

THE
OLD GUARD,

A MONTHLY JOURNAL;

DEVOTED TO THE PRINCIPLES OF

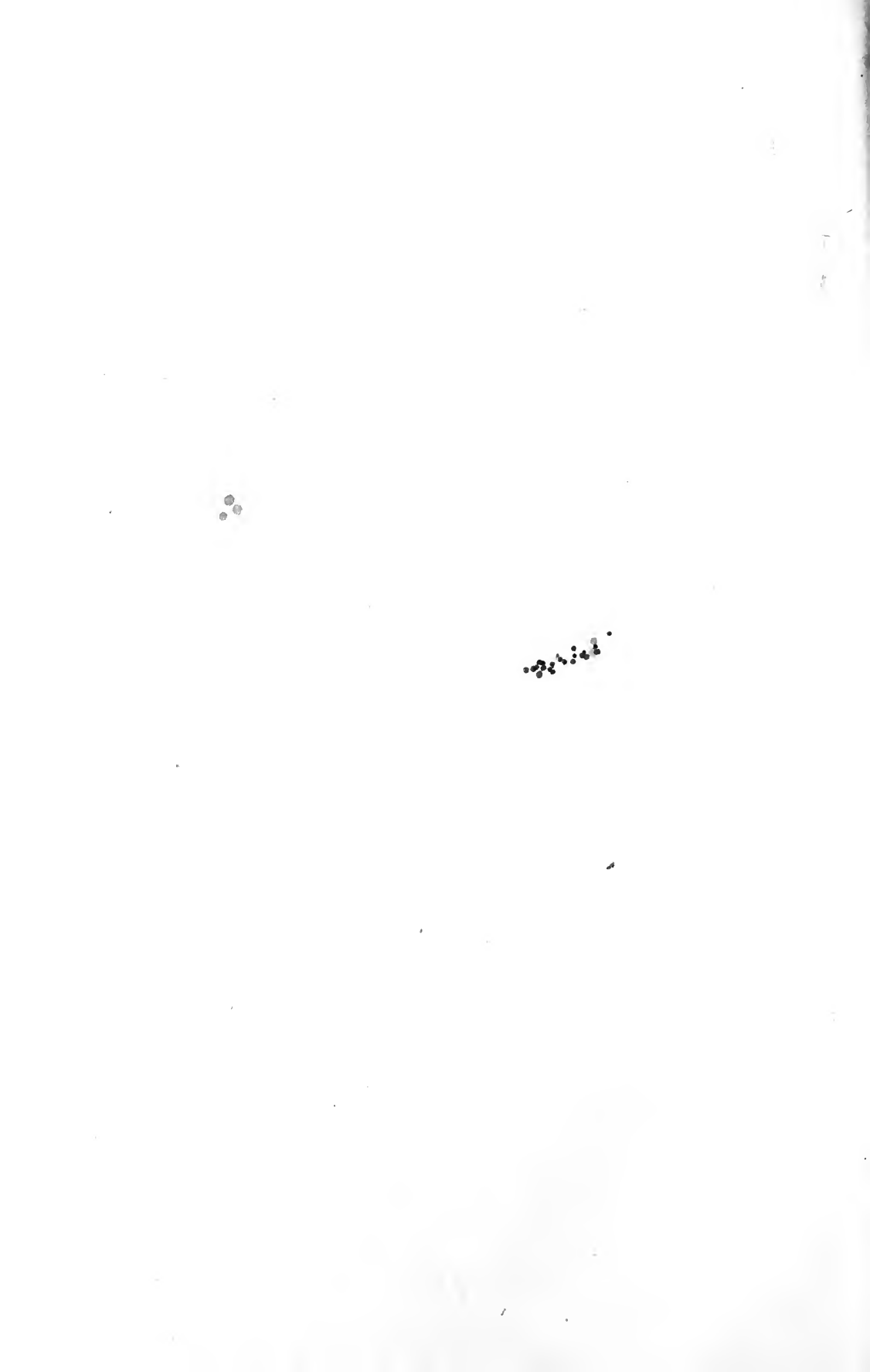
1776 AND 1787.

“The Union as it was, and the Constitution as it is.”

PUBLISHED AND EDITED BY
C. CHAUNCEY BURR.

JULY, 1862.

NEW YORK,
CORNERS OF DUANE, CENTRE AND READE STREETS.



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RIGHTS THAT ARE OLDER THAN THE CONSTITUTION.

ALL the unnumbered woes that now afflict our unhappy country proceed from a violation of *rights*, which are not only abundantly protected by the constitution, but are admitted to be older than the constitution itself.

Interference with slavery has brought all this death upon our land: not *slavery*, as is strangely affirmed by Mr. Bancroft and Mr. Everett, but *interference* with slavery is the cause of the civil strife.

Slavery is the cause of the war in no other sense than money is the cause of theft. It is true that men would not steal if there were no money, just as men would not destroy our country with an agitation about slavery, if there were no slavery.

But we do not propose to abolish *money* or property because bad men will steal it. Nor is it a rational demand that slavery should be abolished, because mischievous fanatics will abuse the laws by agitating against it.

The constitution of our country recognizes slaves as money or property. It taxes them as such, and in many ways throws the protection of the laws over the institution.

We committed as great an offense against the constitution and laws of the land, when we attempted to disturb our Southern fellow-citizens in the safe and peaceable possession of their property in slaves, as they would have committed had they attempted to disturb us in our peaceful rights of houses and lands. We may quarrel with our constitution, and fight our laws—we may say that the one is a “covenant with death,” and the other an “agreement with hell”—but all this raving does not alter the consti-

tutional right of States to establish or retain slavery, according to their own sovereign will.

It is by the sovereign State will that slavery has been abolished in the North. It is by the same sovereign State power that it has been retained in the South. Our right to *abolish*, and theirs to *retain*, springs from a common fountain of rights, which cannot be violated without destroying the constitutional foundations of the Union. If we destroy these rights of property in slaves, the whole grand structure of constitutional laws that protects our right of property comes to the ground. We cannot beat down that half of the temple of laws which protects their heads, and leave standing that half which shelters our own. Were we to attempt such a thing, we should impart a sacred justice to Revolution—nay, we should make *non-revolution* a crime against liberty and right.

Possibly we may dislike slavery. But that is our own private affair. The government was not founded for the benefit of our personal likes or dislikes. Other States approve of it as much as we condemn it; and the constitution extends an equal protection over all. We have no more right to punish them for approving, than they have to punish us for disapproving it. The Federal Government has no more right to confiscate slave property in some States, than it has to confiscate church property in other States.

Our hatred of slavery does not invalidate one of its claims to all the protection guaranteed to it in the constitution and laws of the country. On this subject there can be no grounds for dispute

among honorable and intelligent men. The constitution does not leave us in doubt.

Article I., section 2d, of the constitution recognizes slaves as persons to be represented by their masters, and as *property* to be taxed.

Article I., section 8th, authorizes Congress to *suppress insurrection*; which clause was intended, says Chief Justice Story, as a protection to the slave States. Article I., section 9th, prohibited Congress from suppressing the slave-trade prior to 1808, and gave Congress power to impose a tax or duty upon each slave imported before that time.

Article IV., section 2d, compels the States to give up, on claim, fugitive slaves to their owners.

Article IV., section 4th, again makes it the duty of the Federal Government to protect any State applying to it for aid "against domestic violence."

Here are no less than five sections of the constitution, which recognize, and give protection to, slavery.

Notwithstanding this, a madman by the name of Pomeroy, of Kansas, recently declared in his place on the floor of Congress, that he "did not believe that any slaves were held by any right or any law."

If this man (Pomeroy) were the only madman in this North of ours, we should not be now at war with our sister States. It is because we have had millions of Pomeroy's, who have been fighting the constitution and laws of the Republic, that we are now perishing by civil war.

Millions of our Northern people have been so misled on this subject of slavery, that they are entirely blind as to the rights of the slave-holding States. We everywhere hear them talking of what they are going to do about slavery; as though it were really in their power to

do anything about it, without a violation of law, and of the sacred rights of sister States.

Slavery is a matter over which the non-slaveholding States have no control, and with which they have, legally, nothing to do, except to obey the laws and respect the constitutional rights of the States. Those rights exist, not merely *under* the constitution, but *over* it. They existed before the Union was formed; and, in the Articles of Confederation, no iota of those rights was relinquished. The constitution was sanctioned by *them*, rather than *they* by the constitution. Had not that instrument admitted the sovereignty of those rights, the Union would never have been formed.

The act of Union bowed in deference to rights, older in their date than any of which the constitution of the confederacy can boast.

These original and unrelinquished rights are out of the lawful reach of the Federal Government. Its office and sworn duty is to protect them—not to attempt to change them.

If the confederacy should crumble to pieces, if the constitution were to pass away, those rights would remain unshaken—would exist while those States exist—whatever should become of the confederacy. Instead of losing any of their high sovereign power, on the subject referred to, that power was expressly reserved, both in the Articles of Confederation and in the Constitution of the United States; and the non-slaveholding States not only admitted and sanctioned it, but bound themselves to return fugitive slaves to the South.

On this question of slavery, those States are just what they were before they entered into the Union—sovereign and independent.

And the non-slaveholding States are,

in reference to the same question, what they were before that compact—foreign communities.

South Carolina and Virginia had no more connection with us on the subject of slavery, than had Russia or Great Britain; we had no more right to interfere with her domestic legislation on the subject of slavery, than we had with the internal affairs of those kingdoms. Nor is the South under any greater obligation than these nations would be to submit to such interference, without vindicating her rights, and punishing those who dare to disturb her tranquillity.

If the Northern States violate these rights, or permit their citizens to do so, they not only break the compact, but make it the duty of the injured States to defend themselves, as a free people should, from a violation of their sovereignty.

We of the North entered into the Union with our eyes open. We knew that the compact was subject to this reservation. We pledged ourselves to observe it.

Everything sacred to us as patriots, as Americans, and as men, stands pledged for our honorable adherence to the faith then plighted.

Not only by our solemn compact, but by the laws which govern the conduct of all civilized nations, are we bound, at once and forever, to cease all warfare upon the slave institutions of the Southern States. Vattel, in his *Law of Nations*, says :

“The sovereign who refuses to cause a reparation to be made of the damage caused by his subject, or to punish the guilty, or, in short, to deliver him up, renders himself in some measure an accomplice in the injury, and becomes responsible for it.”

We do not hesitate to say, that the South would be justified in resisting any

and every advance of abolitionism upon the domain of her rights, if the General Government had even failed to defend and protect those rights. The first moment that abolitionism had rendered life and property, in those States, insecure, and the General Government had failed in its duty to them, their right to seize the sword, and resist abolitionism and the whole world in defense of their laws, stands unquestioned and unquestionable.

But here is the weak point of the South in its present armed attitude; for although there had for years existed in the North organized bands against her rights, which urged an incessant guerrilla warfare upon her institutions and her peace, yet the Federal Government had never proved faithless to her.—Though every Northern State, except New Jersey, had trampled the constitution and laws of the Union under their feet, in violation of the rights of those States, still the Federal Government had remained firm and faithful in the defense of those rights.

It is true that a sectional party—a party of one idea, and that of hostility to them—had obtained the control of the government. It is true that this party, after its triumph, declared that, to use Mr. Seward's words, “this is the beginning of the end of slavery.”

But still it was a fangless serpent until the South withdrew from the national legislature, and left the patriotic friends of the constitution and the laws in the North, for the time, powerless to resist the mad whirlwind of fanaticism and sedition.

Had the South remained true to the Union, she would have seen with what determined will the friends of the constitution would have beaten back the advancing column of the secessionists.

Then, not one of all the fiery rabble of abolitionists which Mr. Lincoln has elevated to places of honor and power, would have been confirmed in their seats by the Senate. Then Mr. Lincoln and his Cabinet in Washington would have been no better off than prisoners who are allowed "the liberty of the yard."

And, even now, let those deluded, wandering States return to their old seats in the Union, and help the friends of the constitution in the North to restore liberty and law to an afflicted country, and they will find that their rights and property will still be safe under the ample protection of the glorious old constitution which we received from our patriotic forefathers. The enemies of the constitutional rights of the South, have proved that they are also the enemies of freedom in the North and everywhere. The true friends of the Union begin to realize that they have on their hands the business of putting down not only *rebellion*, but *usurpation* as well. They have to see to it, not only that the laws are restored in the South, but in the North also. If the South has a Davis and a Yancey, the North has a Seward and a Sumner. All these men and their fiery partizans are the common foes of the constitution and the Union. If the laws have been *resisted* by the power of the sword in the South, so have they been *suspended* by the same kind of power in the North. If the people of the South have been impoverished, imprisoned, and slaughtered, so have we of the North also. The curse that has fallen upon our country has descended upon all and every part of it. If the mourners go about the streets in every Southern city, so do they in every Northern city. If poverty, and want, and anguish, and death are there, so are they here. For every Southern heart we break, a North-

ern heart is broken too. If we have made their hills red with their blood, their valleys are also red with our own. The business we are carrying on is, "an eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth." So it stands. O that some angel of wisdom would descend upon the deluded people of the South, and put it into their hearts to lay down their arms, and return to their places in the Union! By so doing, they will not only save themselves, but us. We cannot go on to crush them, without crushing ourselves also. Commerce, trade, and every artery of prosperity have made us one body; and whatever crushes the life out of them, crushes it out of us as well. The shallow demagogues at Washington do not comprehend this, for they are mad; but the people are beginning to FEEL it in a hundred oppressive ways. Though the demagogues succeeded, for a time, in completely abolishing their reason, yet they could not abolish their five hungry senses, and these are now already beginning to preach, and argue, and demand, in a fashion that must be heard by-and-by.

Another thing the people are beginning to understand is, that peace and prosperity can never be restored to this Union until abolitionism is effectually silenced. That is the first foe to conquer. Get that fiend under hatches, and we shall be rid of that other rebellion in no time. Kill the mother, and the sucking cub must die. If there had been no abolitionism, there would have been no rebellion: that is what the people are beginning to understand, which also leads them on to comprehend the fact that *abolitionism*, and not *slavery*, is the cause of the war. Slavery was here before our constitution. The constitution was formed as much for its protection, as for the protection of any other kind

of property. The abolitionists understood this well enough, and, therefore, they boldly denounced the constitution as a "covenant of death." They knew that slavery existed under the solemn sanction of the laws. But abolitionism, so far from enjoying such high sanction, is an organized warfare against the constitution and laws. It was a sedition and a rebellion from the beginning. It is the cause of all our woes: it is the first devil that must be caught and chained, preparatory to a return of peace and

prosperity to this suffering and blood-stained land.

To the God who judges all men we appeal, when we declare that there is one prayer burning in our heart day and night, that the rebellion may be forever crushed, and our beloved Union restored to its old foundations; and to that end we direct our best and holiest powers to the destruction of the lawless and bloody fiend Abolitionism, which is the fountain-head of all the rebellious crime in our land!

THE BATTLES OF THE MONTH.

SINCE our last number of "*The Old Guard*," there have been several battles fought, of no decisive importance to either side.

The battle of "Fair Oaks," in front of Richmond, our papers generally consider a drawn game. We own to 8,000 "killed, wounded, and missing;" and the rebels admit the loss of 4,500. We have no means of knowing the truth; but, from the fact that our troops were surprised, it is probable that our loss was the heaviest.

There have been several battles in the Shenandoah Valley between the rebel General Jackson and the forces of Generals Banks, Fremont, and McDowell. The result of all these is described as follows, in an editorial of the New York "*World*" of June 17th:

"After having chased Banks across the Potomac, put Secretary Stanton in a panic, outwitted McDowell, foiled Fremont, and overwhelmed a portion of Shield's command, Jackson is now ready to add to the difficulties of Gen. McClellan's situation."

The late appointment of Gen. Pope as commander-in-chief of all the forces under Banks, Fremont, and McDowell, is

no doubt a wise move on the part of the administration, and will be likely to result in driving Jackson from the Valley of the Shenandoah.

There has been a battle at Vicksburg, on the banks of the Mississippi river, in the State of Mississippi, in which, after a severe fight, our forces were repulsed. With the exception of a slight defeat at Fort Darling, on the James river, in Virginia, this rebel success at Vicksburg is the only instance where our gunboats have failed of a triumph.

Since the battle of Fair Oaks, there has been a sharp skirmish, which may be called a battle, before Richmond, in which our loss, in killed and wounded, is set down at 200. Both sides claim the victory. The battle was opened by the rebels.

There has also been a hard battle at Secessionville, near Charleston, in which our forces, under Gen. Benham, were severely repulsed, with a confessed loss in killed and wounded of 668.

All of our Generals are crippled by the impertinent and meddlesome interference of Congress and the political military ignoramus and humbugs at Washington.

NEVER before, we think, was there so much bewildering nonsense uttered about any one thing in this world, as is now daily put forth in writing, and talking, and spouting about the words *loyal* and *disloyal*. Small boys, who think they are men because they can smoke and swear, will tell you who is *loyal* and who *disloyal* with as easy an impudence, and with as small an outlay of brains, as the ass in the fable used in criticizing the conduct of the lion.

This word *loyal* is a very simple affair. It is a French word, from *loi*, which signifies *the law*. To be *loyal*, is simply to *abide by the law*. A loyal man is one who is *attached to the laws*—who faithfully acts according to the constitution and laws of his country.

This gives you at once the measure of loyalty and disloyalty. All those who honestly and faithfully adhere to the constitution and laws, are *loyal*; and all who, from whatever pretense, disregard the constitution and laws, are *disloyal*. Whether the man's name is "JEFF" or "ABE," if he disregards the constitution and laws of his country, he is *disloyal*, and, instead of being praised by his stupid followers as a patriot, ought to be punished as a felon. Whether he is a president or a fishmonger, he falls within the rule. A president has no more right to transcend the law, than a fishmonger has. Both are bound to act within the limits of the law—with this difference, that the president has to take an extra oath that he will be faithful to the constitution and the laws. On an unfaithful president, therefore, there is an extra weight of perjury and felony for disregarding the law, or being *disloyal*. He has been faithless to higher pledges and more sacred trusts. Such is the law and

the fact; and all the spouting, and twisting, and turning, and lying, can make it no otherwise.

But, exclaims some moon-eyed philosopher, must not the president put down rebellion?—The *laws* must put down rebellion, and the president is no more than the agent, *pro tempore*, for directing their administration. Rebellion must be put down; but it must be put down according to law, and by nothing else, or the strife is simply that of one disloyalty pitched against another. When the judge leaves his bench, and rushes down at the culprit, exclaiming, "*I declare the laws to be incompetent to punish this scoundrel, and so I will take the matter into my own hands!*" you have something to match the folly and crime of a president and a congress who proclaim their determination to suppress rebellion by unlawful means. Then your president and congress rush into the ring on even terms with rebellion, to fight it out, like two lawless pugilists contending for the national belt. Then that is the bad sight we shall see—two noted pugilists entering the ring, and falling to fisticuffing after a fashion that is a confessed violation of the laws, and therefore sinks the whole affair into a common level of disloyalty and blood. "But 'Jeff' gave the challenge, and drew the first blood." Then he proved himself to be a disloyal villain. But was that a good reason why we should accept the challenge on illegal grounds, and rush into the disloyal ring? For "Jeff's" disloyalty, he should have been met by the whole force of the constitution and law: neither the president, nor Congress, nor any other power, had a right to go beyond that. If the challenge was an act of disloyalty, is not the ac-

cepting of it, on a field of violated law, also an act of disloyalty? Has Abraham Lincoln and Congress any more right to violate the law, in punishing rebellion, than Jeff Davis has to violate the law in starting rebellion? Broken law is broken law, whatever party may be guilty of the *disloyalty*. But we are told that "the constitution is suspended." Who suspended it? Who had a right to suspend it? To suspend the constitution of our country by force of arms is, itself, an act of *treason, usurpation, and rebellion*—is a felon's deed, and deserves a felon's doom. If the constitution is suspended, what are Abraham Lincoln and his Cabinet, and that negro-spouting Congress doing there in Washington? If the constitution is suspended, they have no more business there than any other equal number of crazy men and vagabonds. If the constitution is suspended, all their acts are without the authority of law, and are no more binding upon the people, than the edicts of a political caucus. If the constitution is suspended, the tax bill is a farce, and the people will be under no legal obligation to respect it.

O, ye wretched dolts! keep on telling the people that the constitution is suspended, and how long, think ye, it may be before they will take it into their heads to suspend you and your tax-gatherers? If the constitution is suspended, the United States has ceased to have any legal existence, and the State Governments would then be the only legal authorities in this land. Suspend the constitution, and, in an instant, the aforesaid fishmonger and his second cousin, the clam-crier, will become the equals of Abraham Lincoln in authority—with this single accidental difference, that the one may have an army at his back, and the others not. But there is this about it:—

if the constitution is suspended, the army has no legal existence, and it would be under no more obligation to obey Mr. Lincoln, than it would be to follow the fortunes of the *traitor* Jeff Davis. Such is the jumble of absurdity and nonsense we get into by proclaiming the constitution suspended.

No: rather let us declare at once that any man who dares to suspend the constitution, must himself be *suspended*, and that directly, unless he give up his disloyal business. If we are men, let us show the courage of men, and speak out. If there is yet left a drop of patriot blood in our veins, let our souls stand bravely up in our own defiant bones and muscles, and proclaim it aloud, right in the face and eyes both of rebellion and usurpation, that the constitution is *NOT* suspended, and never shall be, while we've a hand to strike in its defense! It cannot be suspended, except by the same authority of the States which created it. Mr. Lincoln has no more right to violate one of its least provisions, than the hostler in the stable of the White House has. He has taken a solemn oath to support the constitution, each and every part of it; and any effort on his part to violate one of its sacred provisions would only make him a criminal, while that immortal instrument would still stand, "the supreme law of the land," or the whole legal being of the Republic would tumble.

This is the ground we stand upon.—The constitution, the whole constitution, and all the laws resting upon its firm foundation, must be supported, defended, and obeyed—obeyed, not in the South only, but in the North also; not by the people of one section, but of every section; not only by Jeff Davis, but by Abraham Lincoln, and by all the furious imbeciles of Congress, who are now

working to overthrow our government. To support the constitution and the laws, is the true *loyalty*. To violate these, is the real *disloyalty*. If the constitution-defying and law-despising party in power is not *disloyal*, then the word has no meaning. And to say that those who are pleading for the constitution and laws are not the true *loyal* people, is to be a fool, and not to know our own language.

Mr. Lincoln does not blush to own that he has violated the constitution, and done deeds without the warrant of law; and the party in power puts in the plea for him that the constitution and laws of our country are defective, and unequal to the crisis. Therefore Mr. Lincoln sets up his will, as above the constitution and laws he has sworn to obey. In one word, he virtually proclaims himself *dictator*; and, seeing that his entire party press justifies his usurpation, he has lately, we are told by his organs, assumed personal direction of the departments of the army and navy, as if ambitious to play, as nearly as possible, the *role* of the old *Imperators* of Rome, who, by precisely the same steps, destroyed the Republic, and established the Empire upon its ruins. The tyrants in old Rome said it was necessary for them to assume extraordinary powers, because the laws were incompetent; and the deluded people permitted this impudent assumption until it was too late for them to regain their lost liberties. It is only a few weeks since a Senator of the United States stood up in his place in the capitol of our republic, and declared that he "was willing to make Abraham Lincoln dictator for the time."—What a delusion! Admit a dictator for a year—admit him for a day—nay, admit him long enough to drive a nail in the capitol—and you have conceded the principle.

Consign the liberties of the people to one man for an hour, and why not for a year?—for a year, and why not for life?

Once, during the hardest period of our revolutionary struggle, when the British army was devastating the State of Virginia, some parties in the legislature, moved by weak fear and blind cowardice, proposed to make Patrick Henry temporary dictator. At the sound of these words, a noble-minded Virginian sprang to his feet, and exclaimed, "Though I am the friend of Patrick Henry, the day you place your dictatorial crown upon his brow, that same day I'll plant my dagger in his heart!" This bold step brought the deluded cowards to their senses; and from that day such words of delusion and folly have never been repeated within the boundaries of this Republic until the accession of the present party to power. Since the foundation of the Government, the name of dictator, of military governor, or of martial law, has been a sound as foreign to these shores as that of usurper, imperator, or tyrant. Never, since the stars shone above our fair fields, were these names heard until now. Alas! my countrymen, what millions of gloomy miles have we run back in a single year! Over what precipices and into what gulfs have we plunged in a single year! While the thunders of ungodly rebellion are rattling and hissing at one end of the Union, a contumacious disregard of constitutional and statute law is breaking up the very foundations of our Government at the other. In the whirl of rebellion at one end, and of usurpation at the other, the land of our fathers seems to be going down, and utterly sinking in an ocean of blood. My God! with what fearful, bewildering velocity we fall!—Never before, I think, since the Judean herd, suddenly filled with devils, rushed

down the steep places into the sea of Gallilee, and were drowned, was there such another sight to behold!

Then there is this further brutish stupidity—that the only men in our land who are honestly and earnestly working to preserve our constitution and laws, are denounced as *disloyal*, while those who are subverting both, are pronounced *loyal*. In the mad jumble of human nonsense, loyalty and disloyalty have changed places. To ask that the constitution and laws shall be respected, is to *sympathize with rebellion*—so we are told; and, further, subjects every true patriot to threats of hanging, or being dragged off to military dungeons, to be subjected to treatment which sends the stoutest and bravest men to the grave in a few months!

Alas! into what a swinish gulf are we fallen, when such men as Sumner and Wade are called “patriots;” while those who love their country, and would willingly die to save it, are denounced as “traitors!” O, reason! O, shame! where have you hidden yourselves, when these loud-braying foes of the constitution, who have for a quarter of a century denounced our nation’s flag as a “flaunting lie” and a “polluted rag,” are allowed to elevate their treason into patriotism, and to glorify their malignant hatred of the constitution into a blow for the Union! Shall I be told that I sympathize with the accursed folly and crime of Southern rebellion, because I cannot sit still in cowardly silence, and see the party in power trampling the constitution under foot, and pulling down the whole temple of our liberty and laws over our heads? Who are they that run up and down, hissing and sneering and braying about *disloyalty*? Why, the infamous indorsers of the treasonous “Helper book,” which declares:—

That “henceforth we will have no union with slaveholders;”

That “we are wedded to one purpose, from which no earthly power can ever divorce us. We are determined to abolish slavery at all hazards.”

That “against slaveholders as a body we wage an exterminating war.”

That slaveholders must emancipate their negroes, or “we will emancipate them for you.”

That “it is a solemn duty to abolish slavery in the South, or die in the attempt.”

That “the present is the time to try the strength of arms—now is the time to *strike*.”

That “we are not only in favor of keeping slavery out of the territories, but, carrying our opposition to the institution a step further, we here unhesitatingly declare ourself in favor of its immediate and unconditional abolition in every State in this confederacy where it now exists.”

“That, “in this extraordinary crisis of affairs, no man can be a true patriot without becoming an abolitionist. A Free-soiler is only a *tadpole* in an advanced state of transformation; an abolitionist is the full and perfectly-developed *frog*.”

This book was called the “Impending Crisis,”—meaning the coming doom of the South. It was the text-book of the Lincoln campaign. Sixty-three Republican members of Congress subscribed a hundred dollars a piece to circulate gratuitously a *hundred thousand copies* of the work. Besides these congressional assassins of constitutional rights and the Union, the leading members of the Republican party all over the country were also subscribers. In the black list of conspirators we find the names of Gov. Morgan, Horace Greeley, William Cullen

Bryant, Thurlow Weed, and William H. Seward. The last-named *patriot!* gave it the following particular indorsement:

“AUBURN, June 28, 1857.

“Gentlemen:—I have received from you a copy of your recent publication, entitled, “The Impending Crisis of the South,” and have read it with deep attention.

“*It seems to me a work of great merit, yet accurate in statistical information, and logical in analysis. I do not doubt that it will exert a great influence on the public mind in favor of the cause of truth and justice.*

“I am, gentlemen,

“Very respectfully,

“Your obedient servant,

“WILLIAM H. SEWARD.

“Messrs. Burdick Brothers, New York.”

This seditious, disunion book was not only the text-book of the Lincoln campaign, but, after his election, a new subscription was made by the leading members of his party, for the purpose of reducing the retail price of the work from 25 to 10 cents, so that it might “obtain universal circulation.”

The author of this plea against the constitution and laws of our country was rewarded with a consulate by Mr. Lincoln, and nearly every one who had devoted his time to circulating its disunion poison has been rewarded with a similar post of honor and profit by the President.

This, then, is the style of traitors who are spouting and braying around about the “disloyalty” of all the God-fearing and constitution-loving men who are working to save our beloved country from the doom of utter destruction. These “loyal” howlers are the same who lately showed their teeth, and snarled at us as “Union-savers”—the same who, in the Fremont campaign, marched up and down throughout the North, shouting, and screaming, and singing, with

only sixteen stars on their banners, as if in defiant proclamation that only the Northern States were entitled to a place on the flag of our Union—the same who, in the Lincoln campaign, took the name of “Wide-awakes,” indicating that they were on the look out for Helper’s “Impending Crisis” of “a war against slaveholders,” arrayed themselves in a sort of military uniform, marched and countermarched before the people in martial columns and sections, used military phrases in all their calls for private meetings and public demonstrations, and spouted, and shouted, and raved against “the slaveholders,” until the South was frightened at once out of its senses and its loyalty. This is how the thing came to pass. And these same seditious spouters and military marchers who frightened the enraged and foolish South into rebellion against the government, because it had fallen into such hands, are now splitting their seditious throats in screaming “loyalty” over the wreck they have made, in imitation of the cunning thief, who cried out, with all his might, to “Stop thief!” in order to draw off attention from himself.

But let the eyes of the people be kept steadily upon the traitors who have wrought all this mischief. Let them not skulk out of sight under the cry of “disloyalty!” which they set up against all who are honestly endeavoring to preserve the constitution and laws, and to save the Union from the doom that threatens it. The latest device of these enemies of the constitution is to persuade the people that “the restoration of the Union, under the old constitution, is neither possible nor desirable.” Such is the language they use. Believe them not! As a good child will never forsake the bedside of his sick parent, nor give up hope so long as life remains, so the

good and loyal citizen will never desert his country in the day of its trial, nor despair of saving it while he has a heart to pray, or a hand to strike in its defense. Let us rather say, *As God will help us, the Union must and shall be restored!*—restored to its old foundations of justice, equality, and the rights of States—of liberty, freedom of speech and of the press, and all the sacred old guarantees of constitutional and statute laws! Let us swear the oath of liberty, that we will prefer death in defense of these, sooner than meanly purchase life by their loss!

And as for the Southern rebellion, we have to say, that the Constitution must and shall be enforced, until the laws of the Union are acknowledged over every inch of its territory; but we will have also the olive-branch—offers of peace, justice, equality, and protection to property and life. All the unconstitutional acts of the present disloyal Congress we will promptly repeal, as soon as we can send loyal men to fill their disgraced seats. All the illegal deeds of the present administration we will wipe out, so far as a return to con-

stitutional legislation can repair the mischief. The negroes we have stolen, or induced to run away, we will send back to their once happy homes and rightful masters. Whatever has been done contrary to the constitution and laws, must be *undone*. But there shall never be any destruction of this Union—neither on the ground of *secession* nor *abolition*. Let the multitude of Union men in the South, who have been frightened and silenced by the horrible din and tyranny of war, patiently trust that the true loyal people, the real friends of the Union, in the North, will yet work out these results, and bring the Government back to its old constitutional foundations, from which it has been dragged by the abolition party now in power. Let this be the hope and the programme of the real loyal people of both the North and South. To this end, let the people of every section pray and work without ceasing, until the hated mother and daughter of rebellion—Abolition and Secession—are both dead, and buried together in a common grave. Then our lost peace and prosperity will be restored. Then—and not till then.

WE have noticed with deep regret an article on "Democratic Policy," in a paper professing to be democratic, published in New Jersey, which not only misrepresents the position of the democratic party, as indicated by nine-tenths of its newspapers, but it more than intimates a policy which shakes hands with the black Republican party. It more than half adopts the Republican slanders of the democracy. It says that the party must "emphatically discard and condemn the doctrine of secession or nullification," and "abjure all party affiliation and sympathy with the managers of the rebellion."

When, pray, did the democratic party ever show any affiliation with secession or rebellion? When was the democracy not a Union party? How long is it since the republicans denounced all democrats as "Union-savers," meaning it as a term of reproach? To hint, or to imagine, that the democracy has any sympathy with disunion, in any form it can take, is a slander which, it strikes us, ought not to appear in a paper calling itself democratic. In republican papers, or in papers which are playing into their hands, we expect this kind of misrepresentation. It is their chief stock in trade.

Again: the article referred to says, "We must conquer or be conquered." Is this so? Is this democratic doctrine? We understand the position of the democracy to be, that we are not fighting to conquer the South, but to preserve the Union, and bring the revolted States back—not as a conquered people, but as CITIZENS, still entitled to all the rights and equalities which the constitution and the laws extend to all. It is the abolition programme, we know, to conquer the South: this, to them, is the sole

purpose of the war; but the democracy has no such aim, and supports the war for no such purpose. Nor does it indorse any one of the unconstitutional and illegal means which have been resorted to by the administration in the prosecution of the war. The democracy will stand by Mr. Lincoln in the speedy and vigorous enforcement of every constitutional power to put an end to the rebellion. It believes that there is power enough in the constitution and laws, when faithfully and honestly administered, to suppress the rebellion; and it also believes that the rebellion has been fed and prolonged by the unwise and unconstitutional deeds of the President and Congress. A war for *conquest* is not a war for *restoration*. To destroy the South—to annihilate her institutions—so far from being a step towards restoring the Union, would precisely make its everlasting destruction certain. This is the issue between the *true* democracy and the republican party. It opposes no measure constitutionally directed for the suppression of the hated rebellion. But it does oppose the monstrous proposition to suppress a *revolution* by a *counter-revolution*—to attempt to enforce the laws in one direction by breaking away from them in another. For democrats to advocate a faithful adherence to our constitution and laws, is called by the republican papers "*sympathizing with rebellion*," but there is something suspicious around when a professed democratic paper hints in that direction.

This same article also says:

"We make no war upon slavery, but, if those who are interested in that institution thrust it into the contest, as they do, and, for its sake, seek to destroy the government, we cannot and will not be

deterred from maintaining the government, for fear that some injury may ensue to slavery in the collision. By inaugurating a war, they sought to gain advantages to and for slavery, not accorded to it by the constitution of the United States—if they fail in the war, as they must and will, slavery will suffer.”

If by “we” is meant the North, the statement is not true; for, with two or three exceptions, every Northern State *has made war upon slavery* for more than a quarter of a century. We have passed laws for the purpose of divesting the South of her constitutional rights. Her own citizens have been mobbed and murdered while constitutionally and lawfully seeking to regain stolen or runaway slaves. The party now in power has been the inspiring genius of this *war upon slavery*. Its very accession to power was a *war upon slavery*. Except its war upon slavery, it had neither head, nor body, nor tail. If we had never waged this war upon slavery, we should never have had this rebellion. The South has warned us for more than twenty years what she would do if we did not desist. But we kept on, in contempt both of the constitution and her rights, until at last, in an hour of phrensed folly, she has executed her long-avowed threats. This is the truth of the case; and now any democratic paper can misstate the fact, we cannot understand. Certainly the Northern mind is never to be brought right, and prepared so to act as to bring back those wandering States, so long as this persistent misrepresentation prevails.

On the whole, this article does not sound to us like good democratic Union doctrine at all. We regret it the more from the fact that it appears in a so-called Douglas paper, because we have the greatest respect for the memory of Judge Douglas, having enjoyed for many years;

his friendship, and, we believe, his confidence; and we know that if there was any man in this nation who thoroughly and honestly despised every thing that even hinted at a sympathy with abolitionism, he was that man. He told the wretched traitor and demagogue, Sumner, to his face, on the floor of the Senate, that he came into that body “with perjury on his soul,” because, when he took the oath to support the constitution, he had no intention of doing it. We never see a paper evincing sympathy with abolitionism, and still calling itself after the name of Douglas, without keenly feeling that a burning wrong is committed upon his memory.

A great wrong is also committed upon the name and the honor of Democracy when the principles of the Republican party are sent forth under its label. It is now a time when the Democracy must set itself determinedly to the business of trying to save our country from the bloody gulf into which the Republican party has plunged it. It cannot do this by experimenting to see how near it can make itself look like Republicanism, and miss the mark. The Union can be restored by no other principles than those on which it was founded, and these are the traditional doctrines of the Democracy.

The true position of the Democratic party, in the present crisis, we believe to be faithfully defined in the following resolutions, passed at a recent meeting of the Democracy of Ohio:

Resolved. That we are in favor of “the Union as it was, and the Constitution as it is.” That, without the Constitution, there can be no Union and no public liberty. That the doctrines and practices of the Southern Secessionists and Northern Abolitionists are alike hostile and destructive to all these vital and cherished objects. We are, therefore, un-

ceasingly opposed to the political action of both these parties, and denounce them as traitors, and enemies to the peace, prosperity, and happiness of the people.

Resolved, That, in this great national emergency, all true Union men, banishing all feeling of mere passion or resentment, will recollect only their duty to the whole country; that this war should not be "waged upon our part in any spirit of oppression, nor for any purpose of conquest or subjugation, nor for the purpose of overthrowing or interfering with the rights or established institutions of the States, but to defend and maintain the supremacy of the Constitution, and to preserve the Union with all its dignity, equality, and rights of the several States unimpaired; and that, as soon as these objects are accomplished, the war ought to cease."

Resolved, That to maintain the Constitution as it is and the Union as it was, demands of every patriot the same sacrifices that our revolutionary fathers made to establish them; and, to that end, we pledge our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred honor, for all constitutional and legal purposes: but we deny that the government possesses any legal power to extort taxes from the people for the purchase of the liberties, or the support of negroes, and we protest against any such usurpation.

Resolved, That as the frauds and peculations during the first year of the present administration are most astounding and alarming, and "exceed in amount the entire expenditure of the government for all purposes for the same length of time under the preceding administration," we demand that the offenders be exposed and severely punished, whether they be cabinet officers or foreign ministers, governors of States or members of Congress, military generals or private contractors.

Resolved, That we protest against the policy of the majority of the General Assembly of the State of Ohio, in keeping open the doors for negro immigration into the State, to take possession of the homes of our gallant volunteers, and to degrade white labor by their servile competition.

The above resolutions have the old ring of patriotism and true democracy. It strikes us that any democratic paper which cannot heartily and unreservedly indorse them, must be sailing under false colors. While the true flag is at mast-head, its cargo is clearly contraband. We have had so much of this kind of thing for some years past, that the unity and power of the democratic party have been destroyed. Various so-called leaders have swapped, and bargained, and made sail with the opposition, for their own personal benefit, until the ancient principles of democracy have, in some localities, become so mixed and muddled with the mischievous vagaries and treasons of the Republican party, that the principles of our democratic forefathers are no longer discernible. But let us make an end of these things now. Before there is any more buying and selling, let us see what can be done to save our perishing country. Let "*the Union as it was, and the Constitution as it is,*" be our motto and creed, until those twin-fiends of destruction, ABOLITION and SECESSION, are swept away together into oblivious hell—they and all that belong to them. This is the watchword of democracy: "The Union as it was, and the Constitution as it is;" and, no matter what a man's past affiliations may have been, if he will faithfully work for this glorious aim, let him stand forth at once bravely under its banners. But let us beware of black crafts, which come sailing into our waters under the old pirate's trick of a true flag flying at mast-head. If a man honestly wishes to preserve the Union as it *was*, and the Constitution as it *is*, he will have nothing to do with the party which is the real cause of all our woes. "Touch not, taste not, handle not the unclean thing!" Happy would it be for our country if every man who

wishes to see how near he can drive to the edge of the abolition gulf, without plunging over, should, in his zeal, ride off at once. Let him ride off.—If he is in heart an abolitionist, let him have at least enough of manliness to own what he is. Much as we detest the principles of Wendell Phillips, we still have respect for the man, because he will not lie. He is not one thing, while professing to be another. He does not hoist democratic colors while sailing an abolition gunboat. There was one good thing that even Judas did:—he “went to his own place;” there was no disguising or cheating about that, I fancy. He went to his own place. So let every other man go to his own place. Such is God’s justice, in politics as well as in every thing else.

But, we are told, “there is no use in fighting against the anti-slavery sentiments of the North.” Then there is no use in fighting to preserve the Union—then the proposition of “the Union as it was, and the Constitution as it is,” is a cheat and a lie. For one, we will be a party to no such fraud. We will encourage the spending of no more money and the shedding of no more blood for the salvation of the Union, if it is true that it CANNOT BE SAVED. To say that it can be saved, while one-half of the States are bent on destroying the institutions of the other half, is the shallowest kind of deceit and lying. We may make oceans of all our valleys with the blood of our slain, and pile up mountains with the bodies of our dead, yet we shall never SAVE THE UNION, unless the anti-slavery sentiment, which has riven it asunder, can be corrected and put down. The proposition of, “The Union as it was, and the Constitution as it is,” knocks abolitionism to perdition. There is no use of blinking this matter: abolitionism

and the Union cannot both survive. If the Union lasts—if the Constitution is preserved—the institution of slavery will stand as sacred and inviolate as any and every other institution of the land. You cannot break down that institution without breaking down the Constitution, and throwing up the Union. The honest and undisguised abolitionists have always stood out boldly upon this flat ground of disunion and of opposition to the Constitution. It is only the disguised and most knavish type of abolitionists who carry abolitionism in one hand, while they profess to carry the Union and the Constitution in the other. The whole thing is a trick and a cheat; and it all means the overthrow of “the Union as it was, and the Constitution as it is,” for the insane purpose of forcing the negro up out of his place into an equality with white men.

Now, the Democracy stands upon the extreme point of opposition to this seditious and abominable scheme. It will make no terms with it. It leaves the negro slave just where the Constitution of our country places him, and it extends to slaveholders all the rights the Constitution allows—neither more nor less. It hates, and it will fight to the last hour of life against, this mad revolution into which the Southern States, in an evil hour, allowed the abolitionists to drive them. But it will fight only to restore the Union to just what it was, to preserve the Constitution just what it is, and to bring our mad fellow-citizens of the South to their senses and their loyalty. While it has a hand to hold a sword, it will fight for this. But it will not fight for the purpose of quarreling with Almighty God because He has not made the negro the white man’s equal in this working universe of ours. If we understand the temper and determina-

tion of the Democracy, this is it. It is not going to paint its face, to see how much it can make itself look like Black Republicanism, and yet retain some faint features of a white man; but it is going to stand right straight up, with its white man's face washed clean of every streak of charcoal, on the proud platform of "THE UNION AS IT WAS, AND THE CONSTITUTION AS IT IS!" This, for the present, is platform enough. Let us get back where we were before we got astray into this devil's road of long-braying abolitionism and its ugly whelp rebellion, and then we shall begin to get on again as our fathers prudently started us, in a career of peace and glory.

As for the present administration, the Democracy has supported it, and will continue to support it, in every lawful act for the preservation of the Union and the Constitution. It is our common Union—our common Constitution; and all that we possess, even our life, we are willing to devote to their salvation. But we do not, and we will not, indorse a single violation of the Constitution, whether by the President or by Congress, or by our Generals in the field. The only issue the Democracy makes with the administration, in this terrible hour, is against its own monstrous violations of the constitutional and statute laws of the Republic. Up to this hour, the administration has done far more to destroy freedom in the North, than it has to put down the rebellion in the South. Rebellion is not alone, and is not chiefly, in the points of the swords and the smoke of the cannon of the revolutionists: it is in their hearts—in their fears, hates, passions, and moral purposes; and the whole spirit of the administration and of Congress has only tended to arouse, alarm, and intensify these a hundred-fold. The object of war is peace—peace in the

shortest time, and with the least possible loss of life and treasure. The sword can be lawfully employed only to enforce the constitution and laws of the Union; not to destroy the constitutions and laws of the States.

This we believe to be the position of the Democracy on this subject, and it will not lend its countenance to a single violation of these great principles of constitutional law and justice. Not only will it not lend its countenance to executive usurpations and to congressional violations of the Constitution, but it will not be a silent and cowardly spectator of these misdeeds. Its patriotic duty is to make an issue with them at once, and to set itself resolutely to the business of electing a Congress that will put a stop to the rebellion, and hold the executive to a firm, but wise and just, *administration* of the constitution and the laws, instead of allowing a *suspension* of them. In one word, if this Union is saved, and liberty preserved to this people, the Democracy must do it—do it, not as an affiliated party with the administration, and an accomplice in its violations of the laws, but as an *opposition* party, pledged to "the Union as it was, and the Constitution as it is," as the sole basis of all its operations of peace or war. Under the control of a democratic Congress, the war would be so directed, and the laws so administered, as to bring the rebellion to an end in ninety days. By which we do not mean to crush and exterminate the people and the institutions of the South, but to restore them to their old places in the Union, and to an obedience of the laws of the Federal Government. A democratic Congress would do that. But it must be a Congress of true democrats, and not a mixed, hybrid concern of *black-republican democrats*, or abolitionists in disguise. We do not

propose to spend time in asking whether the candidate has been heretofore a democrat or a whig, but let us be sure that he is right now, and that he has the nerve and will to stand bravely by this sacred platform of "THE UNION AS IT WAS, AND THE CONSTITUTION AS IT IS. If any other sort of man is elected to the next Congress, let him not be sent in the name of the Democracy. And if any man wishes to train in company with the Republican party, which has brought all the ruin upon our country, let him have the grace

to follow the example of those recreant democrats who have gone to bed with that party at once, and forever drop the name of democrat. If we cannot have a clean democratic majority in the next Congress, it is better that the republican party should have all the responsibility of its action. If the work of ruin must go still further, let the Democracy have no hand in it. The democratic party cannot be too quick in washing its hands of all affiliation with black republicanism.

WHAT ABOLITIONISM HAS DONE.

WHAT has abolitionism done for our country? It has done just what the democracy has for twenty years forewarned the people it would do—it has driven the South to desperation, and inaugurated civil war. It has filled the whole land with the wildest anarchy, despotism, cruelty, and blood. It has desolated our whole country. It has filled our hospitals with sick, carried death and desolation into two hundred thousand families, and woe or want to fifteen millions of our people. It has made unknown thousands of orphans and widows, and filled all our houses and streets with the weeds of mourning. It has destroyed the liberty of white men in the mad endeavor to make the negroes their equals. It has made our rich men poor, and our poor men beggars. It has debased the public morals, demoralized the pulpit, and converted the good order of social life into riot and desperation. It has filled the whole land with lies, detraction, and scandalous abuse. It has crushed capital and labor together under a mountain of taxes. It has mortgaged the merchants' goods, the farmer's lands, the mechanic's tools, and the sweat and muscles of the laboring-man, to the Federal Government for all time

to come. It has committed treason in the name of patriotism, murder in the name of liberty, theft in the name of honesty, and erected its temples of infidelity and blood upon the desecrated altars of religion and piety. It has elevated to high places of command spendthrifts, desperadoes, and drunkards, and subjected the peace of society and the virtue of women to the brutal lusts of brothel-bullies and bar-room loafers. It has suborned or destroyed the liberty of the press, made freedom of speech a felony and raised ignoramuses and intolerant bigots into seats of patronage and power. It has made patriots of Charles Sumner and Owen Lovejoy, Christians of Lloyd Garrison and Wendell Phillips, men of courage of such cowards as Jim Lane, of Kansas, and saints of old John Brown and his band of assassins. It has suspended the constitution and the laws, and crushed the very forms of our government under the uneasy weight of a silly and reckless military despotism. It has made heroes of negroes who have murdered their masters, and offered a premium upon brutality and outrage.—These are the fruits of abolitionism. It is a harvest of death!—a carnival of crime and blood!

THE importance of preserving the distinction between the rebellion and "the South," ought to be very manifest, yet is very much overlooked. A defense of "the South" is no defense of its rebellious citizens and inhabitants, although there are some men who would be willing to see the distinction ignored. We abhor treason; we regard rebellion as a sin against the best of governments; but in our efforts to put down rebellion, let us not forget that the South is to be part of our country, as it has been, and that the millions of its inhabitants are not to be exterminated, but to be preserved in the Union. Without attempting to decide how many of the Southern people are Unionists at heart, it is enough to know that some are, and that the hope of the future is in making more to be so.

He is a bold man who dares in this day of war to say that he loves "the South;" yet the American should cherish the same affection for "the South" as for "the North;" for "the East," as for "the West." The wholesale denunciation in which some very good people, and all passionate and thoughtless people, have indulged toward that portion of our common country has been so general and so fierce, that it positively seems now to make one liable to the suspicion of treason who shall express any attachment to the South. Congressional committees have reported on rebel barbarities, abolition presses have sedulously inculcated the idea that the institution of slavery has made the South barbarous. Every instance of a rebel atrocity is seized on as a means of exciting

Northern hatred against all the South; and clergymen in their pulpits, orators on the platform, editors in their chairs, fathers of families at their firesides, and the lips of women, in the social walks of life, are now accustomed to this wholesale abuse of "the South," so that our children are growing up with an abhorrence of what is to be, if we have the Union, a part of our country forever.

That all this is wrong, needs no argument to show. That Southern people, and pulpits, and presses deal in similar denunciation of the North, is no justification or apology. That the South is controlled by a great rebellion, is no excuse. The mutual hatred which is thus inculcated will better serve the purposes of Southern disunionists and Northern abolitionists, than would a victory over the Union armies at Richmond. They desire the destruction of the Union. What better way to bring it about than by teaching the people of the two sections to cherish bitter hatred to each other?

Wise men, lovers of their country, will frown on all this. Let men be taught abhorrence of rebellion, of treason, and of every sort of enmity to the Constitution. But let us avoid this sectional hatred, remembering that it is not all of the Southern people who are enemies of the Union; that of those who are, thousands upon thousands are misled and deceived, while other thousands have been guilty of a terrible error, from which they may be induced to turn back. The only hope of the future is in restoring affectionate regard between the North

* This article is copied entire from the *New York Journal of Commerce* of June 14th. It ought to be republished in every democratic or conservative journal in America. If such articles could be spread before the Southern people, they would do more to bring them to their senses and their loyalty, than all the bullets and bayonets we have sent against them.

and the South, and preserving it thereafter between all parts of the country.

There are, surely, reasons sufficient why we should cherish an ardent love for the South. Out on the revilers who so diligently circulate the idea that slavery has barbarized the South! Bone of our bone and blood of our blood, every libel which is published in the wholesale way of "the South," is a libel on our American people. We are bound to the South by the closest of ties. They fought with us the great battle of the Nation's birth. They fought as we fought. Some scribblers have lately been seeking, even in the battles of the Revolution, to show that the Southern troops were cowards; but the "page of History ought not to be sullied." Let it stand as it is written, that the South fought side by side with the North, and a Virginian was the Father of his Country. They have labored with us in the increasing glory of the nation. Not alone the great Washington, but Jefferson and Madison, Calhoun and Jackson, and a long line of wise and noble men, down to the days of Henry Clay, have added luster to our fame; have made our laws, have brought the nation to the pinnacle of greatness, in their co-operation with a host of Northerners like Hamilton, and Adams, and Hancock, and the illustrious sons of the North, whose catalogue culminates with Wright, and Marcy, and Webster. When the American blots out of his book of history the names and deeds of Southerners, he blots out just half the story.

But the South claims our affection for other reasons than its share in our history. We are closely related to it by the ties of blood and by the bonds of ordinary friendship. That man deserves to be enrolled with the infamous who takes advantage of the present state of war to teach the North that the men and

women of the South are not our equals in all the refinements of civilized life. If we believe the radical papers and orators, we have been living for eighty years in a Union with a race of heathen, of murderers and adulterers, immoral men, abandoned women, who are a disgrace to the country in which we live, a blot on the character of the race of man. No ordinary epithets suffice to indicate the abhorrence in which these people are held by their Northern judges. Is there any truth in the slander? Is there any wrong in defending our brothers and friends from this foul calumny? Where in America shall we find all that adorns home—that elevates humanity—if we do not find it in the South? This Pharisaical "stand aside, for I am holier than thou," is the result of a spirit of persecution for opinion's sake, which is characteristic of radicalism; and far distant be the day when any honest American, who has a love for his country, an admiration of its principles, a reverence for its founders, a love for every one of its loyal children, is afraid to defend the moral, social, and religious character of North, South, East, and West. It may be that some honest abolitionists, who reach heaven by way of Massachusetts Congregationalism, will be astonished if they see Washington there, with Paul and Philemon. And there will be some of the dishonest men of that class, who will pause, like the man whom Bunyan describes, outside the gates of the celestial city, and, looking in on its serene streets, be astounded to see the pastors of Southern churches, the teachers of Southern Sunday Schools, the owners of Southern slaves, within the sacred inclosure, while they themselves are hurried away to the door in the hill-side which opens to perdition, "For there is a way to Destruction, even from the gates of

the Celestial City." It is a subject of devout thanksgiving that the Judge who admits to that high abode is not a Massachusetts abolitionist, nor in all His guide-book of the way thither is there any command to separate master and servant who travel the road.

We are not now talking of rebels and rebellion. We are talking of the character of the South, the part of our country which has contributed as much as the North to its greatness, and which will, if we can conquer rebellion and restore the power of the Union, stand side by side with us in the future history of our progress; and we are contending against the infamous doctrine that would make the South unfit to be a part of the American Union—its people unfit associates for enlightened men. Our sons and daughters, our brothers and sisters have intermarried with the young men and young women of the South, have grown to mature age, have borne children who claim ancestry in every part of the land. We love the very soil of the South, for it is made up in part of

the dust of those we have loved, who have "gone to dust" in its pine groves and on its hill sides. It is true, that when we recall the ferocity with which some Southern men have rejected the claim of kinship, there is a temptation to cast it off on our side; but when we turn, and find among ourselves the same class of slanderers, devoting themselves to the destruction of the Union by the same abuse of Southern men, we are bound, as calm and reasonable beings, to ask whether these two classes of traitors shall by their mutual labors be permitted to raise an everlasting enmity between us and those we love, and thus put asunder what God has joined? It must not be. The fierce enmity of the Southern secessionist is fed by the malignant slanders of the Northern abolitionist. There are millions of men at the North, and at the South, who, when the leaders in the disunion war are disposed of—their deceits exposed, their power at an end—will rush into the Union again as heretofore.

TAKE NOTE, MEN OF AMERICA!—Mr. Vallandigham offered the following resolution in Congress:

“Resolved, That this House has heard with sincere satisfaction of the evacuation of Corinth and the occupation of it by our army without the loss of life, and that the thanks of this House are due to Major-General Halleck and the other brave men under him for this signal achievement; and, moreover, that (in common with the whole country) this House would rejoice to see the Constitution as it is and the Union as it was maintained and restored everywhere, without any further effusion of fraternal blood.”

Take note, men of America, that your Congress refused to adopt this resolution—only 35 members voting for it!—Take note, that the present Congress refused to rejoice that General Halleck obtained the glorious victory of driving 100,000 rebels from their entrenchments without loss of life! Take note, that Congress refused to pray that “the Constitution as it is and the Union as it was may be maintained and restored everywhere, without any further effusion of fraternal blood!” Take note, that while our brave soldiers are periling their lives in the tented field for the restoration of our beloved Union, Congress is rushing them on into the jaws of death to free negroes, and would sooner see them all murdered, than that the abolition treason should fail!

Take note of this, men of America!

THE PRESIDENT AND CONGRESS AIDING THE REBELLION.—The President has signed bills abolishing slavery in the District of Columbia, and forever excluding slavery from all present or here-

after-acquired territories of the United States. There are several other bills, evidently designed by Congress to exasperate and drive on the rebellion of the South, which no doubt the President will sign, notwithstanding their palpable violations of the Constitution. All this is helping Jeff Davis—giving him more power to keep up his rebellion than a new army of 100,000 men.

BLACK AND WHITE WIVES.—Gen. Butler has issued another order, “regulating the women.” Here it is:

“HEAD-QUARTERS, Department of the Gulf, }
NEW ORLEANS, ———, 1862. }

“Any officer who permits a woman, black or white, not his wife, in his quarters or the quarters of his company, will be dismissed the service.

“By command of

“Major-General BUTLER.

“R. S. DAVIS,

“Capt. and Acting Ass’t Adj. Gen.”

Does Gen. Butler mean to have us understand that some of our officers have taken to themselves black *wives* in New Orleans? What will the white ones they have left at home think of this unaccountable order of “old Ben.’s?” He must have been deep in his cups at the time of issuing such an order

☞ WE intended to present our readers, with this number, the likeness of a distinguished living statesman, but at the last hour, and when it was too late to have it re-engraved for the present No., we discovered that the engraving was a failure as a likeness. The only thing we could do was to omit it altogether until our next issue.

THE State of New Jersey is known to be the soundest State in the Union in opposition to the traitor schemes of the abolitionists, and "Old Bergen" is perhaps the soundest county in the State. But there is no place where the abolition party is more indecently violent and furious than this same Bergen county. In an editorial, last month, we gave the account of a drunken riot, led on by Peter Ackerman, Esq., one of the associate judges of the county, and the head man of the republican party, in which the judge lost his coat-tail. Our account of this riot was confined to a strict detail of the facts in the case, without the least exaggeration. There has been no assertion that our statement of the case was not fair and true; but it still so enraged the judge that, on Saturday night three weeks ago, while he was in a state of beastly intoxication, he offered five drunken ruffians a considerable sum of money if they would follow him to our hotel, and bring us out, and hang us to the liberty-pole. This was about eleven o'clock at night, and his five would-be assassins followed the judge to the Hackensack House, where they set up a noise that could be matched only by an equal number of devils. Three of the rioters immediately rushed up stairs, hunting through the chambers for the editor of this journal, for the purpose of "taking him out, and hanging him," while the judge and the two other desperadoes remained in the bar-room of the hotel, making the night hideous with their drunken yells. The judge smashed a tumbler on the floor, and swore he would give any man a hundred dollars who would commit the murder he had planned. Meanwhile, his assassins up stairs soon beat a retreat to the bar-room, where the judge was still offering all sorts of inducements to any one who would further his "hanging" operations. Finding that none of his drunken rowdies could be brought up to the point of ascending the stairs a second time, he swore he would "set fire to the d—d house, and burn it down, and pay for it." We shall not here repeat the shocking threats and oaths which, for three-quarters of an hour, belched from his mouth, and from the mouths of his drunken gang. This horrible riot they kept up until they began to perceive that the bones in their skins would be safer elsewhere, when they suddenly withdrew. This is a plain, unvarnished account of the riot. It is due to Hackensack to say, that there was not a single

respectable citizen of the place concerned in it. All the parties have been arrested, and held to appear at the August term of the Court, to answer to the charge of a riot, with threats to kill. The crime they have committed renders them liable to a two years' term at hard labor in the State's prison. The "bobtail judge" is now the riotous, drunken, tumbler-smashing judge.

None can regret more than the editor of this journal the necessity of recording such disgraceful scenes. The public will bear witness to the fact, that it is our custom to speak kindly of our political opponents, whenever they will allow us to do so without a violation of the truth, and without being recreant to our duty as a public journalist. But there is only one way for these disreputable politicians to escape exposure and censure, and that is, for them to keep to the paths of peace and good order. This journal assails no man on account of his politics. But it will not fail to expose the villainy of those furious tyrants who allow no political opponent to rest free from their personal assaults and violence. The effort to break down personal liberty in this country has—thank God!—already brought the parties moving in the treason to shame and contempt. We counsel no retaliation; but it is time that the enemies of the democracy came to their senses, and allowed the country to return to its ancient habits of peace and liberty. While our sons and brothers have rushed into the army to save the Union, we have been, here in the loyal States, subjected to an intolerant persecution, because we have insisted that the old Constitution and Union should be preserved. While the democratic masses have been fighting against the armies of rebellion in the South, the republican party has been waging a war against liberty in the North, which, in spirit and aim, is more fatal to the free institutions founded by our fathers, than even the mad and accursed rebellion of the South. The very air we breathe, here in our loyal homes, has ceased to be free, unless we stand every hour prepared to defend our rights and lives at every risk. But a day of reckoning is coming. Rebellion will soon be under hatches, and then let the laws take their course with the reckless tyrants who have hired drunken bullies to assassinate peaceful and unoffending citizens. The justice of Heaven often waits, but it never goes to sleep.

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