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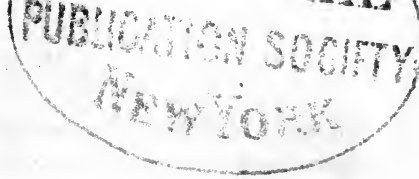


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(FROM THE EASTON ARGUS.)

EXTRACT FROM THE CHARGE OF JUDGE MAYNARD TO THE GRAND JURY OF NORTHAMPTON COUNTY, AT THE OPENING OF THE COURT, JANUARY TERM, 1863.

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ALLEGIANCE to the Government of the United States is the first and highest political duty of every citizen. It is therefore the duty of *all* to unite as the heart of one man, with unalterable purpose, and nerved with the physical energy of the nation, to put down and crush out this wicked rebellion against our Government. It is for *this purpose* and this alone, that the war should be prosecuted with unabated vigor. A fearful responsibility rests upon our Government and upon our people. The eyes of the world are upon us. Free institutions have their all staked on this issue. The friends of civil and religious liberty everywhere hold their *breath* while we struggle. Let us not disappoint the faith which enlightened Christendom has placed in a Government, based upon the *will* of the people. If we *fail*, our national epitaph will be written as surely as with the finger of the Almighty,—“*Man is incapable of self-government.*” If we do our duty the cheek of posterity will not blush with shame to own us as their ancestors, and while living, we shall escape the consuming flame of self-reproach. We have *State pride*; we glory in the proud title of “The Keystone State,” but let it never be forgotten that the only *safety* for ourselves and our institutions is found in the *Union*. Pennsylvania has not the attributes or elements of national sovereignty, to stand *alone* and maintain an equality among the nations of the earth. In that *capacity* we have no connection with the outside world. We have neither sea-coast

nor navy, and are therefore externally powerless. We can neither *control* other *states* or nations, nor protect or preserve our own Government and institutions. But thanks to the wisdom of our fathers, who framed, ordained, and established the Constitution of the United States, we have a rock of defence, and it is indeed to all the States, and all the people thereof, "like the shadow of a great rock," where all *might* repose in safety, and breathe freely as we read this sacred guaranty thereon inscribed,—“The United States shall guarantee to every State in this Union a republican form of government, and shall protect each of them against invasion, and on the application of the Legislature or of the Executive, (when the Legislature cannot be convened) against domestic violence.”

This Constitution is our safety in the present, as well as in the impending storm. A republican government cannot be administered without a Constitution in which the rights and liberties of the people are declared, and secured. It has been well said that “the price of liberty is eternal vigilance,” and if this wise maxim had been properly heeded, this rebellion would have been crushed in the bud,—when the little cloud appeared in our southern horizon, in size like that seen by the servant of the prophet, not larger than a man’s hand, and from which a few murmuring voices were then heard, like the faint mutterings of distant thunder; but we heeded not the portents of the threatening storm until the whole southern sky was overcast. The fury of that storm *now* shakes, not only this continent, threatening to engulf *our* institutions, but agitates the nations of Europe, and threatens to overthrow and destroy the peaceful and commercial relations of the world. Let us bear in mind, that successful rebellion is dissolution,—that republics are founded upon the will of the majority, and that *that* will is capable of revolution at all times. Rebellion can be put down, *only* by physical force, “the last argument of kings.” If therefore the *will*, and the united energies of the loyal heart of this nation, prove inadequate to conquer the

rebellion, to save the Constitution, and restore peace, it will then be time to sheathe the sword, for God and man will say that the lintels and door-posts of our dwellings have been sufficiently sprinkled with fraternal blood, to stay the hand of the destroying angel, that we be not swallowed up in that bottomless pit of anarchy and woe from which issue the horrid spectres that beget our fears,—the grave of the *Constitution* and *Union*. A Government like ours, based upon the *united will* of a free and intelligent people, is the strongest Government on earth. But divided as we now are, it is not a solecism to say our *strength* is our *weakness*, because that strength is used to sever and destroy the bonds, both national and political, which make us one people. There is but *one human* power which can overcome and destroy us ; that is our own. It is the power of self destruction, used only by the *suicide*. This nation stands on the verge of an awful abyss. The impassable gulf is yawning before us. The warning voice of history, in clarion tones calls upon us to *pause* in our career of madness. That history unrolls to our view in panorama, the voyage of departed nations and governments, while the immovable finger of truth points to the rocks and shoals on which they wrecked and stranded. Let us be wise, and heed the admonitions of history, and not only *pause*, but retrace our *steps*, until we strike the beaten path made by our fathers, which leads to peace, prosperity, and happiness. The *path* is the great highway of constitutional liberty. My faith though shaken, is still strong in the wisdom, the intelligence, and patriotism of the people, and I turn with hope from these gloomy forebodings, that our glorious Union, under the blessing of God, is to be perpetual. “That when this young and wide-extending republic shall feel the slow decay which fleeting years reveal, Philosophy will still smile in the sky of our Franklin, and glory will burn o’er the tomb of Washington.”

M39  
1863

(FROM THE WORLD, NEW YORK, APRIL 11, 1863.)

## POSITION OF THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY.

The good results of the Democratic opposition are apparent in the fact, that the Republican party has been driven by it to a pretended recognition of the true principles on which the war should be conducted. Previous to the animated discussions and great Democratic triumphs in the fall elections, the administration party insisted on the wildest methods for putting down the rebellion. The chief of these was the emancipation of the slaves, and the confiscation of all property belonging to southern owners. \* \* \* \* \*

The Democratic party understands the difference between a patriotic and a factious opposition. It will never be found favoring any course that tends to put the country in the power of its enemies. No rule can be laid down, that shall in all cases, mark the exact dividing line between praiseworthy and reprehensible opposition; but there are some cases where the duty to oppose is so plain and imperative as to preclude all doubt. \* \* \* \* \*

When the acts and measures resorted to by the government in war time are not deemed unconstitutional, but only inexpedient, the limits of allowable opposition cannot always be clearly marked; but even here, patriotic intention can never go far wrong. Even if the war be thought impolitic and unwise, or even unjust, if it nevertheless constitutionally exists, it can be opposed only by constitutional methods. One party can make war, but it requires two to make peace; and while our country is exposed to the depredations of active hostile armies, no good citizen will knowingly do anything to put it at the mercy of the enemy. No matter whether the war is just or unjust, while the enemy does not choose to make peace, we have no choice but to continue the war; and any war which is not prosecuted with spirit and energy dishonors the national character. It is for the interest of a nation to be at war as seldom as possible. It is, therefore, for the national advantage that every war it undertakes shall be prosecuted with such vigor, force, and spirit, that every other nation, as well as the immediate enemy, shall take warning from its pluck and determination, and become convinced that war with it, by whomsoever undertaken, will prove anything but child's play. If we are defeated, we must of course make peace; but even then the more formidable our attitude of resistance, the better the terms likely to be obtained from the victorious party. When we have gained some great advantage over the enemy, we can honorably offer him terms of peace. But so long as he neither sues for peace, nor will accept of it, there is nothing to do but to fight him. \* \* \* \* \*

For our part, we have no desire to repress the growth of the small wing of the Democratic party that has declared for peace. Whatever may be the result of the war, the time will sooner or later come when a peace party will be one of the chief needs of the country. If not already needed as a counterpoise to the host of men who grow rich by the war, it at least is not dangerous. But a majority of the Democratic party are resolutely opposed to peace, until they can see that peace is consistent with the restoration of the Union. The South will not at present treat on any other basis than its independence, and the Democratic party will not consent to peace on such terms. So long as the North will not listen to peace and separation, and the South will not listen to peace and reunion, there is nothing for negotiation to stand upon and peace is impracticable.

While things remain in such a posture that there is no alternative but war, the chief duty of the opposition is resistance to unconstitutional measures, to the peculation and abuses that prevail in most departments of the public service, and to the scandalous attempts to pervert the vast patronage created by the war into an engine for corrupting the people and controlling the next Presidential election. But as soon as the South will signify a willingness to treat for peace on the basis of reunion, the Democratic party will be as resolute for an armistice and the immediate call of a convention, as it was for the prosecution of the war. And God grant that that auspicious day is near at hand!



