. But wherever we go married to the South or East, we bring with us three-fourths of the territories of the valley to the Rocky Mountains, and it may be to the Pacific—the grandest and most magnificent dowry which bride ever had to bestow.

And now the way to reunion! What so easy? Behold to-day two separate governments in one country, and without a natural dividing line; with two presidents and cabinets, and a double Congress; and yet each under a constitution so exactly similar, to one to the other, that a stranger could scarce discern the difference. Was ever folly and madness like this? Sir, it is not in the nature of things that it should continue long.

But why speak of ways and terms of reunion now? The will is yet wanting in both sections. The Union is consent and good will and fraternal affection. War is force, hate, revenge. Is the country tired at last of war? Has the experiment been tried long enough? Has sufficient blood been shed, treasure expended, and misery inflicted in both the North and the South? What then? Stop and make an armistice—no formal fighting. Withdraw your army from the seceded States. Reduce both armies to a fair and sufficient peace establishment. Declare absolute free trade between the North and South. Buy and sell. Agree upon a Zollverein. Recall your fleets upon a Zollegerin. Break up your blockade. Reduce your navy. Restore travel. Open up railroads. Re-establish the telegraph. Re-unite your express companies. No more

Monitors and iron-clads, but set your friendly steamers and steamships again in motion. Visit the North and West. Visit the South. Exchange newspapers. Migrate. Intermarry. Let slavery alone. Hold elections at the appointed times. Let us chose a new President in sixty-four. And when the gospel of peace shall have descended again from heaven into their hearts, and the gospel of abolition and of hate been expelled, let your clergy and the churches meet again in Christian intercourse, North and South. Let the secret orders and voluntary associations everywhere re-unite as brethren once more. In short give to all the natural and all the artificial causes which impel us together, their fullest sway. Let time do his office—drying tears, dispelling sorrows, melting passion, and making herb and grass and tree to grow again upon the hundred battle-fields of this terrible war.

"But this is recognition." It is formal recognition, to which I will not consent. Recognition now, and attempted permanent treaties about boundary, travel, and trade, and partition of territories, would end in war fiercer and more disastrous than before. Recognition is absolute disunion; and not between the slave and the free States, but with Delaware and Maryland as a part of the North, and Kentucky and Missouri part of the West. But wherever the actual line, every evil and mischief of disunion is implied in it. And for similar reasons, sir, I would not at this time press hastily a convention of the States. The men who now would hold seats in such a convention, would, upon both sides, if both agreed to attend, come together full of the hate and bitterness inseparable from a civil war. No, sir; let passion have time to cool, and reason to resume its sway. It cost thirty years of desperate and most wicked patience and industry to destroy or impair the magnificent temple of this Union. Let us be content if, within three years, we shall be able to restore it.

But certainly what I propose is informal, practical recognition. And that is precisely what exists to-day, and has existed, more or less defined from the first. Flags of truce, exchange of prisoners, and all your other observances of the laws, forms, and courtesies of war are acts of recognition. Sir, does any man doubt to-day that there is a Confederate Government at Richmond, and that it is a "belligerent"? Even the Secretary of State has discovered it at last, though he has written ponderous folios of polished rhetoric to prove that it is not. Will continual war, then, without extended and substantial success, make the Confederate States any the less a government in fact?

"But it confesses disunion." Yes, just as the surgeon, who sets your fractured limb in splints, in order that it may be healed, admits that it is broken. But the Government will have failed to "crush out the rebellion." Sir, it has failed. You went to war to prove that we had a Government. With what result? To the people of the loyal States it has, in your hands, been the Government of King Stork, but to the Confederate States, of King Log. "But the rebellion will have triumphed." Better triumph to-day than ten years hence. But I deny it. The rebellion will at last be crushed out in the only way in which it ever was possible. "But no one will be hurt at the end of war." Neither will there be, though the war should last half a century, except by the mob or the hand of arbitrary power. But really, sir, if there is to be no hanging, let this Administration, and all who have done its bidding everywhere, rejoice and be exceeding glad.

And now, sir, allow me a word upon a subject of very great interest at this moment, and most important it may be in its influence upon the future—Foreign Mediation. I speak not of armed and hostile intervention, which I would resist as long as but one man was left to strike a blow at the invader. But friendly mediation—the kindly offer of an impartial Power to stand as daysman between the contending parties in this most bloody and exhausting strife—ought to be met in a spirit as cordial and ready as that in which it is proffered. It would be consistent with the former dignity of this Government to ask for mediation; neither, sir, would it befit its ancient magnanimity to reject it. As proposed by the Emperor of France, I would accept it at once. Now is the auspicious moment. It is the speediest, easiest, most graceful mode of suspending hostilities. Let us hear no more of the mediation of cannon and the sword. The day for all that has gone by. Let us be statesmen at last. Sir, I give thanks that some at least, among the Re-

publican party seem ready now to lift themselves up to the height of this great argument, and to deal with it in the spirit of the patriots and great men of other countries and ages, and of the better days of the United States. And now, sir, whatever may have been the motives of England, France, and the other great Powers of Europe, in withholding recognition so long from the Confederate States, the South and the North are both indebted to them for an immense public service. The South has proved her ability to maintain herself by her own strength and resources, without foreign aid, moral or material. And the North and West—the whole country, indeed—these great powers have served incalculably, by holding back a solemn proclamation to the world that the Union of these States was finally and formally dissolved. They have left to us every motive and every chance for re-union; and if that has been the purpose of England, especially—our rival so long; interested more than any other in disunion and the consequent weakening of our great naval and commercial power, and suffering, too, as she has suffered, so long and severely because of this war—I do not hesitate to say that she has performed an act of unselfish heroism without example in history. Was such indeed her purpose? Let her answer before the impartial tribunal of posterity. In any event, after the great reaction in public sentiment in the North and West, to be followed after some time by a like reaction in the South, foreign recognition now of the Confederate States could avail little to delay or prevent final re-union; if, as I firmly believe, re-union be not only possible but inevitable.

Sir, I have not spoken of foreign arbitration. That is quite another question. I think it impracticable, and fear it as dangerous. The very Powers—or any other Power—which have hesitated to aid disunion directly or by force, might, as authorized arbiters, most readily pronounce for it at last. Very grand, indeed, would be the tribunal before which the great question of the Union of these States and the final destiny of this continent for ages, should be heard, and historic through all time, the ambassadors who should argue it. And if belligerents consent, let the subjects in controversy be referred to Switzerland, or Russia, or any other impartial and incorruptible Power or State in Europe. But at last, sir, the people of these several States here, at home, must be the final arbiters of this quarrel in America; and the people and States of the Northwest, the mediator who shall stand, like the prophet, betwixt the living and the dead, that the plague of disunion may be stayed.

Sir, this war, horrible as it is, has taught us all some of the most important and salutary lessons which ever a people learned. First, it has annihilated, in twenty months, all the false and pernicious theories and teachings of abolitionism for thirty years, and which a mere appeal to facts and argument could not have untangled in half a century. We have learned that the South is not weak, dependent, unenterprising, or corrupted by slavery, luxury, and idleness; but powerful, earnest, warlike, enduring, self-supporting, full of energy, and inexhaustible in resources. We have been taught, and now confess it openly, that African slavery, instead of being a source of weakness to the South, is one of her main elements of strength; and hence the "military necessity," we are told, of abolishing slavery, in order to suppress the rebellion. We have learned, also, that the non-slaveholding white men in the South, millions in number, are immovably attached to the institution, and are its chief support; and abolitionists have found out, to their infinite surprise and disgust, that the slave is not "panting for freedom," nor pinning in silent but revenged grief over cruelty and oppression inflicted upon him, but happy, contented, attached deeply to his master, and unwilling—at least not eager—to accept the boon of freedom which they have proffered him. I appeal to the President for the proof, I appeal to the fact that fewer slaves have escaped, even from Virginia, in nearly two years, than Arnold and Cornwallis carried away in six months of invasion in 1781. Finally, sir, we have learned, and the South, too, what the history of the world ages ago, and our own history might have taught us, that servile insurrection is the least of the dangers to which she is exposed. Hence, in my deliberate judgment, African slavery, as an institution, will come out of this conflict fifty-fold stronger than when the war began.

The South, too, sir, has learned most important lessons; and among them, that personal courage is a quality common to

all sections, and that, in battle, the men of the North, and especially of the West, are their equals. Hitherto there has been a mutual and most mischievous mistake on both sides. The South overvalued its own personal courage, and undervalued ours, and we too readily consented; but at the same time she exaggerated our aggregate strength and resources, and underestimated her own; and we fell into the same error; and hence the original and fatal mistake or vice of the military policy of the North, and which has already broken down the war by its own weight—the belief that we could bring overwhelming numbers and power into the field and upon the sea, and crush out the South at a blow. But twenty months of terrible warfare have corrected many errors, and taught us the wisdom of a century. And now, sir, every one of these lessons will profit us for ages to come; and if we do but re-unite, will bind us in a closer, firmer, more durable union than ever before.

I have now, Mr. Speaker, finished what I desire to say at this time, upon the great question of re-union of these States. I have spoken freely and boldly—not wisely, it may be, for the present, or for myself personally, but most wisely for the future and for my country. Not courting censure, I yet do not shrink from it. My own immediate personal interests, and my chances just now for the more material rewards of ambition, I again surrender as hostages to that great heritage, the echo of whose footsteps already I hear along the highway of time. Whoever, here or elsewhere, believes that war can restore the Union of these States; whoever would have a war for the abolition of slavery, or disunion; and he who demands southern independence and final separation, let him speak, for him have I offended. Devoted to the Union from the beginning, I will not desert it now in this hour of its sorest trial.

Sir, it was the day dream of my boyhood, the cherished desire of my youth, that I might live to see the hundredth anniversary of our national independence, and as an orator of the day, exult in expanding glories and greatness of the still United States. That vision lingers yet before my eyes, obscured indeed by the clouds and thick darkness and the blood of civil war. But, sir, if the men of this generation are wise enough to profit by the hard experience of the past two years, and will turn their hearts now from bloody intents to the words and acts of peace, that day will find us again the United States. And if not earlier, as I would desire and believe, at least upon that day let the great work of re-union be consummated; that henceforth for ages, the States and the people who shall fill up this mighty continent, united under one Constitution, and in one Union, and the same destiny, shall celebrate it as the birthday both of independence and of the Great Restoration.

Sir, I repeat it, we are in the midst of the very crisis of this revolution. If today, we secure peace and begin the work of reunion, we shall yet escape; if not, I see nothing before us but universal political and social revolution, anarchy, and bloodshed, compared with which the Reign of Terror in France was a merciful visitation.

Abolition in Disguise. We are not of those who have ever placed confidence in the conservative professions of Lincoln, Seward and other leaders of the Republican party. The difference between Weed and Greeley, between so-called radical Republicans is merely one of time. They all seek the same end; they are all imbued with the same fanatical spirit; they equally share the responsibility for our present terrible calamities, and, if let alone, will be equal co-workers in the destruction of our national liberties, greatness and prosperity. They may do the livery of Heaven to serve the devil in, and proclaim themselves conservatives in order to more surely compass the ends of Abolitionism; but Democrats should know that the character of the men, and their history, so full of hypocrisy, ruse, treachery, and falsehood, proves that, whether they call themselves People's party, Republicans, Unionists, or Conservatives, they are nothing but Abolitionists, imbued with the single idea of elevating the negro to the level of the white, although in the vain effort to reverse the decrees of nature liberty shall perish and the American Republic become a by-word, mockery and scorn throughout all Christendom.

We observe that Thurlow Weed is striving to organize a hybrid so-called conservative party, composed of unreliable Democrats, such as Collicott and the Republican adversaries of that wing of the

party which is represented by Horace Greeley, of the N. Y. Tribune. Secretary Seward too, in furtherance of the object, has recently given a great dinner, whereat Governor Curtin was present, and it is said, the decision arrived at that he should run as the candidate for Governor of this new Abolition-conservative party. It is nothing but the People's party repeated—that is, a party which, through deception, may carry Pennsylvania and then be bodily handed over to the ultraists, as Gen. Cameron disposed of a similar organization to which he stood as foster father.

Success obtained, Gov. Curtin would probably, as a zealous convert propose to lead two colored brigades into the heart of the rebellion instead of Cameron's one. For, let it be remembered that William H. Seward, the wily leader in this movement, if the chief expounder of the "irresistible conflict" doctrine, who would accomplish by torbuous roads that which Greeley strives to attain openly and directly. To our mind Seward, and those who follow him, are the most dangerous members of the heterogeneous compound opposed to the great Democracy. They blind the people with sophistry, they raise false issues, they confuse the public mind, they barely sometimes keep the word of promise to the ear, and always break it to the hope. We fear the Greeks when bringing presents, we tremble when any portion of this party, so hostile to our Constitution, and so destructive of our Union in the past, present and future, calls itself conservative, and we feel called upon to warn the Democracy, and more especially the Democracy, of New York, against this new Trojan horse which the enemies of our party and our country seek to introduce into the citadel of the faithful defenders of the American Government.

Democratic brethren, do not listen to the coaxing words of any wing of the opposition; they are abolitionists of different shades; we do not need them as allies, for their alliance is dangerous and corrupting. The proud and united Democracy can and will without the aid of mercenary alliance, destroy the different divisions of the enemy when we have them fully in front.—Patriot & Union.

The President is said to have in his hands a list of the general officers of the Army of the Potomac who are considered unfit to be entrusted with command, in consequence of entertaining and expressing opinions hostile to himself and policy. If that is to be the criterion by which the army is to be judged, it is hardly worth while to make out a list—the whole army must be disbanded. There are not, probably, a hundred officers of any grade in that army, and not two regiments of men, who have not time and again spoken against the President and his policy. They would be poor sticks if they didn't, abused and maltreated as they have been. In short, the officer or private of the Potomac Army who wouldn't damn them, isn't worth a damn himself.

HE SURRENDERED.—An amusing incident occurred during the battle of Newtonia, Mo. The fight being hotly contested, an officer became very thirsty and repaired to a spring near by to get a draft of cool water. Kneeling down he drank from the spring without the aid of a cup. As he arose from his refreshing tod, he sat fair and square upon his heels, which were armed with a pair of tremendous Mexican spurs. The instant he felt the prick of the sharp rollers, he thought the enemy were upon him and a bayonet entering his flesh. When some of his men arrived he was bawling, "Oh I surrender! I surrender!" at the top of his voice.

A yankee down east has invented a machine for corking up daylight, which will eventually supersede gas. He covers the interior of a flour barrel with shoe-maker's wax—holds it open to the sun, then suddenly heads up the barrel. The light sticks to the wax and at night can be cut in lots to suit purchasers.

An Irish waiter complimented a salmon in the following manner: "Faith, it's not two hours since that salmon was walking round his real estate with his hands in his pockets, never dreaming what a pretty invitashun he'd have to jine you gentlemen at dinner."

A western editor speaks of the circumstance of a bird building its nest upon a ledge over the door of a doctor's office, as an attempt to rear its young in the very jaws of death.