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Mr. Vallandigham's Sentiments for Eight Years Past, Compared with the Sentiments of Leading Republicans.

We publish, for the investigation of all true Union men, extracts from speeches of leading Republicans, and also of Mr. VALLANDIGHAM, for several years past, and invite the attentive reading thereof by all good men.

THE PLATFORM OF PHILLIPS AND GARRISON.

The Constitution of our fathers was a mistake. Tear it in pieces and make a better. Don't say the machine is out of order; it is in order; it does what its framers intended—protects slavery.—Our claim is disunion, breaking up of the States! I have shown you that our work cannot be done under our institutions.—Wendell Phillips.

"I am a Democrat—for the Constitution, for Law, for the Union, for Liberty.—Vallandigham.

This Union is a lie! The American Union is an imposture, a covenant with death and an agreement with hell. I am for its overthrow. Up with the flag of disunion, that we may have a free and glorious Republic of our own; and then the hour will have arrived that shall witness the overthrow of slavery.—Wm. Lloyd Garrison.

"One Union, one Constitution, one Destiny.—Vallandigham.

PLEGGED AGAINST THE SOUTH.

No man has a right to be surprised at this state of things. It is just what we, the (abolitionists and disunionists) have attempted to bring about. It is the first sectional party ever organized in this country. It does not know its own face, and calls itself national; but it is not national—it is sectional. The Republican party is a party of the North, pledged against the South.—Wendell Phillips.

I am for Crushing all Rebellions, North and South.—Vallandigham.

MOULDING PUBLIC OPINION.

Again, Garrison, in his Liberator, said still more explicitly: The Republican party is moulding public sentiment in the right direction for the specific work the abolitionists are striving to accomplish, viz.—The dissolution of the Union and the abolition of slavery throughout the land.

"It is our Mission to Crush out Sectionalism North and South.—Vallandigham.

Now let us hear from Judge Rufus P. Spaulding, a delegate from Ohio to the Black Republican National Conventions of 1856 and 1860. He made a speech in the Convention of 1856, which nominated Fremont, in which he said: "In the case of the alternatives being presented, of the continuance of slavery or a dissolution of the Union, I am for disunion; and I care not how quick it comes.—R. P. Spaulding."

"At home or in exile, I am for the Union.—Vallandigham.

SENATOR WADE.

In a speech at a mass meeting in Maine, in 1855, the same at which Mr. Banks spoke, Senator Wade, of Ohio, gave utterance to the following:

There was no freedom at the South for either white or black; and he would strive to protect the free soil of the North from the same blighting curse.—There was really no Union between the North and the South; and he believed no two nations upon the earth entertained feelings of more bitter rancor toward each other than these two sections of the Republic. The only salvation of the Union, therefore, was to be found in divesting it entirely from all taint of slavery. There was no Union in the South. Let us have a Union, or let us sweep away this remnant what we call a Union. I go for a Union, where all are equal, or for no Union at all, and I go for right.—B. F. Wade.

HORACE GREELEY.

Now hear Horace Greeley thunder forth his revolutionary advice to the Black Republicans in Congress, when the Kansas Nebraska bill was pending:

We urge, therefore, unbending determination on the part of the Northern members hostile to this intolerable outrage, and demand of them in behalf of peace, in behalf of freedom, in behalf of justice and humanity, resistance to the last. Better that confusion should ensue—better that discord should reign in the national councils—better that Congress should break up in wild discord—nay, better that the Capitol itself should blaze by the torch of the incendiary, or fall and bury its inmates beneath its crumbling ruins, than that this perfidious and wrong shall finally be accomplished.—Horace Greeley.

SENATOR SUMNER.

Senator Sumner, of Massachusetts, in a speech delivered in Faneuil Hall, November 2, 1855, said:

Not that I love the Union less, but (negro) freedom more, do I now, in pleading this great cause, insist that (negro) freedom, at all hazards, shall

be preserved. God forbid, that for the sake of the Union, we should sacrifice the very thing for which the Union was made.

Still later, on the 19th of May, 1856, in a speech delivered in the Senate, Mr. Sumner held this revolutionary language: Already the muster has begun. The strife is no longer local, but national.—Even now while I speak, portents hang on all the arches of the horizon, threatening to darken the broad land, which already yawns with the mutterings of civil war. The fury of the propagandists of slavery, and the calm determination of their opponents, now diffused from the distant Territory over wide spread communities, and the whole country in all its extent—marshalling hostile divisions, and foreshadowing a strife, which, unless happily averted by the triumph of freedom, will become war—fratricidal, parricidal war—with an accumulated wickedness beyond the wickedness of any war in human annals.—Charles Sumner.

HENRY WARD BEECHER.

To the same effect spoke that "bright and shining light" of Black Republicanism, the Rev. Henry Ward Beecher, in that celebrated speech of his at New Haven, in 1856, when he proclaimed that a "Sharp's rifle was a truly moral agency." Hear him:

The people will not levy war, nor inaugurate a revolution even to relieve Kansas, until they have first tried what they can do by voting. If this peaceful remedy should fail to be applied this year, then the people will count the cost wisely, and decide for themselves, boldly and firmly, which is the better way, to RISE IN ARMS AND THROW OFF A GOVERNMENT worse than that of old King George, or endure it another four years, and then vote again.

In the same speech, Mr. Beecher thus denounced the Constitution of the Union:

The Constitution is the cause of every division which the vexed question of slavery has ever occasioned in this country. It has been the fountain and father of our troubles, by attempting to hold together, as reconciled, two opposing principles, which will not harmonize, nor agree. The only hope of the slave is over the ruins of the Government and of the American Church. THE DISSOLUTION OF THE UNION IS THE ABOLITION OF SLAVERY.—H. W. Beecher.

GOVERNOR BANKS.

Governor Banks, of Massachusetts, who was elected Speaker of the House of Representatives in 1856, by the Black Republicans, now one of Mr. Lincoln's Major Generals, in a speech, delivered in Maine, in the preceding year, said:

Although I am not one of that class of men who cry for the preservation of the Union; though I am willing, in a certain state of circumstances, to let it slide, I have no fear for its perpetuation. But let me say, if the object of the people of this country be to maintain and propagate chattel property in man—in other words, human slavery—in Union cannot and ought not to stand.—N. P. Banks.

JOHN A. BINGHAM.

Extract from his speech in the Tascaras Advocate:

Who, in the name of Heaven, wants the cotton States in the Union, or in any other place than the state of perdition, if they are only to be in the Union on the condition that, from day to day, from generation to generation, and from age to age, slavery, this new civilization of the children of Dahomey, shall continue to be upheld by the whole power of the Government?—JOHN A. BINGHAM

JOHN BROUGH.

Brough, in his Marietta speech, (see Tascaras Advocate, June 26, 1863,) said:

For I, for one, spurn the Crittenden resolution, and I do it for the reason that the first gun fired upon Sumter relieved us from the thralldom of slavery; and I never desire to see peace restored with this institution reinstated.—JOHN BROUGH.

JOHN BROUGH.

Brough, in his Cleveland speech, (see Ohio State Journal, June 20th, 1863,) said:

For many years, you are aware, I have held ideas of a conservative character on this slavery question. I have changed my views. I now see the impossibility of permanent success in our Republic as long as any portion of it is afflicted with the leprous disease. Either Slavery must be torn out, root and branch, or our Government will exist no longer.—JOHN BROUGH.

VALLANDIGHAM, IN 1855.

On the 29th of October, 1855, a Democratic meeting was held in the City Hall, Circleville, Ohio, and addressed by Mr. Vallandigham, at length. The

resolutions of the "Compromise Meeting" of 1850 were re-affirmed. Mr. V.'s speech on the occasion is regarded as the most valuable and important of his life. Of it we only say that what was then prophecy is now history. The following are extracts:

All this, gentlemen, the spirit of Abolition has accomplished in twenty years of continued and exhausting labors of every sort. But in all that time, not one convert has it made in the South; not one slave emancipated, except by larceny and in fraud of the solemn compact of the Constitution. Meantime public opinion has wholly, radically changed in the South. The South has ceased to denounce, ceased to condemn slavery, ceased even to palliate, and begun now almost as one man, to defend it as a great moral, social and political blessing. The bitter and proscription warfare of twenty years has brought forth its natural and legitimate fruit in the South. Exasperation, hate, and revenge are every day ripening into fullest maturity and strength, and throughout her entire extent she awaits but the action of the North, to unite in solemn league and covenant to resist aggression even unto blood.

I know well, indeed, Mr. President, that in the evil day which has befallen us, all this and he who utters it, shall be denounced as "pro-slavery;" and already, from ribald throats, there comes up the slandering, driveling, idiotic epithet of "dough-face." Again, be it so.—These abolitionists, are your only weapons of warfare, and I hurl them back into your teeth. I speak thus boldly because I speak in and to and for the North. It is time that the truth should be known and heard, in this age of trimming and subterfuge. I speak this day not as a Northern man, nor a Southern man, but, God be thanked, still as a United States man, with United States principles—and though the worst happen which can happen—though all be lost, if that shall be our fate, and I walk through the valley of the shadow of political death, I will live by them and die by them. If to love my country, to cherish the Union, to revere the Constitution, if to abhor the madness and hate the treason which would lift a sacrilegious hand against either; if to read that in the past, to behold it in the present, to foresee it in the future of this land, which is of more value to us than the world for ages to come, than the multiplied millions who have inhabited Africa from the creation to this day—if this is to be pro-slavery, then in every nerve, fiber, vein, bone, tendon, joint and ligament, from the topmost hair of my head to the last extremity of my foot, I am all over and altogether a pro-slavery man!

The true and only question now before you is, whether you will have the Union with all its numberless blessings in the past, present and future; or disunion and civil war, with all its multiplied crimes, miseries and atrocities, which human imagination never conceived and human pen never can portray.

I speak it boldly; I avow it publicly—it is time to speak thus—for political cowardice is the bane of this, as of all other republics. To be true to our great mission, and to succeed in it, you must take open, manly, one-sided ground upon the abolition question. In no other way can you now conquer. Let us have, then, no hollow compromise; no idle and mistimed homilies upon the sin and evil of slavery in a crisis like this; no double-tongued, Janus-faced, delphic responses at your State Convention.—No, fling your banner to the breeze, and boldly meet the issue! Patriotism above mock philanthropy; the Constitution before any misaltered higher law of morals or religion; and the Union of more value than many negroes.

If this, sir, we are true to the country; true to the Union and the Constitution; true to our principles, true to our cause, and to the grand mission which lies before us, we shall turn back yet the fiery torrent which is bearing us heading down the abyss of disunion and infamy, deeper than plummet ever sounded. But if in this day of our trial we are found false to all of these; false to those who shall come after us; traitors to our country and to the hopes of free government throughout the globe; Bancroft will yet write the last sad chapter in the history of the American Republic.

Of this speech the Dayton Journal (Republican) says: "The principal demonstration of Mr. Vallandigham was against fanaticism and sectionalism; and here much that he said was just to the point. He was anxious to meet and repel every attempt to make the existence of Slavery in the South, or elsewhere, a pretext for the formation of sectional parties which must endanger the perpetuity of the Union."

Extract from his speech in Congress, the session of 1859 and 1860, during the contest for Speaker of the House of Representatives: He said:

Then, sir, I am against disunion. I find no more pleasure in a Southern disunionist than in a Northern or Western disunionist. Do not tell me that you of the South have an apology in the events and developments of the last few months. I know you have. But will you concede now? Will you break up the Union of these States? Will you bring down forever, in one promiscuous ruin, the columns and pillars of this magnificent temple of liberty, which our fathers reared at so great a cost of blood and treasure? Wait a little! Let us try the

peaceful, the ordinary, the Constitutional means for the redress of grievances. Let us resort once more to the ballot-box. Let us try yet again that weapon, surer set and better than the bayonet.

Mr. Clerk, I am not, perhaps, so hopeful of the final result as some other men; but I was taught in my boyhood, that nobility of all Roman maxims—never to despair of the Republic. I was taught, too, by pious lips, a yet higher and holier doctrine still—a firm belief in a superintending Providence, which governs in the affairs of men. I do believe that God, in his infinite goodness, has fore-ordained for this land a brighter, mightier, nobler destiny than for any other country since the world began. Time's noblest empire is the last. From the Arctic Ocean to the Isthmus of Darien; from the Atlantic to the Alleghenies; stretching far and wide over the vast basin of the Mississippi; sealing the Rocky Mountains, and lost at last in the blue waters of the Pacific, I behold, in holy and patriotic vision, one Union, one Constitution, one Destiny. [Applause.]

But this grand and magnificent destiny can not be fulfilled by us, except as united people. Clouds and darkness, indeed, rest now over us; we are in the midst of perils; rocks and quicksands are before us; strife and discord are all around us. How, then, sir—mightily and momentous question, pregnant with the fate of an empire—shall we bring peace to this divided and distracted country? Sir, in my deliberate and most solemn judgment, there is but one way of escape; and that the immediate, absolute, unconditional disbandment of the sectional, anti-slavery Republican party of yours. [Applause in the galleries.] If not, then upon your heads and upon the heads of your children be the blood of this Republic. You have organized a political party based upon geographical discriminations, and for the purpose of administering this government for the benefit of a part. You have neither strength nor organization, nor existence even, in one half, nearly, of the States of this Union. Look around you. Behold upon this side of the House every section represented. Here are the United States. What do we see upon the left side of this chamber? Not one solitary representative of your faith or party from fifteen States of this Union. What does all this mean? It never was so before in the history of the Republic. What does it all tend to? Sir, there died not many years ago, in New England, a man whom you all once idolized as approaching a little nearer in intellect to our notions of divinity than most men in my age. Died, did I say? No, he "still lives;" lives in history, lives in the public records, lives in his published works, lives in his public service, lives upon canvas, and in marble and in bronze.—Seven years ago he wrote to a citizen of his native State:

"There are in New Hampshire many persons who call themselves Whigs who are no Whigs at all, and are no better than disunionists. Any man who heitates in granting and securing every part of the country its just and constitutional rights is an enemy to the whole country."

VALLANDIGHAM, IN 1861.

CRITTENDEN COMPROMISE.

Extract from his speech in the House of Representatives, of the 7th of February, 1861. He said:

Born, sir, upon the soil of the United States; attached to my country from earliest boyhood; loving and revereing her, with some part, at least, with the spirit of Greek and Roman patriotism, between these two alternatives, with all my strength of body, and of soul, living or dying, at home or in exile, I am for the Union which made it what it is; and therefore I am for such terms of peace and adjustment as will maintain that Union now and forever. This, then, is the question which to-day I propose to discuss:

How shall the Union of these States be restored and preserved?

Devoted as I am to the Union, I have yet no eulogies to pronounce upon it to-day. It needs none. Its highest eulogy is the history of this country for the last seventy years. The triumphs of war and the arts of peace, science and civilization, wealth, population, commerce, trade, manufactures, literature, education, justice, tranquility, security to life, person, to property, material happiness, common defense, national renown—all that is implied in the blessings of liberty—these, and more, have been its fruits from the beginning to this hour. These have enshrined it in the hearts of the people—and, before God, I believe they will restore and preserve it. And to-day they demand of us, their ambassadors and representatives, to tell them how this great work is to be accomplished.

I shall vote also for the Crittenden propositions—as an experiment, and only as an experiment—because they proceed upon the same general idea which marks the Adams amendment; and whereas, for the sake of peace and of the Union, the latter would give a new security to slavery in the States, the former, for the self same great and paramount object of Union and peace, proposes to give a new security also to slavery in the Territories south of the latitude 36 deg. 30 min. If the Union is worth the price which the gentleman from Massachusetts volunteers to pay to maintain it, it is not richly worth the small additional price which the Senator from Kentucky demands as the possible condition of preserving it? Sir, it is the old parable of the Roman sybil, and to-morrow she will return with

fewer volume and it may be at a higher price.

I shall vote to try the Crittenden propositions because, also, I believe that they are perhaps the least which even the more moderate of the slave States would under any circumstances be willing to accept, and because North, South and West the people seem to have taken hold of them and to demand them of us as an experiment at least. I am ready to try also, if need be, the propositions of the Border States Committee or of the Peace Congress, or any other fair, honorable and reasonable terms of adjustment which may so much as promise, even, to heal our present troubles and to restore the Union of these States. Sir, I am ready and willing and anxious to try all things and do all things "which may become a man," to secure that great object which is nearest to my heart.

The question, therefore, is not merely what will keep Virginia in the Union, but also what will bring Georgia back. And here let me say that I do not doubt that there is a large and powerful Union sentiment still surviving in all the States which have seceded, South Carolina alone perhaps excepted, and that if the people of those States can be assured that they shall have the power to protect themselves by their own action within the Union, they will gladly return to it, very greatly preferring protection within to security outside of it. Just now, indeed, the fear of danger, and your per-severant and obstinate refusal to enable them to guard against it, have delivered the people of those States over into the hands and under the control of the real Secessionists and Disunionists among them; but give them security and the means of enforcing it—above all, dry up this pestilent fountain of slavery agitation as a political element in both sections, and, my word for it, the ties of common ancestry, a common kindred, and common language, the bonds of a common interest, common danger, and common safety, the recollections of the past, and of association not yet dissolved, and the bright hopes of a future to all of us, more glorious and resplendent than any other country ever saw; ay, sir, and visions, too, of the old flag of the Union, and of the music of the Union, and precious memories of the dark days of the Revolution, will fill their souls yet again with yearnings and desires intense for the glories, the honors, and the material benefits, too, of that Union which their fathers and our fathers made; and they will return to it, not as the prodigal, but with songs and rejoicings as the Hebrews returned from the captivity to the ancient city of their kings.

Referring to secession, Mr. V. said:

Sir, the experiment may readily be repeated. It will be repeated. And is it not madness and folly, then, to call back, by adjustment, the States which have seceded, or to hold back the States which are threatening to secede, without providing some safeguard against the renewal of this most simple and disastrous experiment? Can foreign nations have any confidence hereafter in the stability of the Union, in 1862.

THE ATTACK AND REPULSE.

On the 19th of February, 1862, John Hickman, of Pennsylvania, offered a resolution founded on a "local item" newspaper attack, instructing the Judiciary Committee to inquire into Mr. Vallandigham's "loyalty." The following are extracts from Mr. V.'s remarks on the occasion:

Yet that is all, the grand aggregate of the charges, except the miserable falsehood, which some wretched scoundrel, prowling about the streets and alleys and gutters of the city of Baltimore, has seen fit to put forth in the local columns of a contemptible newspaper, that the member from Pennsylvania may rise in his place and prefer charges against the loyalty and patriotism of a man who has never faltered in his devotion to the flag of his country—to that flag which hangs now upon the wall over against him; one who has bowed down and worshipped this holy emblem of the Constitution and of the old Union of these States, in his heart's core, ay, in his very heart of hearts, from the time he first knew night to this hour; and who now would give life, and all that he has or hopes to be in the future, to see that glorious old banner of the Union known and honored once over the whole earth and the whole sea—with no stripe erased, and not one star blotted out, floating forever, over the free, united, harmonious, old Union of every State upon a part of, and a hundred more yet unborn. I am that man; and yet he dares to demand that I shall be brought up before the secret tribunal of the Judiciary Committee—that committee of which he is chairman, and thus be both judge and accused to the charge of disloyalty to the Union.

Sir, I hurl back the insinuation. Bring forward the specific charge; wait till you have found something—and you will wait long—something which I have written, or something I have said, that would indicate anything in my bosom which he who loves his country ought not to read or hear. In every sentiment that I have expressed, in every vote that I have given in my whole public life, outside this House before I was a member of it, and since it has been my fortune to sit here, I have had but one motive, and that was the real, substantial, permanent good of my country. I have differed with the majority of the House, differed with the party in power, differed with the Administration, as, thank God, I do and have a right to differ, as to the best means of preserving the Union, and of maintaining the Constitution and securing the

true interests of my country; and that is my offense, that the crime, and the only crime, of which I have been guilty.

Yet I am to be singled out now by these very men, or their minions, for attack; and they who have waited, watched and prayed, by day and night, with the vigilance of the hawk and the ferocity of the hyena, from the beginning of this great revolt, that they might catch some unguarded remark, some idle word spoken, something written carelessly or rashly, some secret thought graven yet upon the lineaments of my face, which they might torture into evidence of disloyalty, seize now upon the foul and infectious gleanings of an anonymous wretch who earns a precarious subsistence by feeding the local columns of a pestilent newspaper, and whilst it is yet wet from the press, hurry it, reeking with falsehood, into the House, and seek to dignify it with an importance demanding the consideration of this House and the country.

So, let the member from Pennsylvania go on. I challenge the inquiry, unworthy of notice as the charge is, but I scorn the spirit which provoked it. Let it go on.

Mr. Hickman then replied briefly, and in the course of his remarks said: "As the gentleman has called upon me, I will answer further. Does he not know of a camp in Kentucky having been called by his name—that disloyal men there called their camp Camp Vallandigham? That would not indicate that in Kentucky they regarded him as a man loyal to the Federal Union."

Mr. Vallandigham—Is there not a town, and may be a camp, too, in Kentucky by the name of Hickman? [Laughter.]

Mr. Hickman, after a few words further, withdrew his resolution, and the matter ended.

SLAVERY IN THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA.

On the 11th of April, 1862, Mr. Vallandigham spoke and voted against the bill to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia. The following is an extract from his remarks:

Had I no other one, I am opposed to it because I regard all this class of legislation as tending to prevent the restoration of the Union of these States as it was, and that is the grand object to which I look. I know well that in a very little while the question will be between the old Union of these States—the Union as our fathers made it—and some new one, or some new unity of government, or eternal separation—disunion. To both these latter I am unalterably and unconditionally opposed. It is to the restoration of the Union as it was in 1789 and continued for over seventy years, that I am bound to the last hour of political and personal existence, if it be within the limits of possibility to restore and maintain that Union.

Ben Wade's Attack and Repulse.

On the 21st of April, 1862, Benjamin F. Wade, of Ohio, whom John A. Gurley declared to be a "good combination of Old Hickory and Zack Taylor," attacked Mr. Vallandigham in the Senate in the following language:

I accuse them [the Democratic party] of a deliberate purpose to assail, through the judicial tribunals and through the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States, and everywhere else, and to overawe, intimidate and trample under foot, if they can, the men who boldly stand forth in defense of their country, now imperilled by this gigantic rebellion. I have watched it long; I have seen it in secret; I have seen its movements ever since that party got together, with a colleague of mine in the other House as Chairman of the Committee on Resolutions—a man who never had any sympathy with the Republic, but whose every breath is devoted to its destruction, just as far as his heart dare permit him to go.—Cong. Globe, p. 1735.

Quoting the foregoing extract, in the House, on the 24th of April, Mr. Vallandigham said:

Now, sir, here in my place in the House, and as a representative, I denounce—and I speak it advisedly—the author of that speech as a liar, a scoundrel and a coward. His name is Benjamin F. Wade.

His speech was mainly devoted to a defiance of the threats of suppressing the Democratic party by force, and a denunciation of the usurpations of power and violation of the Constitution by the Administration, especially in the matter of the freedom of speech, of the press, and of illegal and arbitrary arrests. The following is an extract:

Talk to me about sympathizing with disunion, with treason and traitors! I tell you men of Ohio, that in six months, in three months, in six weeks it may be, these very men and their masters in Washington, whose bidding they do, will be advocates of the eternal dissolution of this Union; and denounce all who oppose it as enemies to the peace of the country. Foreign intervention and the repeated and most serious disasters which have lately befallen our arms, will speedily force the issue of secession and Southern independence—disunion—or of Union by negotiation and compromise. Between these two I am—and I here publicly proclaim it—for the Union, the whole Union, and nothing less, if by any possibility I can have it; if not, then for so much of it as yet can be rescued and preserved; and in any event and under all circumstances, for the Union which God ordained, of the Mississippi Valley, and all which may cling to it, under the old flag, with all their precious memories,

with the battlefields of the past and the songs and the proud history of the past—with the birth-place and the burial-place of Washington the founder, and Jackson the preserver, of the Constitution as it is, and the Union as it was. [Great applause.]

The following sentiment from his great speech delivered in New York, March 7, 1863:

"I am not for peace on any terms; I would not be with any country on the globe. Honor is the life of the nation, and it is never to be sacrificed. I have as high and proud a sense of honor as any man in the South, and I love my country too well and cherish its honor too profoundly, for a single moment to consent to a dishonorable peace. [A voice—'The whole country?'] Yes, the whole country; every State; and I, unlike some of my own party, and unlike thousands of the abolition party, believe still before God, the Union can be reconstructed, and will be. That is my faith, and I mean to cling to it as the wrecked mariner clings to the last plank amid the shipwreck."

"Devoted to the Union from the beginning, I will not desert it now, in this hour of its sorest trial. Sir, I am against disunion. I am not a friend of the Confederate States or their cause, but its enemy. Never, with my consent shall peace be purchased at the price of disunion.—Vallandigham.

"What is Democracy?"—Ex-Senator Allen.

When Ex-Senator Allen introduced Mr. Cox at the great meeting at Chilli-cothe, the latter returned the compliments which the veteran Democrat showered on him, by stating that he had learned Democracy in that Jackson school of which the honored President of the meeting was one of the most distinguished teachers. He remembered when a boy to have read his comprehensive definition of Democracy, which now, more than at any other time, has a deep significance. The words deserve to be carved in gold, and remembered forever by a free people:

"DEMOCRACY IS A SENTIMENT NOT TO BE APPEALED, CORRUPTED OR COMPROMISED. IT KNOWS NO BARRIERS. IT OPPOSES NO WEAKNESS. DESTRUCTIVE ONLY TO DESPOTISM, IT IS THE SOLE CONSERVATOR OF LIBERTY, LABOR AND PROPERTY. IT IS THE SENTIMENT OF FREEDOM, OF EQUAL RIGHTS, OF EQUAL OBLIGATIONS—THE LAW OF NATURE PERVADING THE LAW OF THE LAND!"

A DEAR little girl of four years was saying her prayers not long since, when her roguish brother, three years older, came slyly behind and pulled her hair. Without moving her head she paused and said, "Please, Lord, excuse me a minute while I kick Freddy." We have known older persons herabouts to excuse themselves from praying, to "kick" somebody.

AUNT E. was trying to persuade little Eddy to retire at sundown: "You see, my dear, how the little chickens go to roost at that time." "Yes, aunty," replied Eddy, "but the old hen always goes with them." Aunty tried no more arguments with him.

A DOWN-EASTER sold another man a horse for a certain number of sheep, to be delivered on a certain day. They came promptly, but to the purchaser's astonishment all were nicely sheared! It was a cool transaction, especially for the sheep.

THE famous saying of Will Shakespeare, that "there is a divinity which shapes our ends," is exemplified in the employment of thousands of pretty girls in Massachusetts who are making gentlemen's boots.

THERE is a world of beautiful meaning in the following rather liberal translation from Freiville:

"As the clock strikes the hour, how often we as sleek flies; when 'tis we that are passing away."

MRS Alice Yell cowbided Mr. Lay, of Camden, N. J., for promising to marry her and not performing it. As he wouldn't make her Lay, she made him Yell.

IT has been thought that people are degenerating, because they don't live as long as in the days of Methuselah. But nobody can afford to live very long at the current prices.

MIRABEAU said of a man who was exceedingly fat, that God created him only to show to what extent the human skin would stretch without breaking.

"I am astonished, my dear young lady, at your sentiments; you make me start. Well, sir, I have been wanting you to start for the last hour."

A PERSON once wrote a note to a wag-gish friend for the loan of a noosepaper and received in return his marriage certificate.

WE should read no history written since the days of scriptural writers, for it is profane.

WHAT man had no father? Joshua, the son of Nun (none).

A MAN'S boots and shoes get tight by imbibing water, but then the man don't.

No Republican is a true prophet; and the majority of that party are no profit to themselves, their country or their God.

The shelling of Charleston at a distance of five miles, is a greater success than has ever been obtained before with parrot guns.