

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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ADDRESS OF THE Democratic State Central Committee.

TO THE CITIZENS OF PENNSYLVANIA:

A prescribed duty, as well as long established usage, impels us to address you in regard to the questions involved in the several elections now a hand. In discharging this duty, we shall speak plainly and candidly what we know to be truth. In this, the fairest, richest, and (until lately) the most favored land of all the earth; here, where the last footprints of civilization had been planted; in this land alone of all the Christian nations of the world—the fell spirit of war is now raging. Our proud and unexampled career of prosperity as a nation has been thus rudely checked; our industry, that is not devoted to the purposes of a destructive war, has become paralyzed; our financial concerns have been thrown into utter confusion and debasement; we have henceforth—probably forever—stagger under a load of debt greater, and under taxation more onerous, than that of any other nation on the globe; confidence in the stability of our institutions is everywhere sadly diminished—in fine, gloomy forebodings as to the future, alarm, embarrassment, and distress have taken the place of the happy peace, confidence, security, good order, and contentment we so lately enjoyed.

Nor can hope find a resting place in contemplating the MEN who now control our Government and administer its laws; and it turns sickened and sadly away from the audacity, arrogance and tyranny it finds in high places, even in the very citadel of the nation. Socialists in government; atheists in religion; men who are free lovers in one sphere, and free thieves in another; renegades in politics, and scoundrels at every well settled principle of public right and private virtue, now away the destinies of this Republic, and are crushing out the very life of American freedom.

For three long, fearful years have the best blood and sternest efforts of our people been freely given in a civil war which has no parallel in the history of the world. When this war commenced, the Democratic party in the North, as such, was prosstrate under recent defeat, which resulted from its own unfortunate divisions. But what a grand and inspiring spectacle was presented on hearing the first thunder of a bellows arms! Political and partisan feelings, even in that hour of party humiliation, were all laid upon the altar of the country, and the sun of Heaven never shone upon a people more united, resolute, and determined than those of the Northern States at the period we refer to.

Whatever might have been the views of the Northern Democracy in regard to the causes which ultimately engendered this unhappy strife; however much in their inmost souls they deplored the mad and reckless career of Abolitionism; however deep was their detestation of the course of those party leaders, who had been for years sweeping up the low, lurking elements of bigotry and fanaticism, and directing their vilest efforts against the rights, interests, and institutions of the Southern people—still, the attempt of a portion of that people in consequence, to break down the authority of the Constitution over the whole country, and destroy the Federal compact, was a criminal act which could not be tolerated or justified. The amplest remedies for the wrongs complained of were not only within hope, but at hand. Two millions of voters had just recorded their ballots in a general popular election against Abraham Lincoln and ONE million who supported him and his policy. There was besides, a Democratic majority in one, if not in both branches of Congress, which would render him powerless to inflict any permanent evil on the country.

The right of secession, claimed by the South as the remedy for their grievances, is a political heresy, condemned by Madison with his latest breath, and by many others of our ablest statesmen in all sections of the Union. Call the Constitution a compact, if you will—as does Jefferson in the Kentucky resolutions of '96—but it is a compact of sovereign States, made with each other as such, having no right of secession "nominated or constituted in the bond." The Union thus formed was in its nature, if not in terms, perpetual. Secession, then, in view of the compact, is simply Revolution; and the breaking up of the Union our fathers bequeathed us, was under all circumstances we have detailed, and the thousand other considerations and consequences which must crowd every intelligent and patriotic mind, not only treason at law, but against the best

hopes of mankind. We could not then—cannot now—and NEVER WILL consent to it.

In this spirit of determined loyalty to the Constitution and the Laws, the Democracy of the North, with scarcely an exception, relying upon the pledges given by President Lincoln, yielded him their ready and efficient support. What were some of those pledges? First, in his oath of office: "I will support the Constitution of the United States, so help me God." Then in his Inaugural Address, and with this solemn adjuration fresh upon his lips, he said:

I do not quote from one of my speeches when I declare that "I have no purpose, directly or indirectly, to interfere with the institution of slavery in the States where it exists. I BELIEVE I HAVE NO LAW, FULL RIGHT TO DO SO, AND I HAVE NO INCLINATION TO DO SO." Those who nominated and elected me did so with full knowledge that I made this and similar declarations, and have never meant them. I now reiterate these sentiments; and in doing so, I only press upon the public attention the most conclusive evidence of which the case is susceptible, that the property, peace and security of no section are to be in any wise endangered by the now incoming Administration. I add too, that all the protection which, consistently with the Constitution and the laws, can be given, will be cheerfully given to all the States, when lawfully demanded, for whatever cause—as cheerfully to one section as to another.

These repeated public pledges brought voluntarily to the standard raised in behalf of the Union, hundreds of thousands of as brave men as ever breathed a bayonet. The armies thus raised were precipitated on the South, with varied fortunes of victory and defeat; and war, civil war—almost the most bloody of all human strife—has ever since raged over some of the fairest portions of that unhappy region.

But the long cherished schemes of fanaticism for the extinction of African servitude could not be given up. No matter if Massachusetts, sixty or seventy years since did sell slaves to the people of the Southern States, under the guarantees of a Constitution which she helped to form—still, Massachusetts meddles, both in Congress and out of it, now determined, since they could not "rail," they would "read" "the seal from off the bond." The gallant "three thousand" elegemen of New England—"worthy disciples of the Prince of Peace"—rallied to a man, in the new crusade of fanaticism, and wrought, side by side, with infidels, who have for years been in the daily habit of sneering at the Christian's faith, ridiculing the Christian's Bible, and blaspheming the Christian's God!

The fears of our timid and facile President were worked upon, as well as his vanity and desire of re-election, by the extreme and radical members of his party, and the emancipation and confiscation measures were forced upon him, and made a part of his policy in the conduct of the war. Every effort of the friends of peace put forth in Congress was defeated. The hostility of the Abolition leaders to secession in the South—to employ the words of the lamented Douglas—"was stronger than their fidelity to the Constitution." They believed that a disruption of the Union would draw after it, as an inevitable consequence, civil war, servile insurrections, and finally, through these, an utter extinction of slavery in all the Southern States; and, it would seem, they acted even on this terrible belief.

Look at the record: On the 18th day of December, 1860, Senator Crittenden, of Kentucky, the bosom friend of Henry Clay in his life time, introduced into the Senate of the United States a series of resolutions, as a basis of settlement between the two sections of the Union. The secession of South Carolina took place on the 20th of the same month, and her members of Congress retired from their places. We are thus particular in reference to this subject, because our opponents through their Central Committee in this State, have introduced it into a late address to you; and there is a specious effort made in that address to turn aside from the Republicans, the just obloquy and reproach which the defeat of Senator Crittenden's proposition has fastened upon their party.

The offered compromise would, in terms, have sealed more than three-fourths of all our territorial domain against slavery forever—placing about 900,000 miles under the provisions of the Ordinance of 1787, more recently known as the "Wilcox Proviso"—leaving the remaining 300,000 miles subject to whatever laws those who settled upon it might establish for themselves, whenever they became a State. All the other features of the proposed compromise were nothing but reaffirmances of the plainest powers and

provisions of the Constitution, save, possibly, the fair and equitable stipulation that slavery should not be abolished in the District of Columbia, as long as it existed in Maryland and Virginia, the two States which had ceded that District to the General Government.

On the 15th of January, 1861, Senator Clarke, a leading Republican, moved to amend the Crittenden proposition by striking out all the material provisions—certainly all that contained the olive branch of peace, and inserting a single resolution breathing war and threats toward the South. This amendment was carried by a vote of 25 in favor, all Republicans, against 23 Democratic votes. But, says the address of the Republican Committee—"six Southern Senators refused to vote at all on the proposed amendment; and then, with a degree of cool assurance remarkable even in these times, it goes on to tell the people of Pennsylvania that had these six Southern men voted against the Clarke amendment, it would have been defeated, and the Crittenden Compromise might have been taken up and carried by the same majority." General Cameron, who puts forth the Address, cannot be very proud of his own share in this record, or he would not have kept out of view the fact that he himself voted for this very Clarke amendment, and the same day moved a reconsideration; and, then, when this question was called up only three days afterwards, he voted against his own motion to reconsider. It was carried, however, with the aid of at least two (Johnson and Shields) of the "six" named, and the Compromise was again in statu quo before the Senate. It was finally taken up on the 3d of March, and defeated—many of the Southern Senators having withdrawn from the Senate in the interim, their States having seceded from the Union.

Now, General Cameron, who issued the Address, knows just as well as did Senator Cameron, who sustained the Clarke amendment, that it required a two-thirds vote to give vitality to the Crittenden Compromise. He knows, too, that every Republican vote, including his own, in the Senate, was given against the measure, in effect, from first to last. He knows further, that the Republican Senators refused Senator Bigler's proposal to submit this question to a vote of the people as instructive of Congress. He knows also that Mr. Clemons, of Virginia, on the 17th of February, before that State adopted secession, endeavored, in the House of Representatives at Washington, to obtain a similar arrangement in that body to test the question of compromise before the people, and it was voted down by 112 Republicans against 80 Democrats—every Republican in the House voting in the negative. They would not—they did not dare to trust the people, the legitimate source of power, on this question!

At the hazard of furnishing unnecessary proof on this point, we beg attention to the clear and explicit evidence of Senator Pugh, a contemporary of the author of the Address, in the Senate of the United States. In the course of his speech in the Senate, in March, 1861, he says:

The Crittenden proposition has been endorsed by the almost unanimous vote of the Legislature of Kentucky. It has been endorsed by the noble old Commonwealth of Virginia. It has been petitioned for by a larger number of the electors of the United States than any proposition that was ever before Congress. I believe in my heart to-day that it would carry an overwhelming majority of the people of my State, eye, ear, of nearly every State in the Union. Before the Senators from the State of Mississippi left this chamber, I heard one of them, who assumes at least to be President of the Southern Confederacy, propose to accept it, and maintain the Union, if that proposition could receive the vote it ought to receive from the other side of the chamber. Therefore, all of your propositions, all of your amendments, knowing as I do, and knowing that the historian will write it down—at any time before the first of January, a two-thirds vote for the Crittenden resolutions in this chamber would have saved every State in the Union except South Carolina, Georgia would be here by her representatives, and Louisiana—those two great States—which at least would have broken the whole column of Secession.—Globe, page 1300.

Upon the same point, on the same day, the clarion voice of the patriot Douglas bore testimony as follows:

The Senator (Mr. Pugh) has said that if the Crittenden proposition could have been passed early in the session, it would have saved all the States except South Carolina. I firmly believe it would. While the Crittenden proposition was not in accordance with my cherished views, I avowed my readiness and eagerness to accept it in order to save the Union, if we could unite upon it. I can confirm the Senator's declaration that Senator Davis himself, when on the

Committee of Thirteen was ready at all times to compromise on the Crittenden proposition. I will go further, and say that Mr. Toombs was also.—Globe, page 1391.

How preposterous at this day then, this attempt of one of the leading actors in that eventful drama thus to stifle conscience, and to seek to rescue his co-conspirators from the recorded verdict of history, and the deserved and inevitable condemnation of a betrayed people! The controlling spirits of the Republican party never meant peace from first to last, at any time or in any form, save upon the one dark and devilish condition of turning loose upon our land three and a half millions of black semi-barbarians under the specious pretence of freedom; while in reality it was only to tear so many of these poor creatures away from their homes of comparative happiness and peace, to find starvation, misery and death in an inhospitable clime!

President Lincoln has but recently declared, in very definite terms, he will listen to no propositions for peace which does not include this African millennium, notwithstanding those plain prohibitions of all right on the part of the General Government thus to intervene, which he himself, with the oath of office fresh upon his lips, declared he "had no legal right and no intention" to disregard.

If we were to credit the ravings of the chief advisers of the President, or least those who seem to influence him most fully, Sumner, Beecher and Phillips—human reason has been making such rapid strides in these latter days, that the haven of human perfection must be near at hand. But alas! when we listen hopefully for the blessed gale which is to bear us onward in its course, we hear nothing but the loud breath of the tempest; see nothing all around us but the angry and troubled sea everywhere sparkling with foam and surging in its madness; and we are almost tempted to ask, can this indeed be—

"The wind and the storm fulfilling his word!"

These men are mistaken and mad, or are traitors of the deepest dye, deserving a traitor's darkest doom. This equality of the black and white races which they are seeking to establish in this country is an absurd and idle dream, which a brief contrast of their progress and peculiarities must dispel from every thoughtful mind.

A little more than two centuries since, when our fathers first planted a few germs of our race at scattered points along the North American coast, the whole number of that race in the old world did not exceed six millions. England Scotland and Wales then numbered fewer inhabitants than New York, Pennsylvania and Ohio do now. Mark the progress: in North America at this time (including a wholesome Celtic infusion, there are at least thirty millions, and in the whole world (confessing there also the same infusion), from eighty to ninety millions of people, substantially Anglo-Saxon in their origin. We are everywhere thus displacing the more sluggish races, or heaving them in on every side; and at this current rate of increase, in one hundred and fifty years from this time, will run up to eight hundred millions of human beings—all speaking the same language, rejoicing in the same high intellectual culture, and exhibiting the same inherent and indelible characteristics!

On the other hand, the African race has never, anywhere, given any proof of its capacity for a self-sustained civilization. Since the sun first shone on that continent it has remained in the same state of unbroken mental gloom. Cruel, brutal, voluptuous, and indolent by nature the African has never emerged a single step beyond his own savage original. Slavery has ever been, and to this hour continues to be, his normal condition, throughout every clime he can call his own. And yet they have had as many opportunities of improvement, as the inhabitants of Asia or Europe. Along the shores of the Mediterranean was once concentrated the Literature and Science of the world. Carthage, the rival of imperial Rome in all the arts of commerce and civilization, existed for many years on the African border. The Saracens, the most polished race of their time, founded and maintained for centuries a contiguous empire. Still, for all this, the African has continued to prowl on through his long night of barbarism; and thus, in all human probability, he will continue forever. Tell us not that his want of progress in civilization is the result of long established bondage. So, for centuries, was our own race bound to the earth under various modifications of petty vassalage. But the white soul expanded, and mounted

above all its burdens and trammels, and finally, in this country reached the full fruition of republican freedom.

We grant this mental inferiority of the African—we forbear, in the spirit of sobriety, any physical contemplation or contrast—does not give a dominant race the right to convey him from his own benighted land to a foreign bondage, even under the forms of purchase from his African master. But this natural inferiority must be considered by the statesman in framing laws, and adopting Constitutions for human government. In Pennsylvania we have always affirmed this inferiority in our fundamental laws; and the same has been done in almost all the free States of the Union—generally excluding the African from the right of suffrage. This necessity of duly regarding the law of races, is thus forcibly commented upon by Lamartine (a scholar and a statesman, always in favor of man's largest liberty) in a recent work:

The more I have traveled, the more I am convinced that races of men form the great secret of men and manners. Man is not so capable of education as philosophers imagine. The influence of Government and laws has less power radically, than is supposed, over the manners and instincts of any people. While the primitive constitution and blood of the race have always their influence, and manifest themselves thousands of years afterwards in the physical formation and habits of a particular family or tribe. Human nature flows in rivers and streams in the vast ocean of humanity; but its waters mingle but slowly—sometimes they never mingle, and it emerges again, like the Rhone from the Lake of Geneva, with its own taste and color. Here is indeed an abyss of thought and meditation, and at the same time a grand secret for legislators. As long as they keep the spirit of the race in view, they succeed; but they fail when they strive against this natural predisposition: nature is stronger than they are.

But why thus enlarge upon a topic which has undergone so much, and such frequent discussion? Why—because this idea of working out negro equality on the part of our opponents is the very basis of our present political struggle. Let no man be mistaken. This is really the leading issue at the present moment between the two parties. To carry out this idea has come at last to be the ruling, if not the sole purpose of the war which is now deluging the land with fraternal blood! For this, the Constitution and the reserved rights of the States and the people have been mockingly trampled under foot; for this, both imperious and imperial edicts, such as would send to the block any monarch in England, have been issued by the President, and sought to be enforced; for this, Secretary Seward's boast to Lord Lyons—"I can touch my office bell at any moment, and order to be arrested any citizen of this country"—has been all too frequently realized!

The extent to which the party supporting the President are willing to go in negro affiliation, finds a memorable illustration in the proposition made by Secretary Cameron, the first of the several occupants of the place of Secretary of War under President Lincoln. He coolly proposed, in his first and last annual communication, to free, and then to arm the whole black population of the South, and turn them against their white masters in a work of indiscriminate butchery! Think of a horde of rude and reckless savages, with their darker natures aroused, their appetites whetted with the thirst of slaughter, given a license to go forth to devastate, to kill, and to spare not! And this is the policy of white men, proposed to a Christian government! As well turn loose to prey upon society the howling maniacs of a mad-house, as to make the African master of his situation, and place in his hands the means of lawless wantonness and outrage! To whom would he be responsible! To whom would he owe allegiance? With such power once in his hands, and filled with the purposes of revenge and lust, or crazed with the stimulus of blood and plunder, what power short of death could stay his hand or stop his demonic career! This truly infernal suggestion was not adopted by the President when first proposed, but it has since been acted upon in more instances than one.

We have charged the party at present in power, fellow-citizens, with tyranny and usurpation. We now go further, and solemnly assert our belief, that there is a deliberate design to change the character, if not the form of our government. The leading papers in the support of the Administration openly advocate a modification which will place greater powers in the hands of the President; and if their advice should be adopted by the people, in a short time the chains will be firmly riveted, and our liberties completely

ruined, and our liberties completely