

M. M. O'Neil

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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REMARKS OF WM. WALLACE, OF CLEARFIELD, IN THE SENATE OF PENNSYLVANIA, MARCH 6, 1863.

MR. SPEAKER: I have listened with great interest to the denunciations, epigrams and invectives that have fallen upon the Senate upon the other side of the chamber. The crime (if such it be) being a Democrat, I shall neither attempt to palliate nor deny. In saying that I am a Democrat, I take to myself nothing of shame, but rather feel a thrill of pride and glory. I am proud to be a member of that noble party...

my confident and brave, but inexperienced, under the guidance of the veteran Scott, was impetuously driven forward by the machinations of political fanatics. It was madly dashing against the battlements at Manassas; it did all that a brave and loyal soldiery could do but was thrown back, beaten, dismayed and bleeding, upon Washington.

All was dismay, all were intrepidity; and with outstretched hands they sought relief—Whence shall it come?—is it from Governor Johnson, then a Senator of the United States? Why he partook of the general dread.

To the young and vigorous McClellan the eye of the nation involuntarily turned, and the armies of the government were at once placed beneath his control. He was brought to Washington when confusion and disorder reigned supreme, but under his magic touch a new state of things grows up; confidence and order follow chaos; the army disorganized is reorganized for victory; and when the order to move forward comes, the strength of the enemy is acquired by that greatest of all victories—a bloodless one.

During all the existence of the rebellion, where is Andrew Johnson? In the Senate of the United States, seeking protection for himself and his fellows under the bayonets of the soldiers of McClellan. Until this hour, when he has shown himself in the front of battle! In high places—as the military Governor of his own people, as their dictator—we find him; he is never found in arms in defence of his State, or valiantly fighting in defence of the liberties of his people, against the armed cohorts of the rebellion. Never, never!

Sir, it is but proper that the representatives of the people of Pennsylvania should place upon record their desire that a man who has done yeoman service in behalf of the government should be equally honored with the man who holds the position of military Governor under the government of the United States. The Republican party in the New York Legislature has refused to accord to Gen. McClellan the honor of a public reception. He who has done more than any other toward crushing out the insurrection, is refused an opportunity to be heard. McClellan, the soldier, has voluntarily encountered the perils of the battle-field and the privations of the camp. Johnson, the civilian, has remained in inglorious ease as a Senator and a Governor. This resolution as amended, places them on the level, and surely Gov. Johnson cannot complain of this. For this simple request, for exercising our undoubted right to criticize all public men, for plainly expressing our opinions and convictions, we are bitterly denounced. Sirs, you may talk as you will. We are your peers—Senators of this Commonwealth—sustained by a noble and loyal constituency; we are sustaining the doctrines of the Constitution, and demand, and will have the right freely to express the opinions that actuate us.

Mr. Speaker, it has been said that every man who was a Democratic Senator or Representative in Congress, and every Democratic Governor at the inception of the rebellion, is now in armed rebellion against the Government. In its broad statement, this is incorrect; that it is partially true follows naturally from the facts, that Republicanism was essentially sectional, that the South was mainly represented by Democrats, and that Southern members and Senators followed the fortunes of their States. But that these facts prove the disloyalty of the Northern Democracy is utterly absurd. They simply prove that sectional Republicanism has given the coveted opportunity to sectional secession. But, sir, let me ask you what was your condition then and what is it now! When secession was accomplished and bloodshed inaugurated, every branch of the National government was under your undisputed control; the executive and legislative departments of almost every branch of the National government was under your undisputed control; the executive and legislative departments of almost every Northern State were absolutely

your; Republicans rioted in power. Now, sir, the times are changed. You are passing away; the people are wresting from you the sceptre of dominion; and men who, like Andrew Johnson, are willing to trample the Constitution under foot, are in transition; they will in the early future, be buried in dark oblivion, and men will stand upon the grand bulwarks of the Constitution, the noble pulsation of whose hearts beat in sympathetic unison with thirty four States, who will bear aloft the banner of our country with not a star erased—they are the men who are trampling upon your heels and will soon follow in the places you now occupy. Sirs, this is the past and present of the rebellion, these are the signs of the times.

I am opposed to the reception of Governor Johnson for no personal reason; but, sir, I am unwilling to recognize his present official position. He is not the Governor of Tennessee in my view of the law. I am opposed to the resolution because Republican Senators are unwilling to yield the same courtesy to General McClellan. I am opposed to the resolution because I am unwilling to countenance any of those men who have rendered aid and comfort toward sustaining this administration—mark me—towards sustaining this administration in its unconstitutional, unwarranted and unnecessary measures. Andrew Johnson is one of those who has gone farthest, who has been the most ultra of the ultra in sustaining the violent measures of the administration at Washington.

Mr. Fuller. Will the Senator allow me to ask him a question?

Mr. Wallace. Certainly.

Mr. Fuller. Does the Senator refer to the war measures of the administration?

Mr. Wallace. I do. To those and to all other unconstitutional measures.

Mr. Fuller. It is for that you condemn him?

Mr. Wallace. No, sir, not for that alone, but because he has been a consistent and warm friend of all their radical measures.

Mr. Wallace. He has sustained the administration in its emancipation measures, in its suspension of the writ of habeas corpus, in all its prominent measures. Sir, the Senator cannot point out a single measure, of this administration that was opposed by the loyal people of the North, that has not been sustained by Andrew Johnson. It is for this I shall vote against his occupying this hall.

Mr. Fuller. Do I understand the Senator to say that the loyal people of the North are opposed to Andrew Johnson. It is for this I shall vote against his occupying this hall.

Mr. Fuller. Do I understand the Senator to say that the loyal people of the North are opposed to Andrew Johnson because he has sustained the Government? Mr. Wallace. I do not say any such thing, and I suppose that that sufficiently covers the inquiry of the gentleman.

I shall proceed. In its emancipation policy—in its control and absolute suspension of the right of free speech and a free press—in its repeated arbitrary arrests—the administration has gone contrary to the Government. The Government of the United States can do none of these things. In the organic law of the land, it is plainly written that the rights of personal liberty, freedom of speech and freedom of the press are rights upon which no man dare lay his hand. Yet the right of personal liberty has been repeatedly violated and the authority of the law contemned and defied. The courts were open; the law of the land was in full force; none were interfering to stop its execution; the people loyal and submissive; yet men have been taken by this administration from their homes and families, deprived of their constitutional right of trial by jury, and imprisoned in distant forts and prisons.

The eternal principles embodied in the bill of rights of Pennsylvania and contained in the Amendments of the Constitution of the United States are the strata upon which rest all our political rights. It was to preserve these that the Constitution was framed. It was to secure these that the revolution was fought; all the other provisions of the written law were designed as the outer barriers for the protection of these. These great principles are immutable and can never be subverted and our liberties preserved. These are the Government. To protect them is the highest duty of any administration called into existence under the provisions of the Constitution. No administration can strike out of existence these great principles without destroying the very institutions they are to support. And, sir, there is another thing to be said in this connection. Vacillation of

purpose—a continued vacillation of policy and purpose has characterized this administration from its inception; it has had this policy to-day and to-morrow; it has wavered here to-day and there to-morrow; it has proposed this thing as a war measure to-day and that thing to-morrow, until, little by little, it has crushed out the Union sentiment of the South and almost exhausted the loyal people of the North, by arousing a a trebling apprehension for the preservation of the liberties guaranteed by the Constitution. This vacillation of purpose on the part of the Administration has knitted together the people of the South as one mighty mass in arms against us; blood has flowed like water; and treasure, by the thousand millions, has already been expended in the hitherto fruitless efforts to conquer a peace and crush the insurrection. Unless reason shall resume its throne North and South—unless honesty of purpose and fealty to our constitutional obligations shall gain the ascendancy—there is no ray of hope for the future.

Mr. Ridgway. I would ask the gentleman, whether he is supporting the Constitution for the purpose of protecting slavery or liberty?

Mr. Wallace. I am supporting the Constitution for the purpose of protecting myself and my posterity. I am unwilling to entrust the right to control my constituents, and, my children, and myself to any "one man power." We have a written law, and by that written law we must abide.

Sir, I again indignantly repel the assertion of Senators upon this floor, that the Democracy are disloyal. Thousands of the noble Democracy of Pennsylvania are now in the army; they promptly responded to the call for troops; they have nobly sacrificed their private interests and pursuits and have devoted themselves to the support of the government, and are now engaged in vindicating by arms the power of the government.

When gentlemen undertake to make a distinction between the leaders of the Democracy and the Democratic masses, they fall into a grievous error. Sirs, I tell you the leaders are behind the people on this question. I tell Senators that the people of Pennsylvania are far in advance of their leaders in their zeal for the maintenance of the Constitution. They say "stand by every line, cling to every letter, plant yourselves upon its eternal doctrines and let no power move you therefrom;" they reproach their leaders that they do not more definitely and emphatically denounce those continued and repeated usurpations of the rights of the people.

Sir, we are for the Constitution and the law; and when Senators call us "disloyal," I ask them in what we have disobeyed the law? Obedience to law is the true test of loyalty. He who obeys the law is the loyal man, and he who is willing under any plea—aye, even the plea of necessity—to trample beneath his feet the liberties of the people and the law of the land is a disloyal man. [Applause.] I hurl back upon such the imputation of disloyalty. We are the loyal men because we are for the law. Let those who seek to subvert the law receive themselves the damning record of disloyalty. The Democracy of Pennsylvania and of the whole North are loyal; the people maintain this Government unimpaired and as it has decided to them from their fathers.

In behalf of this Government and in support of the law, two hundred thousand of our noble people have gone forth to battle. Of those two hundred thousand, thirty thousand have bravely died with their feet to the foe and their faces to Heaven. Are these the evidences of disloyalty? Is this the conduct of a disloyal people? No! no! no! sir. These men have nobly died in defence of the Government that has fostered and protected them; and I say to Senators now, that the gaping wounds of these thirty thousand soldiers are mouths vocal with imprecations upon the heads of those who have so criminally mismanaged this war. Their corpses, stark and stiff, will rise in judgment against the men who strive to wrest from a free people the plainest teachings of that law, in defence of which those brave soldiers nobly died.

In speaking as I have spoken of the Constitution, I do not wish to be understood as interposing its provisions as a protection to rebels in arms. If they have violated the law, let them be tried by the law and be punished by the law. I do not wish my position upon this question to be misunderstood. The history of the world shows us that occasions of public commotion are seized upon by designing men to sweep away the liberties of the people. I am solicitous for the

preservation of the Constitution, because it is the great protecting power for my liberties and the liberties of the people I represent.

New Jersey Resolutions.

The following resolutions passed the Legislature of New Jersey, on last week by vote of 386 to 13.

1. Be it resolved by the Senate and General Assembly of the State of New Jersey, That this State, in promptly answering the calls made by the President of the United States, and since the inauguration of the war, for troops and means to assist in maintaining the power and dignity of the Federal Government, believed and confided in the professions and declarations of the President of the United States, in his inaugural address, and in the resolutions passed by Congress on the 25th day of July, 1861, in which, among other things, it was declared "that the war is not waged for conquest or subjugation, or interfering with the rights or established institutions of the States, but to maintain and defend the supremacy of the Constitution, with the rights and equality under it unimpaired, and that as soon as these objects shall be accomplished the war ought to cease;" and that relying upon these assurances, given under the sanctity of official oaths, this State freely, fully, and without delay or conditions, contributed to the assistance of the Federal Government her sons and her means.

2. And be it resolved, That this State having waited for the redemption of the sacred pledges of the President and Congress with a patience and forbearance only equalled in degree by the unflinching and unwavering bravery and fidelity of her sons, conceives it to be her solemn duty, as it is her unquestionable right to urge upon the President and Congress, in the most respectful but decided manner, the redemption of the pledges under which the troops of this State entered upon and to this moment have continued in the contest; and inasmuch as no conditions have been delayed or hesitation marked her zeal in behalf of the Federal government, even at times when party dogmas were dangerously usurping the place of broad national principles and Executive and Congressional faith; and as the devotion of this State to the sacred cause of perpetuating the Union and maintaining the Constitution has been tainted in any degree by infidelity, bigotry, sectionalism, or partisanship, shewen, in view of the faith originally pledged, of the disasters and disgrace that have marked the steps of a changed and changing policy, and of the imminent danger that threatens our national existence, urges upon the President and Congress a return and adherence to the original policy of the administration as the only means, under the blessing of God, by which the adhering States can be reunited in action, the Union restored and the nation saved.

3. And be it resolved, That it is the deliberate sense of the people of this State that power within the limits of the Constitution is ample for any and all emergencies, and that all assumptions of power, under whatever plea, beyond that conferred by the Constitution, is without warrant or authority, and if permitted to continue without restraints will finally encompass the destruction of the liberties of the people and the death of the republic; and therefore, to the end that in any event the matured and deliberate sense of the people of New Jersey may be known and declared, we, their representatives in Senate and General Assembly convened, do, in their name and in their behalf, make unto the Federal Government this, our solemn

PROTEST.

Against a war waged with the insurgent States for the accomplishment of unconstitutional or partisan purposes; Against a war which has for its object the subjugation of any of the States, with a view to their reduction to territorial condition; Against proclamations from any source by which, under the plea of "military necessity," persons in States and Territories sustaining the Federal Government, and beyond necessary military lines, are held liable to the rigor and severity of military law; Against the domination of the military over the civil law in States, Territories, or Districts not in a state of insurrection; Against all arrests without warrant—against the suspension of the writ of habeas corpus in States and Territories sustaining the Federal Government, "where the public safety does not require it"—and against the assumption of power by any person to suspend such writ, except

under the express authority of Congress; Against the creation of new States by the division of existing ones, or in any other manner not clearly authorized by the Constitution, and against the right of secession as practically admitted by the action of Congress in admitting as a new State a portion of the State of Virginia.

Against the power assumed in the proclamation of the President, made January one, eighteen hundred and sixty-three, by which all the slaves in certain States and parts of States are forever set free; and against the expenditure of the public moneys for the emancipation of slaves or their support at any time, under any pretence whatever;

Against any and every exercise of power upon the part of the Federal Government that is not clearly given and expressed in the Federal Constitution—reasserting that "the powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people."

4. And be it resolved, That the unequalled promptness with which New Jersey has responded to every call made by the President and Congress for men and means, had been occasioned by no lurking animosity to the States of the South or the rights of her people; no disposition to wrest from them any of their rights, privileges, or property, but simply to assist in maintaining, as she has ever believed and now believes it to be her duty to do, the supremacy of the Federal Constitution; and while abating naught in her devotion to the union of the States and the dignity and power of the Federal Government, at no time since the commencement of the present war has this State been other than willing to terminate peacefully and honorably to all, a war unnecessary in its origin, fraught with horror and suffering in its prosecution, and necessarily dangerous to the liberties of all in its continuance.

5. And be it resolved, That the Legislature of the State of New Jersey believes that the appointment of commissioners upon the part of the Federal Government to meet commissioners similarly appointed by the insurgent States, to convene in some suitable place for the purpose of considering whether any, and if any, what plan may be adopted, consistent with the honor and dignity of the National Government, by which the present civil war may be brought to a close, is not inconsistent with the integrity, honor, and dignity of the Federal government, but as an indication of the spirit which animates the adhering States, would in any event tend to strengthen us in the opinion of other nations; and hoping, as we sincerely do, that the Southern States would reciprocate the peaceful indications thus evinced, and believing, as we do, that under the blessing of God great benefits would arise from such a conference, we most earnestly recommend the subject to the consideration of the government of the United States and request its co-operation therein.

6. And be it resolved, That his Excellency the Governor be requested to forward copies of these resolutions to the government of the United States, our Senators and Representatives in Congress, and to the Governors and Legislatures of our sister States, with the request that they give the subject their serious and immediate attention.

7. And be it resolved, That the State of New Jersey pledges itself to such prompt action, upon the subject of these resolutions as will give them practical effect, immediately upon the concurrence or co-operation of the government and Legislatures of sister States.

POSTAGE WIT.—A letter bearing the following address was recently mailed in Rochester, New York:

To Hiram Allen, Oswego, Transposed, it readeth we go so, Transposed again and you will see That thus it runneth so go we; Transposed once more, and it will show A common adage, so we go; Aye—so we in Life's great mail; If well directed, we can't fail— If badly, thereby hangs a tail!

A waggish speculator, one of a numerous family in the world, recently said: "Five years ago I was not worth a penny in the world; now you see where I am, through my own exertions!" "Well, where are you?" "Why, a thousand pounds in debt!"

The Essence of Abolition is—Believe as I do, or you are a traitor."

Resist not the laws: they are the safeguard of the people.