

The North Branch Democrat.

HARVEY SICKLER, Proprietor.

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

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AN ADDRESS

To the People of the United States, and Particularly the People of the States which adhere to the Federal Government.

DANGERS IN CONNECTION WITH THE WAR.

Under this head may be mentioned the state of our

FIFANCES AND CURRENCY.

The unnecessary waste of the public resources in the war; the enormous sums expended upon foolish and fruitless military expeditions, (sometimes badly planned and sometimes badly executed and supported,) and the other enormous sums corruptly or unwisely expended in obtaining supplies of materials of war, would, of themselves, have been sufficient to deeply injure the public credit, and to create fears of our future ability to bear the pecuniary burdens created by the war.

And what ought to sting the minds of reflecting men, is the consideration that the general political policy of the Administration has been such that it has prolonged the war by depriving us of allies and sympathy in the enemy's country, and frittered away the public energy upon other objects besides military success.

In addition to which stands forth the fact, that this occasion of war has been seized upon to establish a system of Government paper money, which has caused the public expenditures and the public debt to be one half greater than they would otherwise have been, and introduced numerous and most serious evils and dangers into all the channels of commercial and business life.

The feroz of this system, and the failure of all the delusive hopes and arrangements based upon it, is not merely a possible but a probable event in the future. The ruin and suffering which such an event would entail cannot be overrated, and to avert it, or to mitigate its force, is one of the main objects which should be had in view in settling our future policy.

Upon questions of currency and finance, we must revert to the ideas of former times in which alone can safety be found.

In speaking of financial prospects and future pecuniary conditions, we do not overlook the fact that opinions very different from ours are expressed by the friends of power. But the appearances of prosperity to which they refer us, are delusive.

Production in the country is now decreased, for great numbers of laborers are employed in the war, and abstracted from industrial pursuits.

Increased rates of value press hardly upon persons of fixed incomes, and upon all who are disabled or engaged in unprofitable employments.

The war does create wealth, but consumes it, and consumes also the laborers by which it is produced. It devours the products of past and present industry, and checks the growth of population upon which prosperity depends.

And the inevitable evils of a state of war—the injury and destruction of material interests, the waste, spoliation and improvidence that characterize it—are aggravated by profuse issues of Government paper money which ineits to reckless expenditure, public and private, and disguise for the time the fearful consumption of wealth and the sore approach of a day of suffering and retribution.

This expenditure and the accumulation of debts, public and private, cannot go on indefinitely or for any considerable time. The day of payment, which will also be the day of trouble, will surely come. Great suffering will fall upon the people. Those who suppose themselves independent of the frowns of fortune, will realize the retribution which always follows upon excess, and even those wholly innocent of any complicity with financial mismanagement or other evil feature of public policy, will be smitten equally with the guilty.

The vast debt, created in great part by profligacy and mismanagement or is a source of profound anxiety to the people, who must pay it, and to the capitalists who hold it. Its obligation rests upon the security of the national ability and honor. But to prevent its growth beyond the point where bankruptcy threatens it with destruction, the folly and corruption which now waste and devour the wealth of the people must meet with speedy and conflagrant overthrow.

FOREIGN INTERVENTION.

Another danger to be apprehended under our present rulers, one which has been speculated upon often since the war began, and which is possible hereafter, is the intervention of some foreign nation in the pending struggle. There is an example of such intervention in our history, which deserves contemplation by those who would justly judge our present situation, and make provision

against future dangers. Our fathers revolted and were sorely chastised therefore by their monarch. The sword smote them in all their coasts; their wealth was dried up, their cities occupied by their foes, their land ravaged. They were pushed to the extremity of endurance; they became spent and exhausted by the conflict; but in their hour of extremest peril, France, at the instance of a Pennsylvania diplomatist extended them her powerful assistance, and they emerged from the struggle triumphant and independent. Is this war to be mismanaged and protracted, until a foreign Power may be induced to assist our antagonist, as France assisted the revolted colonies of the third George? Unquestionably the feeble, changeful, arbitrary and unwise policy of the Administration, begets this danger of intervention, and will produce it if ever taken place. Nor has its diplomacy abroad been calculated to avert the evil consequences of its action at home. That diplomacy has not been wise, judicious and manly, but feeble, pretentious, and offensive. It should therefore be one of the leading objects in selecting an Administration for the next four years, to avoid this danger of intervention, by the selection of rulers who will not provoke it, and whose policy will command respect at home and abroad.

CONTRACT GOVERNMENT. Another danger to be considered is corrupt government, the necessary consequence arbitrary principles practically applied in the affairs of the nation, or rather an accompanying principle. The vast increase of officers in all the branches of the public service; the administration of a great public debt, including the management of a revenue system of gigantic proportions, will create numerous avenues of corruption and when the Government is administered upon principles of coercion, it must necessarily subsidize large numbers of persons in order to maintain its authority.—It is ever thus that strong governments, as they are called, must be corrupt ones, and the interests of the great mass of the people be sacrificed to the interests of classes or individuals. A truly free government where the authority of the rulers is supported by the free and uncoerced action of the people; where the laws are kept in perfect good faith and individual rights perfectly respected, is the only one which can be pure.

INSURETY. But, it is equally true, that a free government, not one free in form merely but in fact in the most secure, both as regarded danger from external force and from internal convulsion. If it be established for a people not base minded but civilized and honorable, it will impart to them enormous force for resisting foreign aggression, while it preserves them from internal revolt. Unquestionably, under ordinary conditions, that Government is most secure which is most free. But in the hands of a sectional party, the future of this country is not secure.—Not only is the danger of renewed revolt a possibility of the future, but the dangers of a foreign war are immensely increased. A disaffected population weakens the Government in resisting invasion, and if such disaffection is sectional, then the country has a weak part through which a foreign foe may strike its effectual and fearful blows.

CORRUPTION OF RACE. A still more important consideration remains to be stated. We mean the social question—the question of the relations of race—with which our rulers are so little fitted to deal, and upon which such extreme, offensive and dangerous opinions are held by their prominent supporters. Whatever may be determined as to the negro race amongst us, it is manifest it is unfitted to participate in the exercise of political power, and that its incorporation, socially, and upon a principle of equality with the mass of our countrymen, constitutes a danger compared to which all other dangers are insignificant.—We suppose the men who established suffrage in this country, and from time to time have subjected it to new regulation, proceeded upon the principle of vesting it in those who were fitted for its exercise. Political powers being in their nature conventional, it is proper that they be established upon a basis of utility and convenience, and in such manner that they will not be subjected to abuse. Pursuing the same line of action pursued by our fathers, suffrage is to be withheld from those members of the social body who are manifestly unfit to exercise it, and whose participation therein must necessarily lead to abuse. Manifestly a race of mankind who cannot support free institutions, regular government, productive industry; and a high degree of civilization, of themselves, acting in an independent capacity, are unfit for performing business of government amongst us. The argument of equality of rights for all men fails in their case, because of the absence of the conditions upon which it is founded. In the organization of a State, it is perfectly manifest that the social body cannot be identical with the political; that vast numbers comprised within the former are not to be included in the latter. We do not, in this country, include females, minors, unnaturalized foreigners, particular criminals nor the insane, among those who exercise the right of suffrage. Incapacity or unfitness exists, to a greater or less extent, with all these extensive divisions of human beings and the same ground of exclusion precisely exists in the case of the negro or other inferior race, who may be casually or permanently placed amongst us. Chinese, Malays, and unevilsed Indians, There is no reason why any general incapacity for electoral action should be ignored in the case of one of these classes and not in another. Our Governments were established by white men and for white men and their posterity forever and it is for the common advantage of all states and conditions of human beings, that the exclusion of the inferior races from suffrage should be permanently continued.—Thus only can this great experiment of freedom begun by our ancestors and continued by us, be carried forward successfully, and be made to accomplish the great and beneficent results of which it is capable.

But the social aspect of this subject of the "relations of race," is equally important with the political, and intimately associated with it. It is of the highest policy, it is of the greatest necessity, that the races should be kept distinct, socially; that they should not blend together to their mutual corruption and destruction. If an example were set to admision as upon this high point of poli-

cy, it would be furnished by the Spanish American Republics, who have run their troubled and inglorious career under our observation, and whose present condition may well awaken the pity or contempt of mankind. The Spaniard in the New World had not self-respect enough to keep himself uncontaminated by the Negro and Indian, and he inflicted upon his colonies all the curses and horrors of hybridism, until their social state has become degraded and poisoned beyond apparent redemption. Throughout all those extensive countries brought under control by the arms or policy of the Spanish crown and which within the present century and in imitation of our example, have assumed republican forms of government, this disregard of Natural law, this ignoring of the differences of race, has been the prolific cause of the social and political evils which scourge and afflict those unhappy countries. Social voices prevail to a fearful extent; society is enfeebled and eaten out by them; there is no steady productive labor, no increase of population, no uniform and just administration of law, but constant revolutions and insecurity of all those rights which governments are established to protect and defend.

OPPOSITION TO BE ORGANIZED. In view of the foregoing considerations, and of many others which might be mentioned, an appeal for popular action against the evils of the time and the dangers which threaten us, must be thought timely and proper. The sure restoration of the Union and of a true administration of our system of constitutional government, await the success of a great Opposition party actuated by just aims, inspired by an earnest, patriotic determination to save the country and perpetuate its liberties.

The idea of ignoring party in the accomplishment of great public objects, cannot be accounted one of wisdom. Great masses of men in a free country can act usefully and steadily only through some organism which combines their power and gives it direction. Without organization, their strength, (all powerful when concentrated,) is dissipated and wasted, and the adventurous few seize upon the powers of government and pervert them to their own sinister designs.

No truth is more certain than this, that the destructive elements of society, (for instance fanaticism and rapacity by both of which we are now afflicted,) can be held in permanent check in a republic, only by uniting patriotism and just men against them in some enduring association, which shall act steadily and powerfully upon government and preserve it in its due course.

The problem for us now to solve is this: Are the people of the United States competent to organize themselves in defense of their system of free government and voluntary union, or must they resort to a dictator armed with large power, who will crush faction and restore peace and union at the sacrifice of liberty? Evil in the State will not die, if left to itself. Some instrument adequate to its extirpation must be sought and found, in the direction of either dictatorial or popular power.

Instead of looking to a dictator to the despotic principle, to a strong executive government of large and concentrated powers, those who have faith in our American principles will look to the people, and will seek to rouse and organize them and direct their united strength against the evils of the time. Thus we believe the nation may be saved by itself, and be prepared to resume its career of prosperity rudely interrupted by the war.

A great Opposition party, made strong enough to carry the elections of 1864, is now the appropriate instrument for national redemption, and its success will be the triumph of free government and will extricate us from the jaws of destruction.

Both the party of the Administration is both vicious and incapable, has been most abundantly proved and ought no longer to be denied. It has failed to restore the Union after three years of trial, though possessed of all the powers of Government and of all the resources of the country. And meantime it has struck heavy blows at liberty, and is carrying us away from all the old landmarks of policy and administration. We are literally drifting toward destruction, with the knowledge that those who have charge of our vessel of State are unfit to direct its course.

But there is yet time to avert much calamity. The future at least may be made secure, To all who really desire the Union restored, and along with it honest, constitutional government, the appeal may now be made to assist in elevating a party to power which will be faithful to the Constitution, which will unite together the union elements of the whole country; will chastise corruption and fanaticism from the public Administration, and will secure the future from convulsion and despotism.

Let the fact sink deeply into the hearts of our countrymen, that the great obstacle to peace, to reunion, to integrity in public affairs, and to the renewal of prosperity, is the presence at the capital of the nation of the chiefs of a sectional party, who have been instrumental in plunging the nation into "a sea of troubles," and who are both incapable and unwilling to save it.

POLICY OF THE OPPOSITION. Having already spoken with just freedom of the Administration and of its policy and conduct, we proceed to indicate the position and views of the Opposition, who contend with the Administration for the possession of popular favor.

We hold that all laws duly established and existing shall be kept, and kept as well by persons in official stations as by the mass of the people. Disregard of law and of rights established and guaranteed by it, is one of the great evils of which just complaint must now be made. A change of Administration and of party power, will secure through the whole country subject to our jurisdiction, a just, faithful and uniform administration of the laws by the country and by the President and his subordinates, and it will secure in the Congress of the United States, faithful obedience to the Constitution and an honest construction of the powers conferred by it upon the legislative authority. The interruption of justice caused by an unnecessary suspension of the habeas corpus in the revolted States will, forthwith, terminate; arbitrary arrests of persons in civil life will become unknown, and a pretended necessity overriding justice and right, and made the pretext for various forms of oppression and injustice, will disappear before a returning sense of obligation and duty in our rulers.

In the policy of the Federal Government there will be no recognition of doctrines which tend to the social debasement and pollution of the people. The profligate and pernicious theories which under the garb of philanthropy and a regard for human rights would overthrow the natural barriers between different races and ignore wholly organic laws of difference between them, will not be promoted or favored in the policy of the Government of the United States.

There will be an earnest and proper effort made to retrace the steps already taken in debasing the currency of the United States by large and unnecessary issues of paper money—a system at once unauthorized and injurious, which impoverishes the country and distributes the earnings of labor to hands that have not earned it, will invite immediate revision and ultimate removal from the statute book of the United States.

The troops raised for the public service, whenever a necessity for raising them shall exist, will be rightfully obtained through the agency of the State Governments, and be officered by State authority; thus securing, in the raising of armies for extraordinary occasions, the true intent and meaning of the Constitution, and preserving the armies of the United States from the undue political control of the Federal Executive.

The action of the Government in its financial disbursements, and other features of its administration, will be thrown open to full investigation, and an earnest effort will be made to purge it in all its branches of corruption.

Economy of outlay, so much spoken of by those who now hold power previous to their election and so little regarded by them since will be reinstated in the practice of the Government as one of the essential rules of its action.

The doctrine that the States shall possess and exercise all ungranted powers, and shall be free within their jurisdiction from the encroachments of Federal authority, shall be rigidly maintained.

The system of public revenue shall be adjusted so as to bear equally upon all sections and interests, and the unnecessary increase of officers in collecting it, as well as in other departments of public service, shall be avoided.

The exertion of public force in the war to be exclusively for the object for which the war was begun, to wit: the restoration of the Union and the jurisdiction of our laws over the revolted country; and being confined to that object, and relieved from the incumbrance of other objects, to be brought to a speedy and honorable conclusion. But further, it may be confidently asserted, that an Opposition triumph in our elections will call into existence moral forces more powerful even than physical force for securing peace upon the basis of reunion. And it may be the only means for securing that great object, hitherto unrealized, and postponed and prevented by the policy and incapacity of our rulers.

Beside the revision of our domestic policy and the restoration of constitutional principles therein, the great objects to which we look, are, the conclusion of the war and the just determination of the questions connected therewith. The burden of this contest has become tolerable. Patience has been exhibited by the people of the United States to the utmost extent of forbearance. They were told the war would last but sixty days; they were told the South was not put; they have been deluded throughout the contest, now more than three years in duration, by promises of speedy success; they have been told to trust and applaud military chieftains who were afterwards retired from service, and denounced and calumniated by those who had incalculated their praise; they have seen a variety of enterprises, both by land and water, miscarry outright, or fail in securing the objects for which they were undertaken; they have seen the prices of all the necessities and comforts of life go up to enormous