

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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Hymn for the Nation.

The following beautiful stanzas were sung in the old Capitol Prison, by the Rev. Mr. Benedict:

God of mercy, watch above us,
God of mercy, watch and love us;
And keep our Union strong;
And the banners that surround us,
Bind the hand that firmly bound us,
And bound us for so long.

Not by the sword of iron;
Not by the sword of iron;
Not by the sword of iron;
Not by the sword of iron;
Not by the sword of iron;
Not by the sword of iron.

Monster Mass Meeting in Independence Square.

THIRTY THOUSAND FREEMEN ON THE GROUND.

A great mass meeting of the Democracy of Philadelphia, to protest against the arbitrary arrest, trial and ostracism of Hon. C. L. Vallandigham, and vindicate the right of free speech, assembled in Independence Square, Philadelphia, on Monday night last. The number in attendance is variously estimated at from 25,000 to 40,000. It was, perhaps, the largest body of citizens ever convened in a mass meeting in the city, and we are happy to say, passed off without any unusual disturbance.

RESOLUTIONS.

Whereas, The people of the United States have been insulted, and the laws of the land and the principles of human liberty trampled on by the military arrest, trial and exile of Clement L. Vallandigham, a citizen of Ohio, for words spoken at a public meeting, the seizure of whose person, and the whole subsequent proceedings against whom, ending in his banishment, were not only in violation of the commonest rights of the humblest inhabitant of any free country, but in audacious and flagrant defiance of the Federal Constitution, which declares that "the trial of all crimes, except in cases of impeachment, shall be by jury," and which expressly forbids the making of any law "abridging the freedom of speech," which declares that "the right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers and effects, against unreasonable searches and seizures, shall not be violated," and that "no warrants shall issue but upon probable cause, supported by oath or affirmation, and particularly describing the place to be searched, and the persons or things to be seized," which declares that "no person

shall be held to answer for a capital or otherwise infamous crime, unless on a presentment or indictment of a grand jury, except in cases arising in the land or naval forces, or in the militia, when in actual service, in time of war or public danger," which declares that no citizen shall "be deprived of life liberty or property without due process of law," and, finally, which declares that "in all criminal prosecutions the accused shall enjoy the right to a speedy and impartial trial by jury of the State and district wherein the crime shall have been committed, which district shall have been previously ascertained by law, and to be informed of the nature and cause of accusation, to be confronted with the witnesses against him, to have compulsory process for obtaining witnesses in his favor, and to have the assistance of counsel for his defence."

And whereas, If the words uttered by Mr. Vallandigham had been the most offensive to which expression could be given, they would form not the slightest pretext nor afford the least palliation for the monstrous crime which in his person has been committed against the liberties of us all:

And whereas, In fact, and according to the well established, long deeded and commendable habit in these United States of free discussion of political questions, what he uttered was neither in itself unbecoming nor was it an abuse of the freedom of speech, nor would the speaker in any manner have been liable to punishment for it according to the severest code administered in the courts of justice:

And whereas, The measure of authority must be subject to the freest discussion, for discussion is nothing if not free, and if men's mouths may be opened only to praise and flatter power, and are to be closed when power is off-ended, discussion is but a name, and liberty is a shadow:

And whereas, This abuse of authority is justified under the plea of a military necessity—which is no justification, for the same plea would justify any indignity which could be offered us; and as it served to exile Mr. Vallandigham would serve to turn both Houses of Congress out of doors, to imprison the judges, to suspend the legitimate performance of every regular function of the State, and resolve all the authority into the keeping of one man:

And whereas, if military necessity can invade the borders of Ohio, and there uproot the laws of a State whose soil is pressed by the foot of no public enemy; whose people are true and faithful to the Constitution, and whose justice was quietly and unobstructedly administered till military power expelled it, the same necessity may march on, and, coming into Pennsylvania and other States of the Union, reduced us to a vassalage infinitely more intolerable than that against which we revolted when we declared our independence the 4th July, 1776; therefore,

Resolved, 1. That the arrest and banishment of Mr. Vallandigham is a violence to which the people of the United States will not and ought not to submit.

2. That the remedy for it is in the ballot box, at the coming and now rapidly approaching election, when, by the votes of an outraged people, State authority will be restored to the hands of the Democratic party, who will use their power, thus quietly and constitutionally obtained, to protect State rights, to rebuke and check Federal usurpation, to secure the personal immunity of individuals and commence the reconstruction of the Union.

3. That as it is, if not our firm belief, at least our strong suspicion, that the design of the authorities at Washington, is, by military aggression to provoke a popular out-break, and thus to furnish to themselves an apology for further invasion of our liberties, and, if possible, to enable them to encumber us in the exercise of our elective franchise, we exhort our fellow-citizens everywhere to patience and to that forbearance and noble calmness which becomes a people who, knowing their rights, know, also, the means for their peaceful vindication.

4. That, there being no such punishment known to the laws of the United States as that of exile, it is the sense of this meeting that it is the right of Mr. Vallandigham, and it will be the like right of any other citizen upon whom there should be attempted to be inflicted by like tyranny a like unlawful and infamous punishment, to return forthwith, notwithstanding his mock sentence, to the State of which he is a citizen, and there resume his place among those who are laboring for the regeneration of the Constitution and the reconstruction of the Union.

5. That in the letter of the Hon. Horatio Seymour, of New York, to the late

public meeting of the Democratic citizens of Albany, condemning the proceedings of the administration against Mr. Vallandigham, we recognize the tone and language of a statesman, and the spirit of a man worthy to be, at a great crisis, the Chief Magistrate of a great State.

6. That as it is only to the ballot-box we can look for permanent relief, and as we deem it to be altogether incredible and impossible that when called to cast their votes, the citizens of Pennsylvania, of whatever party, should not find themselves, by such monstrous events as has been passing before their eyes, moved in patriotic and just indignation to drive from power all Pennsylvania politicians who stand in the way of our asserting the freedom of our persons and the rights of our State, we will, therefore, wait with confidence the October election to the Democratic party—the party of conservatism as well as freedom—a Governor and both houses of the Legislature; and whom we expect to bring in by such overwhelming majorities as may be reasonably reckoned on, when the question comes fairly up between Liberty and the Constitution on one side, and on the other the most ignominious oppression.

"Freedom of Speech and of the Press."

(From the Indiana Democrat.)

We who have passed all our lives in a free country, can scarcely realize the vast importance of those guarantees of individual and public liberty, freedom of speech and of the press. In our brief national history, there have been so few occasions for their exercise, so few really vital political crises, testing the power of endurance of our institutions in the fiery furnace of trial, that we have had no fair chance to judge of their essential worth. And in all probability we never shall fully realize it, until, as in the case of other blessings, we have been deprived of them.

"Give me an unfettered press," said Sheridan, the great British statesman. "And I defy you to encroach one hair's breadth upon the liberties of the people." Said Junius, whose unanswerable arguments in favor of liberty shook thrones and made kings tremble, "Let it be impressed upon your minds and instilled into your children that Liberty of the Press is the paladium of all the civil, political and religious rights of freemen." And said our great Webster: "It is the ancient and undoubted prerogative of the people to canvass public measures and the merits of public men. It is a home-bred right, a freemans privilege. It is not to be drawn into controversy. It is as undoubted as the right of breathing the air or walking on the earth. This high constitutional privilege I shall defend and exercise, within this house, and in all places; in time of peace, and at all times." It was an implicit belief that sacred truths which induced the fathers of the Republic to declare that "Congress shall make no law abridging freedom of speech or of the press; and that the 'right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers and effects from unreasonable searches and seizures, shall not be violated.'" And it was the same spirit the framers of the Constitution of Pennsylvania declared:

"That the printing presses shall be free to every person who undertakes to examine the proceedings of the Legislature or any branch of Government; and no law shall ever be made to restrain the right thereof. The free communication of thoughts and opinions is one of the invaluable rights of man; and every citizen may freely speak, write a print upon any subject, being responsible for the abuse of that liberty."

And also,

"That the citizens have the right, in a peaceful manner, to assemble together for their common good, and to apply to those invested with the powers of government the redress of grievances, or other proper purposes, by petition, address or remonstrance."

Verily this "freedom of speech and of the press," which has been to ably defended and carefully guarded by the greatest statesmen of the two most liberal governments in the world, must be something tangible and practicable, something essential to the very existence of liberty. And yet it is one of the saddest signs of times that there is a fatal disposition to assail and abridge it. The Washington correspondent of the New York Herald tells us that:

"A large party of leading Union Leaguers of Philadelphia headed by Morton M. Michael and ex-Mayor Gilpin, arrived here to-day. Senators Wade and Chandler and Col. Forney are their guests. It is supposed that steps are to be initiated whereby home forces shall be organized,

under government auspices, to repress disloyal demonstrations and organizations in the North. Philadelphia has already moved in this matter."

And the Harrisburg Telegraph, one of the chief organs of the Republican party, and one of the most incendiary, dangerous and Jacobinical papers in the country, comments on this news in the following language:

"We sincerely hope that the example of the loyal men in Philadelphia, will be emulated by the people all over the Commonwealth and by every loyal State in the Union. Let it be plainly understood, that the organization is practically intended to put down treason in the loyal States. If it is right to pursue and shoot a traitor in the rebellious States, it is also right to visit the same punishment on the same devils in the loyal States. Let us organize, then, everywhere. Let us show to the government that it will be sustained and strengthened. Let us prove, too, to traitors that they will be resisted and put down."

By "disloyal demonstrations and organizations in the North," these Union Leaguers mean to designate the Democratic party. It is a free expression of opinion on the part of Democrats which is to be "resisted and put down," by these "home forces." Were this spirit of mob violence the only danger which threatened our liberties, that danger would be slight indeed; for the great body of the people are conservative, patriotic and law-abiding, and would frown down all violence and lawlessness. But there is another source of danger. Freedom of speech and of the press finds its worst enemy in arbitrary power. The two can never exist together: the one must triumph and the other fall; and over the grave of the fallen is always written that old Roman epitaph: "Vae Victis"—woe to the conquered."

A certain Brigadier General Haskell, in Indiana, issues an order that all political discussion, in his department must cease forthwith. And General Burnside tells the people that: "It behooves the public men and the public press to be careful what they say. The must not use license and plead that they are exercising liberty. In this department it cannot be done. I shall use all the power I have to break down such license." Again: "The press and public men, in a great emergency like the present, should avoid the use of party epithets and bitter invectives. The simple name 'patriot' and 'traitor' are comprehensive enough." In accordance with these views a public speaker is arrested, for remarks, made at a public meeting, which proved to be nothing more than a criticism of the policy of the party in power; is tried and found guilty by a military court; and, announced, is sentenced to two years imprisonment in Fort Warren. This was done in the State of Ohio, whose Constitution provides that "the right of trial by jury shall be inviolate;" and "That no power of suspending the laws shall be exercised, unless by the legislature;" and "that all criminal prosecutions the accused hath a right to a speedy public trial by an impartial jury of the county or district in which the offence shall have been committed." Here the issue is plainly and directly made. It will have to be fairly met both by the people and by the rulers. Leaving questions of policy and expediency out of the way, has Gen. Burnside, or any other man the power to set aside, at his pleasure the Constitution and laws of a sovereign State, one of the United States of America, one not "in rebellion," nor "in a state of war," nor even "disloyal?" If he has no such legal power, can the people yield to these encroachments and still maintain their liberty? Is not the suppression of freedom of speech and of the press the first step in the road which leads to despotism?

So far as these orders will effect free-thinking among the masses of the people, they are not worth the paper they are written upon. General Burnside tells us, "Our people are too far advanced in the scale of religion, civilization, education and freedom, to allow any power on earth to interfere with their liberties." And we agree with him. But they will not preserve their liberties by walking demurely in the path he has marked out for them. They will read newspapers and assemble to hear speeches, as long as newspapers and speeches are allowed them.—They will discuss public affairs among themselves, and vote their real sentiments at the polls. And after they are deprived of these liberties, they still will continue to think, and act according to their convictions. It has well been said: "The man who spends his time in issuing proclamations to the American

people to stop free thinking, and free talking, and free holding of public meetings, and free voting, and doing other like things which freemen are wont to do, and can't help doing, might as well spend his time in baying the moon or beating the air."

Why the War Should be Stopped.

[From the N. Y. Freeman's Journal.]

Within two or three weeks it has happened that evidences have accumulated in our hands of a different state of feeling at the South from what we had anticipated. We had come almost to accept the chaff and fustian of the Bohemians of the Richmond press—the pantalooned bipeds at the South who stay at home and talk war, instead of going and fighting it out like gentlemen are doing—we had almost taken it for granted that this newspaper vaporing was the universal sentiment of the Southern people. Within two weeks letters have come to us, and we have personally met more than one or two who have fought with heart and soul in the Confederate army. We have been startled to find how much reason Vallandigham had for saying that it might not yet be too late to reconstruct a political Union between North and South, if the fighting could only be stopped for a while.

1st. We learn that, in the army South, as in the army North, the overpowering desire is for any honorable peace!

2nd. We learn that many, though only a minority, of the men of influence in the army, are still Union men, are wise enough to see that, in a disrupted country, there is neither the prosperity, nor the security, nor the glory, nor the liberty, that the old glorious Union afforded.

3d. We do not learn—for we know it before—knew it by knowing our countrymen—knew it by knowing the nature of freemen—that there will be no party—not sitting down to discuss or to meditate, on future political relations, till the hostile attitude has been abandoned.

Gallant and brave men at the South, are wishing, as we wish, for an indefinite postponement of further hostilities. They say that, while they will never yield to coercion, they have not forgotten the glories, or the happiness, of our common past. The ranting secession, eternal separation fellows of the Southern press, are, like the ranting, no-union-with-slavery fellows of the Northern press—mere windbags—writing not fighting—little fight in them. On each side, these fellows are of no account. Every month, every day of hostilities, is increasing the difficulties, and diminishing the hopes, of those true patriots of the South, as of the North.

There are, in reason, and in the construction of these States, lately united, potent, and major reasons, for some reunion. It can, even yet, be brought about. But, it cannot be by any unauthorized and monstrous agreement for separation, on the part of the usurpation that calls itself the Federal Government. It has no constitutional power to do anything of the kind, any more than it has to carry on this unconstitutional war. The solution must be referred to the several States, and to their delegates selected especially to that end. One plan—the true plan, is to be in no hurry about calling such a Convention of States, but to be in a great hurry to stop the horrible butchery, on both sides, and the horrible stealings and other outrages that have rendered the Federal armies a stench in the nostrils of the civilization of this age.

The Siege of Vicksburg.

CINCINNATI, May, 29.—Rumors and reports from Vicksburg are abundant. The latest definite intelligence is a brief despatch to the Commercial, dated "On the Field, near Vicksburg, Saturday, May 23," which says: "There is no fighting to-day. The troops are resting from yesterday's assault. Our repulse was complete on all parts of the line. No discouragement need be entertained as to our final success. The city is closely invested, and must succumb to our attack sooner or later. We are entrenching and building rifle-pits. Cavalry have been sent out towards Canton, to ascertain General Joe Johnston's whereabouts. Our loss yesterday was not far from one thousand. It is tolerably certain that the works cannot be taken by assault. A regular siege must reduce them. Two weeks will probably be consumed."

It is reported from Memphis that Gen. Banks is sending up reinforcements to General Grant. Another report says that in the assault on Friday, at one place, it was necessary, owing to the steepness of the hill, to scale it with ladders. Gen. Hovey led the assault. The rebels rolled shells down the hill at the Federals, which exploded among them, making fearful

havoc. The Federal loss is said to have been very heavy on Sunday, the 24th.

The rebels report General Cheatham and Featherstone wounded in one of the Mississippi fights, and General Johnston missing a large force at Black River Bridge.

The Times' special Memphis despatch of the 27th says the steamer Sultana, from Young's Point, is reported lost.

CINCINNATI, May 29.—A despatch from Memphis dated the 27th, says: The steamer City of Memphis, which left the vicinity of Vicksburg on Monday last, arrived here to-day, and reports General Grant as having captured every rebel redoubt.

The fighting was going on furiously when the City of Memphis left.

The Chicago Times Suppressed by Order of General Burnside.

[From the Philadelphia Age.]

Gen. Burnside, having succeeded in his attack on the Hon. Clement L. Vallandigham, is continuing his successful assaults on the liberty of speech and of the press. He has just given orders to suppress the Chicago Times, the leading Democratic organ of the State of Illinois. The proprietors of the Times, however, have gone to court, praying for an injunction to restrain the officer charged with the execution of Gen. Burnside's order, and it remains to be seen whether the civil or the military authority will prevail in the State of Illinois.

We ask, is it possible, after the indignation which the arbitrary arrest, trial by court-martial, and banishment of the Hon. Clement L. Vallandigham has produced throughout the length and breadth of the land, that General Burnside should improve on his military despotism, by confiscating the property of citizens without accusing them of a crime or trying them by a jury of their country? The suppression of a newspaper is nothing else than the confiscation of the property of the publishers, amounting to many thousand dollars, and turning out of doors some fifty or sixty honest men who are employed by them. It is a criminal proceeding against a man, commencing with his execution, and interfering with the most sacred rights guaranteed to the citizen by the laws and institutions of the country. Has our country, we would ask, sunk so low in everything appertaining to an advanced civilization, as to be in a situation to learn moderation and forbearance from the Turks?

The last arrivals from Europe brought us the news that the editor of a French journal, published at Alexandria, received a first warning from the Government of the Pasha, conveyed to him through the medium of his Consul, that he must not indulge in attacks on the Mahometan religion, and especially abstain from anything personally offensive to the Prophet. This was gentle, compared with the proceedings of General Burnside against the Chicago Times; but, then, the French editor has the advantage of exercising his profession in the dominion of the Grand Turk. Truly, Father Abraham is great, and Burnside is his general!

The following telegraphic items, received yesterday, exhibit the latest phase of this lamentable usurpation of power!

THE CHICAGO TIMES CASE.

CHICAGO, June 3.—Shortly after 12 o'clock last night Judge Drummond issued a writ directing the military authorities to take no further steps to carry into effect the order of General Burnside for the suppression of the Chicago Times, until the application for a permanent writ of injunction could be heard in open court to-day.

At 3 1/2 o'clock this morning, after nearly the whole addition had been worked off, a file of soldiers broke into the office and took possession of the establishment, and remained for some time. They then left, after giving notice that if any attempt was made to publish another paper, the military would take permanent possession of the office.

[SECOND DISPATCH.]

CHICAGO, June 3.—The following handbill is being circulated throughout the city:

"All good and loyal citizens of Chicago who favor free speech and freedom of the press, as guaranteed to us by the Constitution we love and uphold, are invited to assemble in mass meeting in front of the Chicago Times office, on Wednesday evening, June 3d, at 8 o'clock, to take counsel together in regard to the recent infamous and tyrannical order of General Ambrose E. Burnside in suppressing newspapers always Democratic and consequently always loyal."