

The North Branch Democrat.

HARVEY SICKLER, Proprietor.

"TO SPEAK HIS THOUGHTS IS EVERY FREEMAN'S RIGHT."—Thomas Jefferson.

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ADDRESS OF THE DEMOCRATIC STATE CENTRAL COMMITTEE.

TO THE DEMOCRATS, AND ALL OTHER FRIENDS OF THE CONSTITUTION AND UNION IN PENNSYLVANIA.

The Democratic State Central Committee address you upon subjects of the gravest moment. The life of our beloved country is in danger. The nation writhes under the throes of wide-spread civil war. All our patriotism; all our wealth; all our physical powers; all of whatever virtue exists in the Republic is invoked, and should be promptly afforded to save the National Constitution and the Union of the States from utter overthrow.

In these a Democracy who values the title of American citizen—who reveres the memory of the men of the Revolution—who values civil and religious liberty—who abhors anarchy or despotism—or who claims to possess a manly, patriotic heart, that is not prepared to pledge life, fortune, and sacred honor for his country, in this her hour of greatest need and peril? None can withhold such assurances of a just estimate of the importance of preserving the existence of our republican institutions. We approach you with the full conviction that the hearts of the great body of the people of Pennsylvania are with their country in this great crisis of her destiny; that all that is needed is to be satisfied of a feasible mode of relief and extrication, and of the most effective organization to combine all the forces that can be applied to speedily and effectually yield the happy fruits of returned peace and prosperity.

To clearly indicate the mode of relief, it would appear to be proper to first determine the cause or causes of our present difficulties. Understanding the causes, it would seem to be in the order of nature that restoration should follow upon their removal. It is not compatible with the practical efficiency of an address, such as this, to engage in any elaborate exposition or historical account of the gradual progress of antecedent causes, that have at last culminated in the dreadful results we now behold. We shall, therefore, necessarily be brief, and best discharge our purpose by a statement of facts, which you will all recognize as correct, and by the assertion of propositions and conclusions which we maintain, cannot be successfully controverted. The troubles that are now upon us are those that the fathers of this country foresaw might arise upon the decay of patriotism, and against which they undertook to guard by the Constitution of the United States, and the establishment thereby of what was deemed by them—and has, until recently, proved to be the harmonious action of the States and the Federal Government—in their defined and just relations to each other. Washington, in his Farewell Address, pointed out these dangers; and, above all, indicated as the evener of a waning attachment for the Union, and as the precursor of its fall, the creation of sectional parties. It was in view of probable efforts in this direction that he appealed to his countrymen "to indignantly frown upon the first dawning of every attempt to alienate any portion of our country from the rest, or to entangle the sacred ties which link together the various parts." Had the countrymen of Washington sufficiently appreciated his patriotic warning, the wide-spread civil war that now afflicts us would never have existed; but, on the contrary, we should, at this time, under the support which a most bountiful Providence is extending to us, be in the enjoyment of a degree of prosperity and happiness (we venture to assert) unequalled in the history of nations. Most unfortunately, sectional parties have grown up, begetting sectional bitterness; and already the title of American citizens begins to pale before the invasive progress of such titles as Northern and Southern.

Years ago men in the North, then a very insignificant combination, began to assail our Constitution and our Union. This faction, basing its opposition upon a misguided sentimentality in regard to the servitude of the negro race in the Southern States, and allowing that sentimentality to swallow up all true feelings of patriotism, and all duty as citizens, boldly proclaimed their hostility to the Constitution and the Union, which they rightly claimed recognized and was pledged not to invade the control of the States respectively over the institution of domestic slavery. Disloyal declarations such as "better no Union at all than a Union with slaveholders," became the axiomatic dicta of this faction, then and now (in its formidable proportions) best known as Abolitionists. Without dwelling upon the progress and growth of this faction, it is too lamentably true and well known that proclaiming through its leaders their chief object to be "the ultimate extinction of slavery," it attained to such consequence that the people of the slaveholding States became alarmed and began to form counter combinations to resist the threatened overthrow of what they claimed to be rights that were intended to be sacredly guarded by the Constitution of the United States. At the same time there had existed an insignificant, and of themselves powerless, band of disunionists in one or two

of the slaveholding States, who seized upon the opportunity thus afforded by the aggressive action of the Abolitionists to stimulate these counter movements. These efforts were too successful; and materials, too, for such efforts were being continually supplied by the successes of the Abolitionists. Abuse and obloquy against the slaveholder streamed out from some pulpits in the North, where the virus of Abolitionism had been infused. Retaliatory epithets were indulged in by pulpits in the South against the Abolitionists. Church organizations in the Union were split up into organizations North and South. Nominations for the Presidency were made upon issues, in fainter or bolder terms, involving the question of the existence or limitation of the area of domestic slavery. The decisions of the Supreme Court of the United States were resisted, its integrity assailed, and its remodeling avowed. These were followed by outbreaks, as illustrated by the raid of John Brown into Virginia. Meantime the retaliatory and disunion movements in the South crystallized and proclaimed the monstrous heresy that the Union was but an alliance of sovereign States, and that any one of its members might, in the exercise of an unlimited sovereignty, which was claimed for it, withdraw from such union. This heresy was designated, and as we all know, is familiarly called Secessionism, and, under its banner, a great and formidable party in the slave States was rallied.

Thus were confronted two great sectional parties—the Abolitionists North, and the Secessionists South—the very antipodes of each other in their sentiments; they met on the common platform of Disunion. Each alike tended to overthrow the Constitution and the Union. Each alike are the enemies of the Republic. The Secessionists, claiming to act from the apprehension that the threat for "the ultimate extinction of slavery" would be put in execution, succeeded by bare majorities in some cases, and by the more efficient organization of probable minorities in others, in procuring the adoption of ordinances of Secession, or for the withdrawal of such States from the American Union as are now banded under the designation of the Confederate States. Obtaining, thus, the formal organization of a government, in strict accordance with its powers, undertook to enforce these laws and to demand obedience to them; armed resistance was at once inaugurated on the part of the Secessionists, and thus began a rebellion and civil war that has become one of gigantic proportions, and for many of its characteristics one of the most formidable that ever existed among a civilized people. At its outset, the appeal was made to the loyal men of the North to fly to arms, in order to uphold the Constitution and laws, and to maintain the Union. With the rapidity of magic this appeal was responded to with unbounded enthusiasm, and an armed force of over 700,000 men stood ready to obey the summons to meet the foes of the Union. President Lincoln, in his inaugural address, has said: "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 lawful right to do so, and I have no inclination to do so."

The Congress of the United States, immediately after the battle of Bull Run, in July, 1861, Resolved, That the present deplorable civil war has been forced upon the country by the disunionists of the Southern States, now in arms against the Constitutional Government, and in arms around the Capital; that in this national emergency, Congress, banishing all feelings of mere passion or resentment, will recollect only its duty to the whole country; that this war is not waged on their part in any spirit of oppression, or for any purpose of conquest or subjugation, or with a view to overthrowing or interfering with the rights or established institutions of those States, but to defend and maintain the supremacy of the Constitution, and to preserve the Union, with all the dignity, equality, and rights of the several States unimpaired; and that as soon as these objects are accomplished, the war ought to cease."

Thus the faith of the President and Congress was pledged to every loyal man in the North that the war was to be carried on for the Constitution as it is and the Union as it was. Under the inspiration of this high, patriotic, and holy purpose, our gallant countrymen have marched to the battle-field, keeping step to the music of the Union, enduring privations and sufferings that would have utterly appalled less patriotic and devoted soldiers. The enemy, although massed in formidable bodies, and supported by an energy, skill, and munitions of war that evinced an increased concentration of sentiment in behalf of the rebellion, yet, before the mighty shock of our arms, inflicted by the soldiers of the Union, they for a time were vanquished; their forts, towns, and other strongholds were rapidly taken, and amid the shouts of the exultant and triumphant soldiery who had enlisted for the mere purpose of re-establishing devotion to, and the protection of, our proud national ensign, the star-spangled banner there again spread out its folds. At the beginning of these successes much attachment for the Union was

developed among the people where such successes occurred. It was hoped and believed that, with a few more similarly important blows inflicted upon the rebellion, its force would have been spent, and that the people of the rebellious States, being assured that the pledges of the President and Congress would be faithfully observed, would have relaxed their efforts in behalf of their usurping government, and that the Union men of the South, and the returning sense of the inestimable value of the Union to all divisions of population there, would complete the restoration of respect and obedience to the Constitution and laws of the Federal Government. These hopes have not been realized, and the explanation of this disappointment, in a great degree at least, is found in the evidence afforded of the terrible fact that the Abolitionists in the North are determined that the white population of the South shall be exterminated or held in subjugation, and that our government shall be overthrown, and the Union of these States finally and forever broken up. Yes! exterminate the whites of the South, or govern them as a subjugated people, and overthrow the Government and destroy the Union, is their purpose. And we ask your candid consideration for a moment, until we present to you a few points, from which you will see that the inference is irresistible that this is the design of this most disloyal band.

The Constitution and the Union were early regarded by the Abolitionists as the barriers that stood in the way of negro emancipation. Hence, such Constitution was denounced by them as "a covenant with death and an agreement with hell." So late as the 15th of June last, a portion of the members of this band, at a meeting in Massachusetts, passed a formal resolution, viz:

Resolved, That as Abolitionists, devoted to the great work of overthrowing slavery, we renew and repeat our old pledge, "No Union with Slaveholders,"—no support to any Administration or Government that permits slavery on any portion of its soil—and we value this war only as we believe it must lead to emancipation by order of the Federal authorities, or to a dissolution of the Union, which must speedily produce the same result.

It is unnecessary to even specify the prominent evidence that, from time to time, have been afforded that the Abolitionists had firmly resolved upon the destruction of this Government. A few of them are found in the unconstitutional, so called "Personal Liberty Bills" of several States; the repeated declarations of prominent party leaders, even in the last Presidential campaign, (see the speech delivered by Frank P. Blair, at Franklin Hall in the city of Philadelphia, on the 21 of October, 1860, one week before the election,) in which he, quoting still higher authority, declared that the object of the Republican party was "the ultimate extinction of slavery." In the avowed determination to resist the decision of the Supreme Court of the United States, in the Dred Scott case, and in such declarations as made by Senator Wade, "a Union where all men are equal, or no Union at all." Acting upon this original purpose, and upon the conviction that a return to Congress of Senators and Representatives from the Southern States would result in their political overthrow, the Abolitionists in the late Congress have pursued a policy that has alarmed every loyal man in the North and forced the conviction that our gallant armies in the field, and the whole nation were to be thwarted in their patriotic purposes. The resolution above quoted, adopted by Congress in July, 1861, immediately after the Bull Run disaster, it was sought to re-affirm in the present Congress, through a resolution offered by Mr. Holman, of Indiana, in the following terms:—

Resolved, That the unfortunate civil war into which the Government of the United States has been forced by the treasonable attempt of Southern Secessionists to destroy the Union, should not be prosecuted for any other purpose than the restoration of the authority of the Constitution and welfare of the whole people of the United States, who are permanently involved in the preservation of our present form of Government, without modification or change.

This resolution was defeated by a motion to lay it upon the table, made by Mr. Lovjoy, by the following vote, yeas 60, nays 58. Of those who voted to thus defeat the resolution 59 were Republicans, while every Democrat excepting one, and every Border State representative whose vote is recorded, voted in the negative.

In co-operation with this most significant declaration, by the Federal House of representatives, we had the military emancipation proclamations of Generals Fremont and Hunter. Along with these we had the project of Mr. Sumner, in the Senate, to blot out the State governments of the rebel States, reduce them to a territorial condition, and to govern them as such. Then followed various emancipation schemes, and among them the project of confiscation of slaves nominally, but really a bill to emancipate them. We cannot probably better prove the operation of such measures upon the Southern mind, than to quote the following extract from the reply of twenty out of twenty-eight representatives from the Border Slave States to President Lincoln, in reference to his appeal to them to adopt his project that the Federal Government should aid them with money to pay the master for

his negro upon his emancipation, viz:—

The rebellion derives its strength from the union of all classes in the insurgent States; and while that union lasts, the war will never end until they are utterly exhausted. We know that at the inception of these troubles Southern society was divided, and that a large portion, perhaps a majority, were opposed to Secession. Now the great mass of Southern people are united. To discover why they are so we must glance at Southern society and notice the classes into which it has been divided, and which still distinguish it. They are in arms, but not for the same object; they are moved to a common end, but by different and inconsistent reasons. The leaders, which comprehend what was previously known as the State Rights party, and is much the lesser class, seek to break down national independence and set up State domination. With them it is a war against nationality. The other class is fighting, as it supposes, to maintain and preserve its rights of property and domestic safety which it has been made to believe are assailed by this Government. This latter class are not disunionists per se; they are so only because they have been made to believe that this administration is inimical to their rights, and is making war on their domestic institutions. As long as these two classes act together, they will never assent to a peace. The policy, then to be pursued is obvious. The former class will never be reconciled, but the latter may be. Remove their apprehensions. Satisfy them that no harm is intended to them as their institutions; that this Government is not making war on their rights of property, but is simply defending its legitimate authority, and they will gladly return to their allegiance as soon as the pressure of military dominion imposed by the Confederate authority is removed from them.

Twelve months ago both Houses of Congress, adopting the spirit of your message, then but recently sent in, declared with singular unanimity the objects of the war, and the country instantly bounded to your side to assist you in carrying it on. If the spirit of that resolution had been adhered to wear confidence that should before now have seen the end of this deplorable conflict. But what have we seen? In both Houses of Congress we have heard doctrines subversive of the principles of the Constitution, and seen measure after measure founded in substance on these doctrines proposed and carried through, which can have no other effect than to distract and divide loyal men, and exasperate and drive still further from us and their duty the people of the rebellious States. Military officers, following these bad examples, have stepped beyond the just limits of their authority in the same direction, until in several instances you have felt the necessity of interfering to arrest them. And even the passage of the resolution to which you refer has been ostentatiously proclaimed as the triumph of a principle which the people of the Southern States regard as ruinous to them.—the effect of these measures was foretold, and may now be seen in the indurated state of Southern feeling.

To these causes, Mr. President, and not to our omission to vote for the resolution recommended by you, we solemnly believe we are to attribute the terrible earnestness of those in arms against the Government and the continuance of the war. Nor do we permit us to say, Mr. President, with all respect for you) agree that the institution of slavery is "the lever of their power," but we are of the opinion that the "lever of their power" is the apprehension that the powers of a common government, created for common and equal protection to the interest of all, will be wielded against the institutions of the Southern States.

Signed by
G. A. WICKLIFFE, CHAM GARRETT DAVIS,
R. WILSON, J. J. CRITTENDEN,
JNO. S. CARLISLE, J. W. CRISFIELD,
J. S. JACKSON, H. GRIDER,
JOHN S. PHELPS, FRANCIS THOMAS,
CHARLES B. CALVERT, C. L. LEARY,
EDWIN H. WEBSTER, H. MALLORY,
AARON HARDING, JAMES S. ROLLINS,
J. W. MENZIES, THOS. L. PRICE,
G. W. DUNLAP, Wm. A. HALL.

In further prosecution of the emancipation project of the Abolitionists we have the proposition to arm and enlist the negroes as soldiers. Indeed, we are informed, from official sources, that one General in the army has already organized a full regiment of negroes. We forbear to discuss the question, whether such soldiers (?) are not a burlesque upon the name and whether clothing and arming negroes as such beside the waste of clothes, arms and other supplies, is not exposing us to defeat in battle, from the clearly established fact, that the negro is utterly disqualified by nature to stand the musketry and artillery fire—not to speak of the bayonet charge of modern warfare. This subject has infinitely greater proportions when regarded in its effect to discourage enlistments by our own race; resulting from the commendable repugnance of the white man to be placed upon an equality of military rank with the negro.

But not the least objectionable consideration is the fact, this inferior race having their minds and passions inflamed by the tales of real or imaginary wrongs which Abolitionism is too careful to impart to them, will with

arms in their hands, perpetrate the atrocities of "the indiscriminate slaughter of all ages, sexes, and conditions"—barbarity in warfare—of which our ancestors complained against Great Britain who had employed against them the "merciless Indian savages."

The history of negro wars and insurrection in St. Domingo, and other West India Islands, is replete with the barbarities of rapine and slaughter of helpless women and infants; that shock the sensibilities of the lowest development of humanity in the white man. And yet, should the negroes in the Southern States be employed and armed by the Federal Government against the white population, then the atrocities of the West India Islands may naturally expect to be repeated here on a vastly more extended scale against such a fiendish policy would not only the moral sensibilities of all the whites of the Northern States who have not become brutalized by the devilishness of Abolitionism be most painfully shocked, but the whole civilized world would condemn us, and probably, in the cause of humanity, rise to stay atrocities so disgraceful.

But what sane man can doubt that under such policy the last spark of Union sentiment in the South would be extinguished, and the entire Southern population become united as one person against the Government? It were the merest folly to suppose otherwise! How then would such fighting bring back the revolted States into the Union? Can the 8,000,000 of white people there be held under republican form of Government, in subjugation? Is it believed that the people of the North can be maddened into the effort for the extermination of eight millions of people, with whom we have hitherto lived in a Union held together by fraternal bonds, and most are now bound to members of our own population by the closest ties of consanguinity? If we were to exhaust all our physical resources and all our pecuniary means; could we, if we would, accomplish such purpose of extermination? Can we hold the Southern States or people in subjugation without overthrowing our Constitution and the Union; without, in fact, establishing a government the most despotic?

We need not answer for you these inquiries. We know what must be the response of every mind not demented by Abolitionism.

Have we not shown, then, the policy of Abolitionism, if carried out, is to the overthrow of our Constitution and Union? That Abolitionists are the enemies of the Republic? Believing we have done so, it remains to inquire: what is the relief for us in this our hour of gloom for our beloved country? We answer; Remove the causes; remove Abolitionism and Secessionism. Put down the former at the ballot box; put down the latter (backed by arms) by force of arms. In the execution of the latter, insist that the Government shall stand by its pledged faith—to conduct the war to uphold the Constitution and the Union, and not as Abolitionism would have it, to make disunion complete and to overthrow the Constitution! As Pennsylvanians, you have possibly a greater stake in the preservation of the Union than the people of any other State. Should the co-operative, yet, in some sense, hostile movements of Abolitionism and Secessionism succeed, and disunion become an established fact, Pennsylvania, owing to her peculiar geographical position, would be exposed to the desolation and become the battle-field of the conflicting forces that might undertake to settle all questions that would remain as a heritage of disunion.

These, however, we forbear now to contemplate; for we are unwilling to believe that "that God who presides over the destinies of nations" will permit such a terrible dispensation to befall us. We are unwilling to believe that the people of the free States will ever become so maddened as to aid the spirit of Abolitionism that seems now to brood over us like some evil genius, that would control us to our destruction. It cannot be that we are to have a doom worse than befel Babylon after she had "become the habitation of devils and the hold of every foul spirit."

The only excuse offered by Abolitionism for its policy, is the plausible fallacy that "slavery is the cause of our threatened disunion." To those who look only to immediate and proximate causes, this position is captivating; but to those who remember that the original Union which waged the war of the revolution, was made up of thirteen slaveholding States; that the Union at the time of the adoption of the present Constitution, consisted of twelve slaveholding to one free State, it is very plain, that instead of slavery producing disunion that, unless it had been recognized and the faith of the whole people pledged for its protection, this Union would have never existed.

It would be as reasonable to argue that houses and money should be exterminated because so long as they exist there will be incendiaries and thieves, as to argue that slavery should be destroyed, because so long as it exists there will be Abolitionists. Houses and money are not more clearly and decidedly recognized by the Constitution and laws of the Federal Government, as subject to the laws and protection of the States where they exist, than is the right of the master to the services of his negro slave in States where negro slavery is recognized.