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AARON M. POWELL, Editor.
WENDELL PHILLIPS, Special Editorial Contributor.

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THE EFFECT OF THE NORTHERN ELECTIONS AT THE SOUTH.

FROM OUR NORTH CAROLINA CORRESPONDENT.

It is very doubtful if the old veteran, Thaddeus Stevens, when he took the "occasion to thank God for the defeat of the Republican party," fully comprehended the effects of that defeat in the States once known as "Southern," but in these latter days denominated "rebel," or he would still further have emphasized his declaration. Most heartily can every patriot in our midst answer, "Amen and amen." Previous to the elections in Pennsylvania and Ohio, the people of these States, with perhaps a few exceptions, had looked upon it as certain that those States would be carried by the Radicals, by large majorities. The Democratic boastings of "victory at last" had almost universally been looked upon as empty gasconade. They have lost faith in Copperhead promises here since 1861. The news, then, of the Republican defeat in Pennsylvania and Ohio—especially the latter—was like a clap of thunder in a clear sky, to friend and foe. It was too good for the rebels to believe, and for once, they did not run wild with exultation until after the news was confirmed. They are rather shy of rumors of late. The poor freedmen were utterly dumb-founded when finally convinced of the truth of the report. Their incredulity was laughable enough. It seemed impossible for them to believe that their friends had forsaken their cause. One worthy brother, who is looked upon as authority upon all subjects, being appealed to by others to explain the puzzle, did it as follows:

"Now, boys, don't you 'bleve one word of dis talk. You jis take it right de tother way, an' you git nearer right. Don't ye know how it was in reb' times? Every time we hear dey had dun killed a thousand Yankees, we knew they had got awfully whipped somewhar."

Both parties have at length become assured of the fact, and the effects are at least interesting. Owing to the expectation of radical victory at the North, our Southern Copperheads had for a few months been comparatively quiet. As the time for elections drew nigh, this quietude had become more marked. The cry for "Peace," "peace on any terms," was almost as plaintive as the Copperhead wail in 1864, at the North. One would have thought that the men who were so defiant even last January, had studied, during the days which had intervened, only the injunction, "Be at peace with all men," and had added thereto, "particularly with the Radicals." The line of demarcation, between Republican and Conservative had been almost entirely effaced by the time-serving course of the former and the servility of the latter. "Peace! peace!" was the cry of all, of the Copperhead from fear his land would take to itself wings and fly away, and of the Republican from fear he would offend some one and mar the success of himself, or his candidate, for some office. The Republicans were trying assiduously to get offices with rebel votes, and the Conservatives striving to elect Copperheads under the name of Republicans. Both were trying hard to "drag the devil over his own coals." They were zealously playing the agreeable to each other, bowing and scraping like a pair of French dancing masters, or a couple of aspiring Mandarins. It would not do to say anything of the real issues, from fear of offending the weak brother, and of those there were thousands. Indeed, it would not be strange, if a majority of the white Radicals of the South turned out to be "wolves in sheep's clothing."

They went into the Republican ranks for plunder, and will leave them to avoid being shorn, as they are now confident of being, if they remain. A few men of independent thought in the Republican party had, for a long time, reprobated this cowardly course, and prayed and waited for the end. This class of Republicans claimed that it was better to be killed in fair fight than to commit suicide from fear of defeat, by putting forward and supporting men who did not even know the alphabet of Republicanism—who thought that "reconstruction" meant a slave State rebaptized with all its old hideousness except the *name* of slave.

A few men among our opponents, who were brave enough to look at the matter squarely, such as ex-Gov. Graham of this State (of whom more anon), came boldly out against Convention. Weak-kneed Republicans and frightened Conservatives herded together under the non-committal platform of the Republican party, like wild beasts on a plowed field in the midst of a burning prairie. Now that the Ides of October are past, what an exodus! Oh, ye gods! how the "respectable" portion of the Republican party has dwindled in the past few days! Previous to this time we had the following gradations: "Extreme Conservatives" and "Moderate Conservatives" on the Copperhead side, and "Conservative Radicals," "Moderate Radicals," and "Radical Radicals" among the Republicans. The "respectable" element was principally in the two former classes, the latter being composed chiefly of "niggers," "poor whites," and "Yankee adventurers." Skedaddle has been the "*Mot d'ordre*" among the "respectable" ever since our defeat in the North, until we have scarcely an aristocrat left in our ranks.

Thank God for the purging. Some few of them still hang upon the outskirts, but their yearning for the "flesh pots" is too strong. We shall be called to part with them soon.

The Raleigh *Register*, the organ of the "respectables" portion of the Republican party, is hobnobbing with the enemy, and invites the Conservatives to co-operate with the moderate Republicans, being anxious to sire a successful coalition, as he is fearful otherwise that he may die without issue.

Most of the other "respectable" papers have gone clear over to the straight-out "Conservatives."

Judge Dick, one of the most unfortunate "tide waiters" in the State, who was an eleventh hour man in '61, a faltering "peace man" further on in the war, and a hesitating Republican for months, before he came out clear, has taken the alarm, and, on the 16th, sounds a retreat from the Radical camp. He is out with a letter which rivals one of A. J.'s oratorical efforts in the redundance of its personal pronouns.

Mr. Thomas Settle, who, in 1861, when a captain in the C. S. A., announced his intention of securing "the skull of that old tyrant, Lincoln, for a soap-gourd," and is consequently known somewhat extensively as "soap-gourd Settle," is rather ahead of Mr. Dick in this movement. Hundreds more of that ilk have gone with them. In fact, we have few left in the Radical camp to whom reconstruction does not mean "a government of the people, by the people and for the people."

We have learned, too, that we must depend upon ourselves, and are stripping for the contest. Our men are coming to see that defeat, bravely met in a struggle for the right, is far better for our cause and for the future of our country than a nominal victory, the real fruits whereof would redound to and be garnered by our enemies.

The Radicals of North Carolina must be taught to stand up for the right bravely, and do battle for themselves. The reliance they have heretofore placed on "prominent men," meaning thereby "old politicians," has been their chief danger. Heartily, then, do we re-echo the cry of Mr. Stevens. "Thank God for our late defeat."

WENCKAR.

THE HON. THADDEUS STEVENS ON THE POLITICAL SITUATION.

The following remarks, recently made by Mr. Stevens to an old personal friend, are given to the press with the consent and request of their author:

Mr. Stevens—Whatever construction shall be given to the Constitution in its present condition by this Congress, and those nearest the great events which have modified it, will be likely to be accepted, through future time, as its true meaning. It is important, therefore, that the most beneficent interpretation should be given to it, and that it should be most liberally construed, so as to secure all human rights. In the changed condition of our country and of that instrument, which, while it, as to the old States, may not be perverted, is not so inflexible as to be incapable of yielding to the changing necessities of humanity. Before the Constitution was amended, I could not agree with some of my learned friends that Congress could intermeddle with State laws relative to the elective franchise in the United States. The circumstance of slavery seemed, while it was submitted to, to prevent it. After the amendment abolishing slavery I still doubted, and proposed a constitutional remedy, on the 5th day of December, 1865, in the following words: All national * * * laws shall be equally applicable to every *citizen*, and no discrimination shall be made on account of race or color. Since the adoption of the 14th amendment, however, I have no doubt of our full power to regulate the elective franchise, so far as it regards the whole nation, in every State of the Union, which, when tried, I hope will be so formed as to be beneficial to the nation, just to every citizen, and carry out the great design of the framers of the government, according to their views expressed in the Declaration of Independence. It cannot fail to be beneficial and convenient, when we consider the trouble and inconvenience which a citizen of one State encounters when he travels temporarily into another. Instead of being a brother at home, he is now an alien in his native land. While he participates in all the burdens and anxieties of the government, he is forbidden, if a non-resident, to take part in selecting the Magistrate who is to rule his destinies for the next four years. In this there is no principle of *republican justice.* The Constitution of 1789 did not carry out the principles of government which were intended by the fathers when, in 1776, they laid the foundation of the government on which the nation was to be built. Then they had been inspired with such a light from on high as never man was inspired with before in the great work of providing freedom for the human race, through a government in which no oppression could find a resting-place. They contemplated the erection of a vast empire over this whole continent, which, in its national character, should be governed by laws of a supreme, unvarying character. While municipal institutions might be granted with self-control for convenience, it was never intended that one-half of this nation should be governed by one set of laws and the other half by another and conflicting set on the same subject. The laws, the *principle* which was to apply to the dwellers on the Penobscot was to apply to those on the Savannah and Susquehanna—else the Declaration would have proclaimed the one—the people on the Penobscot or Susquehanna—were born free and equal, and those on the Savannah with a modified equality; that the one had inalienable rights, among which was liberty; that the other had inalienable rights, but perfect liberty was not among them. The grand idea of those immortal men was that there were certain rights, privileges and immunities which belonged to every being who had an immortal soul, none of which should be taken from him, nor could he surrender them in any arrangement with society. So essential to the repose of the whole community was it that every man should possess each of these rights, privileges and immunities, that he was forbidden by his Creator to part with them. He could not sell himself, he could not sell his children into slavery. He could not sell his life for a price. He could not surrender the right to pursue his own happiness. Every attempt to do so was nugatory. Every instrument founded on such a contract, no matter how solemn, no matter how hedged about by broad seals, no matter how stamped by State legislation and executive approval, none of these things gave it life. It was null and void; it was a corpse incapable of animation. I am speaking now of the original design of the framers of the Declaration of Independence, who had determined that there were certain principles, which, to give perfect liberty, should apply alike to every mortal being. Who can deny this position without laying a heavier burden upon one human being than another, without being authorized to do so by their common Creator? Who can doubt that if you put such power into the hands of the best men it will be abused unless restrained by equal laws? Why should one man be more responsible to his temporal or eternal Government than another, and be punished by different rules? I know that when they came to frame the Constitution, slavery having increased, they were obliged to postpone some of those universal principles, and to allow individuals and municipalities to violate them for awhile. I thank God that necessity no longer exists. The lawgivers of America are now as free to act as Samson when the fire had touched the flax. May they never again be beguiled by any Conservative Delilah—suffer their locks to be shorn and their limbs to be bound by the withes of a twisted Constitution. The laws which were then intended to be universal must now be made universal. The principles which were intended to govern the whole American nationality must now be made to cover and control its whole national action throughout this grand empire. Towns, corporations and municipalities may be allowed their separate organization not inconsistent therewith, but must not incorporate any principles in conflict with those great rights, privileges and immunities. What are those *rights, privileges,* and *immunities?* Without excluding others, three are specifically enumerated: *Life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.* These are universal and inalienable. It follows that everything necessary for their establishment and defence is within those rights. You grant a lot or easement in the midst of your estate, you thereby grant the right of way to it by ingress and egress. Disarm a community, and you rob them of the means of defending life. Take away their weapons of defence, and you take away the inalienable right of defending liberty. This brings us now directly to the argument by which we prove that the elective franchise is a RIGHT of the Declaration, and not merely a privilege, and is one of the rights and immunities pronounced by that instrument to be "*inalienable.*"

If, as our fathers declared, "all just government is derived from the assent of the governed;" if in Federal Republics that assent can only be ascertained and established through the ballot, it follows that to take away that means of communication is to take away from the citizen his great weapon of defence, and reduce him to helpless bondage. It deprives him of an inalienable right. This clearly proves that the elective franchise ranks with "life" and "liberty" in its sacred, inalienable character. But while the Declaration clearly proves what the intention then was, the action of the Convention in framing the Constitution of the United States, it seemed to me, bartered away for the time being, some of those inalienable rights, and, instigated by the hellish institution of Slavery, suspended one of the muniments of liberty. Having thus shown that the elective franchise is one of the inalienable rights of man, without which his liberty cannot be defended, and that it was suspended by the arbitrary Constitution of 1789, let us see if that suspension has been removed, so as to leave our hands unrestrained in restoring its full vigor, while still acting under the Constitution. That right appertains to every citizen. But while this suspension existed, the natural love of despotism induced communities to hold that each State might fix the qualifications, rights, and deprivations of its own citizens. The fourteenth amendment, now so happily adopted, settles the whole question, and places every American citizen on a perfect equality of rights, so far as merely national rights and questions are concerned. It declares that "all persons born, or naturalized, in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States, and of the State wherein they reside. No State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges and immunities of citizens of the United States; nor shall any person be deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor deny any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws." If by the amended Constitution every American citizen is entitled to equal privileges with every other American citizen, and if every American citizen in any one of the States should be found entitled to impartial suffrage with every other American citizen in any State, then it follows as an inevitable conclusion that suffrage throughout this nation is impartial and universal, so far as every human being, without regard to race or color, shall be found concerned, and so far as it affects the whole nation. Can he who swears to support the Constitution in all its parts refuse to aid in carrying this into effect without clear, direct perjury—a worse perjury than would have been committed by those who, under the old Constitution, could not agree to that construction, and thus refused their aid to their fellow-men? What a grand compulsion have these despots, rebels, and murderers finally forced upon the American Republic by their impatient, rash, and bloody acts! How they have aided the just men of the nation in producing this great good! It were well if they could claim some merit as a compensation for so great a crime. But if evil must come into the world, "but woe unto him through whom it cometh," I fear that if good does not come into the world through compulsion, no merit will be attributed to the unwilling actors. Let no man now, then, who belongs to this great government, dare to stand up in the face of high heaven and longer deny to God's immortal beings the high, the inalienable, the God-granted rights which his immortal Father gave them. Let no one in the past or in the future age attempt to palliate his offence, either before an earthly tribunal which is to decide between God's creatures, or who is to plead his cause at the bar of a higher tribunal, venture to insult Divine Justice by longer pleading his inability to execute that justice. We must remember that most of us are separated from the dread tribunal occupied by a Judge who cannot be deceived by the narrowest isthmus that ever divided time from eternity. If every citizen of any State is entitled to all the inalienable rights, privileges, and immunities of this government, and if one of those inalienable rights is the right to cast his ballot for every man who is to take part in the government, show me the man who is so impudent as to deny that suffrage by the ballot is due to every being within this realm to whom God has given immortality. He must be an impudent citizen, and ought never to profess to believe in the existence of a Deity; for that a world could be created and governed without an overruling cause is more feasible than such a proposition. What would be the effect of conferring this just right upon every citizen in this Republic according to the original intention of our fathers? If ever there was a spot on earth where it could be tried with perfect success, and bestow perfect happiness upon all those who are their own rulers and their own subjects, that spot is the continent of North America. In less than ten years it will contain a round population of more than 50,000,000 of people, girt round with deep and broad waters, which no force could cross without our consent. The sea-girt isle of Great Britain, which was said to be cut off from the rest of the world, was not half so secure from its water defences alone as this continent. That would be a tall and a bold admiral who, hereafter, with a hostile intent, should venture this side of the Pillars of Hercules. Before any monarchical nation shall again attempt to erect its institutions on this side the Isthmus of Darien, they will find that there exists a republic composed of the islands of the sea, more powerful than the European portion of Great Britain, not less powerful than was the Achæan League; which republic we shall not blush to call an ally because a meridian sun and a tyrant's lash have planted into their color and into their souls the deep and inextinguishable principles of abhorrence to human bondage. A people now but little understood, but in a few years of progress, with their institutions really free, instead of being ground by the nominal freedom but real despotism of Jamaica, will have made as long and rapid strides in the cause of civilization as our Southern States are now making. The seed of such an empire is already planted, and is germinating. It may not be known to all that the Danish possessions of St. Thomas, Santa Cruz, and St. Johns sustain republican institutions, though all the legislators, and most of the executive officers, chosen by themselves, are colored. They have free schools, and can, with scarcely the exception of a single individual of the proper age, read and write, and have all of the essential requisites of a free republic, except, perhaps, the appointment of a few of the executive officers by the home government, when the wishes of the people are always consulted. Let a tyrant attempt to place his foot upon such a bombshell, and he will be blown, with all around him, to inevitable ruin. Before the time supposed for such action shall have arrived, Cuba, the most fertile and productive spot of its size, except, perhaps, the Delta of the Nile, will have become so saturated and ripe with the bursting principles of freedom, and together with St. Domingo, Hayti, Jamaica, and their cognate races will be ready to leap to arms and defend their appropriate dominins, if such aid should be needed in the cause of freedom, and if they shall not then have been added to our own dominions by our enterprising Foreign Secretary. All of these islands are now free, except Cuba, which is now oppressed by the proudest and most cruel tyrant of Europe, himself of a mixed race of swarthy Moors and sluggish white blood. He may as well take warning that the day is very near at hand when he must knock the shackles from every Cuban, or have them torn from them by the spirit of liberty. She is within sight of emancipated America, and surrounded by islands of the sea, every one of which is free. The sound of the overseer's lash, and the cries of the agonized slave, will not, must not be longer permitted to mingle with the sweet pæans to liberty which are shouted forth through every freedman's voice in the Western world. All the golden rivers of Africa will never again purchase sufficient power to re-enslave those just made free by the Spirit of Liberty, much stronger than all the power of Hercules or of Samson. Before any other nations are prepared to establish their institutions in any part of the Western world, the broad, bold shoulders and swarthy frames of the inhabitants of this island empire will have established governments that Spain and the other European nations will willingly surrender to freedom, lest they should corrupt their despotic lead, and hasten their own governments a half century along the railroad path of liberty. But whether such an ally shall then exist or not, without boasting, this government, counting upon her position and power, can entertain no fear of all the world beside. Traverse her 20,000 miles from the Russian possessions around the Isthmus of Darien, up the Gulf Stream to the bold shores of the Granite State, which, with the islands of the Gulf, soon, I hope and believe, will be added to this mighty nation, to which they naturally belong; thence up to where the Esquimaux roam, and where we have lately employed the protection of the mighty walrus, on the Strait which no hostile foot will ever attempt to tread, around to where the herring, the codfish, and whale are seeking to find a permanent refuge: but no time which the eye of man shall ever see, or his imagination depict, can ever screen them from the hearty enterprise of this mighty empire; and you have such a vast, impregnable, and sea-girt domain as the world never saw. If anything more were wanting, more-iron-clads than all Europe could send to this distance could be brought into active operation in any time necessary for the defense of the nation. Then take your route northward from the southern isthmus, and you cross every latitude necessary for the production of all the industrial products of civilization. No mineral, no vegetable that ever God created for the wealth, comfort, or ornament of man would be wanted. Her southern climate, never more to be polluted by the unholy and infamous institution of slavery, bears upon every breeze the balmy odors that delight the senses. Its soil is filled with burning sapphire, its rivers run sands of gold, while its more rugged parts bear quartz equal to the fabled Ophir, and lodes of silver. If its more northern climate is held in firm delight by the hardy sons of "Greenland's icy mountains," its moss-clad granite will always be protected by the Goddess of Liberty. How much better than the delicious isle over which continually blow the soft breezes of spicy Ceylon, where

> Though every prospect pleases,
> Man alone is vile.

The ingenious artist of the gods, when procured by the mother of Achilles to engrave coast surveys and geographical delineations upon his invincible shield, never depicted a land so glorious and so variegated with gold and silver and every precious metal, and so bewitching to the senses with the odors of God's happiest creations. Its enchanting products grow in abundance on every inch of her variegated soil, and since the curse of slavery is removed, if we do the justice which the Declaration of Independence proposes and we now propose, will soon contain a greater abundance of riches than either Europe, Asia, or Africa.

IMPEACHMENT.

From the Philadelphia Morning Post.

No one doubts the wisdom of the framers of the Constitution in placing in Congress the power to impeach and remove the President. It is the only check we have against a President becoming a Dictator and abolishing Congress itself. It is this power of the people over their Executive, for which the British people fought under Cromwell. It is all that distinguishes constitutional England from despotic France—democracy from despotism.

The right of Congress to impeach a President for proper cause is essential to the existence of our government. Without it the President would be Quadrennial Czar, or if he chose, a life-long or hereditary Sultan. Whatever tends to impair or destroy this right tends to impair or destroy our Republic. The right, like all legal rights, may as effectually be lost by disuse as by repeal of the power to exercise it. The man or party who would propose to take from Congress the power to impeach a President would be recognized as an enemy to the Constitution, striking at the very life of the Republic. No less at war with the Constitution is every man or party that proposes to disuse or neglect the power of impeachment, and so ultimately destroy it and all its guards.

The prompt resort to the constitutional remedy of impeachment being the only safeguard against Executive usurpation, it must always be more revolutionary to neglect impeachment where it is d[illegible]ed than to impeach where cause exists. For [illegible]peachment when deserved be applied, it can only [illegible] and the whole machinery of government will then move on in restored harmony, with renewed power. But if impeachment when deserved be neglected, the great criminal is assured that he can go on from less crimes to greater usurpations, until the armies that had been the defense of the country become the means of its subjugation to his iron will and brute passion. Imagine the acts which Andrew Johnson might commit if left untrammelled by the impeaching power of Congress. He might proclaim the reconstruction acts of Congress void, deny the right of suffrage to the blacks, extend it to the rebels, inaugurate rebel State governments, proclaim a Congress from which these States should be excluded an illegal body, and so precipitate a war of races at the South, and general turbulence and riot at the North. Being a man of crude, muddled notions, who sees but dimly all constitutional questions, it is not wild to expect some such excesses at his hands if Congress continues to show that it is afraid of his threats.

EFFECT OF THE ELECTIONS.

LETTER FROM A DISTRICT COMMANDER IN THE SOUTH.
Special Dispatch to the Evening Post.

WASHINGTON, October 31.

A PRIVATE letter received here this morning from one of the district commanders in the South says that since the result of the recent elections at the North became widely known, affairs in his district have undergone complete change. The late rebels are no longer disposed to accept the situation. They regard the elections in Pennsylvania and Ohio as an endorsement of the friends and sympathizers of the "lost cause."

These sentiments, the letter says, are not confined to the lower and more ignorant classes of Southern whites, but are shared by the most intelligent and respectable. The late slaveowners openly assert their belief that in a year or two slavery will be restored, or that the government will compensate the late masters for the losses of this species of property.

That this is no mere fanciful idea, the writer says, may be gathered from the fact that the late slaveholders all through his district are preparing lists of the slaves held by them at the breaking out of the rebellion, and are having them valued at the current market rates of 1860.

THE RESPONSIBILITY OF CONGRESS.

From the Philadelphia Morning Post.

The Address of the Union Republican Executive Committee to the people of the States that are to vote in November is not worthy of the occasion. We expected an able argument from the gentlemen who signed the address—more reason and less denunciation. But it has its merit. The one important point is, that the committee believe that if the Republican party is defeated in November, Andrew Johnson will carry out his threats to disperse Congress, or to forcibly insist on the admission of representatives from the rebel States. This is not improbable. Mr. Johnson has shown that he is capable of any usurpation, and nothing has restrained him but the fear of the people. He will certainly construe Republican defeat as a national endorsement of his policy.

We have come then to this, that the temporary repulse of the Republican party will precipitate a revolution! Have the gentlemen who make this assertion reflected that Congress has brought the country to this disgraceful situation? We know that the majority of the signers of the address were in favor of impeachment, but Congress was too cowardly to do its duty. Now we reap the fruits of that cowardice in the defeat of our principles in Pennsylvania and Ohio, and the possibility of their overthrow in New York and Indiana. Congress did all it could do to destroy the faith of the people in its courage; they saw that it was afraid of its own logic, and inferred that it was afraid of the President. It submitted to insult; it connived at wrong; it permitted the laws to be broken without punishing the law-breaker. *It should have impeached Andrew Johnson one year ago.* It is notorious that a majority of the House of Representatives believed that he deserved impeachment, and that a majority were also opposed to it. There was too much President-making. The very men who did not hesitate to declare that Johnson held his office in the interest of rebels, resisted every effort to take the executive power out of his hands. And now Congress, after allowing Andrew Johnson to strengthen his position and throw all the influence of the Administration against the policy of Congress, affirms through its committee that the [illegible] of Congress depend [illegible] Republican success in a few State elections! It [illegible] self-stultified by its own confession, and this address is a painful comment upon the imbecility and timidity of the last session. Who has forgotten how Charles Sumner warned the Senate that adjournment till November would give Andrew Johnson all the opportunity he wished, and how quickly his words were justified by the removal of Stanton, Sheridan, and Sickles? Who does not remember how Stevens, Butler, Boutwell, Logan and Williams, of Pennsylvania, insisted upon impeachment in the name of the people? If the President does attempt to force rebel representatives into Congress, or in any way seeks to overrule its legislation, let it be well understood that we owe all the evil that may follow to the men who opposed impeachment, and consented that Andrew Johnson should continue to disgrace the Presidency. The House must bear the weight of the responsibility. Messrs. Wilson, Woodbridge, and Judge Churchill, of the Judiciary Committee, had their influence. But the Senate cannot be exonerated; its conservative Republicans, represented by Fessenden and Sherman and Trumbull, did their full share in leading the Republican party to defeat this fall. The President, if he meditates a *coup d'etat*, should express his gratitude to the conservative Republicans for the opportunity.

In times such as these timidity is folly, and conservatism a crime. The evil is radical, and the remedy should be radical. Take all that remains of slavery, all that is left of the rebellion, and we find it summed up and embodied in Andrew Johnson. He is the point of attack. He is the great enemy of the Republic, and it is idle to dream of reconstruction while he remains in office. If experience has any value, if danger inspires any courage, Congress will not be in session three days before articles of impeachment are laid before the Senate, and the first step taken to vindicate the national honor and secure the safety of the Republic.

PERMANENCE OF NEGRO SUFFRAGE.

VICKSBURG, Miss., Oct. 18.

A MONTH ago it seemed a foregone conclusion that negro domination was to be a fixed fact in Mississippi. The numerical preponderance of the black voters, and the potent backing of a strong majority in Congress, representing an equally strong popular majority in the North, seemed to settle the question of the stability of negro suffrage for a long time to come. But a change comes over us. Revolutions (political) are not confined to the South. We have heard from Ohio and Pennsylvania. Negro suffrage is itself on trial. Ohio, even, by 50,000 majority will not have it. Will she then force it on Mississippi? The great issues before the public mind seem to be changed, and instead of the themes about which we contested two years ago, the issue now is of negro suffrage, and of how to pay the public debt, and of the issue of currency for this purpose, or of still paying hundreds of millions of interest which might be avoided by the issue of greenbacks instead of bonds, each of which is simply a government "promise to pay." Negro suffrage and negro ascendency in Mississippi are still open questions.—*Cor. World.*

THE ELECTION IN VIRGINIA.

From the N. Y. Tribune.

The people of Virginia, with those of all the States lately in revolt, were authorized by the last Congress to form a State Constitution, organize a government, and thereupon apply for readmission to Congress and restoration to all the privileges of self-government. The details of these important movements were committed to the direction of Major-Gen. Schofield, commander of the Military District, who was certainly in no sense inimical to or disliked by the whites of that State. By Gen. Schofield, officers were appointed, the legal voters registered, the State districted for the proposed Convention, and the day of election appointed. Congress has had nothing to do with the details of the business. The registries, when completed, showed a white majority of 20,000 legal voters; so that the whites had absolute power to vote down a Convention had they seen fit. It has been objected that the districts in which the black voters were a majority were entitled to elect a majority of the Convention; but this could not well be helped, because a considerable number of counties have eight or nine whites to one black, leaving two-thirds of the State almost equally divided between whites and blacks; so that the disfranchisement of five or six thousand leading rebels left the blacks in a majority. The facts that the whites might have defeated a Convention by 20,000 majority, and may still defeat the Constitution when presented for ratification, cannot be disputed.

The election has been held. No registered White has been in any manner prevented from voting. None has been bullied or browbeaten because he saw fit to vote against the blacks. In a very few instances, the blacks have been irritated into violent demonstrations by the spectacle of a black coerced to vote his own and their disfranchisement; but the only man killed at this election was a black Radical; and the two men wounded are also black Radicals. And, the election being carried by the Radicals—a Convention ordered by at least 10,000 majority, and at least sixty Radicals (out of one hundred and five in all) chosen thereto, the victors have quietly returned to their labors, and the State is at peace.

Now let us see how the vanquished receive their defeat, and how they propose to avenge it. The following is from the Lynchburg *News* of the 25th ult.:

"We hear of several persons in the country, and also in this city, who have discharged their negro employes on account of their Radicalism. *This course of conduct will be general on the part of the whites*; and the deluded negro will find, when forever too late, that Radicalism does not put meat into his pot, nor does voting fill his meat-tub. The lesson will be a severe one—sharp and decisive; but we are confident will be attended with the most wholesome results in the future."

The same paper says:

"We are gratified to learn that 150 negroes, employed at the Wythe Iron Mines, all of whom voted the straight-out Radical ticket, were discharged on Tuesday by the owner of the works. *This is precisely the step which every employer should take* with the blacks who, by voting with 'Hunnicutt and his set,' declare themselves openly and above-board the enemies of the white race."

—They are "enemies of the white race," you see, because they choose to be freemen, and to vote as freemen. They chose not to vote for those who sought to disfranchise them and their posterity for ever. So they are to be first deprived of employment, and then driven from the State. Says the Charlottesville *Chronicle*:

"The election Tuesday settled the fact that the white race and the negro race in Virginia are enemies. The negroes have voted almost to a man the most Radical tickets. A large number of negroes have been elected to the Convention. Then come a body of mean whites and Northern adventurers. A number of native-born whites, of good standing in the community, but of little parliamentary experience, constitute the minority. * * * * *

"The negroes have possession of the State of Virginia. They will give us a Constitution, the leading features of which will be negro officials and taxation of the whites.

"This is reconstruction. This is pacification. This is good feeling. This is Universal Amnesty (17,000 white voters proscribed, and the State gerrymandered) and Universal Suffrage. This is peace on earth, and good-will.

"What must we do? We reply, Be patient. The negro furor must exhaust itself. The Northern people, as soon as they recognize distinctly the fact at the South, will ask, Is it possible the negroes are in possession of the South? Is the white race under the feet of a lot of negroes? Is this what the Radical Congress mean by their 'Reconstruction' bills?

"We shall temporarily suffer. The reaction will be the more marked. By Tuesday's work, *the negroes in Virginia have set their seal to their doom. There is no longer any peace.* The question now is, Who shall occupy and rule the territory between forty and thirty-two degrees north latitude—the blacks or the whites?"

Says the Richmond *Enquirer and Examiner*:

"A correspondent in King William County informs us that but one negro in that whole county voted against the Convention and in favor of the Conservative candidate, Col. Wm. R. Aylett. The name of this negro is Thomas Ruffin, and the [illegible] of King William have united in a subscription to purchase a piece of land and give it to this man for [illegible] in the county as his own. This is [illegible]. We have [illegible] and still urge, eve[illegible] to turn [illegible] who voted the Ra[illegible] and we are equally [illegible] in urging that all who showed their kind feelings towards the white people by voting on their side shall be kindly and liberally rewarded for their good sense and conservatism."

—A negro, you see, shows "good sense" and "kind feelings towards the whites," by voting that his race shall nevermore enjoy the right of suffrage—shall be mere boot-blacks and table-waiters to whites. But, if he votes that blacks have some rights which whites are bound to respect, he must be thrust out of employment. So to vote is to subject himself to exile and his family to starvation. Such is white conservatism and loyalty, as expounded by the ex-rebel organs in Virginia.

We might quote from a dozen more of them, all in the same strain. The blacks have chosen to vote for candidates who (they believe) will frame a Constitution that gives them equal rights: thus they have sealed their doom—they must be starved, be hunted out, etc., etc. They have doubtless much yet to brave and suffer; but we hope and trust that Virginia is henceforth a community of freedmen. Honor to her faithful Radicals! May those of other States imitate their example, their courage, and their triumph!

A POLITICAL EMISSARY UNDER THE GUISE OF SCIENTIFIC DISCUSSION.

A CORRESPONDENT of the Rochester (N. Y.) *Express*, writing of the peregrinations of the well-known clerico-political vagabond, the Rev. C. C. Burr, in Western New York, says:

As a sentinel on the watch-tower of Liberty, the loyal press of this State seems quite too regardless of the insidious efforts of the enemies of our government. I allude especially to the missionary labors, in the rebel cause, of one C. C. Burr, an ex-Reverend, and for some years past connected with one or more disloyal newspapers in New York, who, whether he is employed directly by the Southern leaders in the late rebellion, or by their friends in the Democratic party in New York, is zealously working for the success of their common cause. He perambulates the State, and assuming the *savant* and traveller, advertises "a course of scientific lectures" upon Anthropology and Ethnology, and thereby gathers in a multitude of honest and unsuspecting people, unacquainted with the wiles of designing politicians, to hear a lecture upon science. Then, with a pomposity peculiar to himself, he proceeds to show that the white, straight-haired race has the only absolute title to manhood; all other races of men, as they are termed, being only connecting links between man and the brute creation, and unsusceptible of cultivation and improvement. And to prove their near relation to brutes, says that the children in Africa walk when seven days old! a precocity that his hearers thought would be gladly hailed in this country as a great relief to mothers and nurses.

He quotes, or rather misquotes, from Agassiz, Humboldt, Livingstone and others as flippantly as though he had hob-nobbed with them all his life. He said that scientists had ignored facts of science, for fear of giving aid to slavery; but now that slavery had ceased to be, there was no longer any need to hold back the truth; that the "race orbit" of all the wild races, as he termed all, except the white, could not be changed by circumstances. Though loud in his protestations of kind feeling for the colored people, he says that emancipation has always been a failure, that they relapsed at once into barbarism and heathenism. He gives statistics in regard to Hayti that are grossly untrue; and says the negro was fitted only for slavery, wished for nothing else—had no aspirations and he earnestly advised the people to prevent any further remove of the blacks, from their race orbit, by enacting vagrant laws that should be slavery, except in name. It may be thought that this man's arguments are too self-evidently false to require any refutation, [illegible] a series of professedly scientific lectures, he spreads out an array of pretended facts in science and history, with false statistics, and usually succeeds in creating a prejudice against the negro in the minds of people who have not thoroughly investigated the subject, and in poisoning public opinion in order to defeat the new constitutional amendment in regard to suffrage, and the reconstruction policy adopted by Congress. Quite too indifferent to the mischievous influence exerted by this man, the friends of human rights and Republican institutions have suffered him to proceed on his satanic mission, so far as I am informed, unanswered and unrebuked.

Recently he delivered his "course of lectures" at Holley, Orleans Co., much to the disgust of all loyal people there, and greatly to the delight of his copperhead hearers. A lady present, once well known as a most effective lecturer in the anti-slavery field, unable longer in silence to repress her indignation at the base slanders he had hurled at the negro race, threw down the gauntlet and proposed to meet his ex-reverence in a discussion of the subject. But at the appointed time he failed to appear. Possibly he had received an inkling that he would find no feeble antagonist; at any rate, it was well for him that he declined the contest, for but few debaters can wield the scalpel of forensic art with more trenchant and unmerciful power, than this same lady. I allude to Mrs. Lucy N. Coleman, till recently of this city. She, however, addressed the audience, and took each argument he had previously advanced, and dissected and exposed its fallacy. She said if barbarism was the natural and proper state of the negro, why bewail emancipation, which he said would lead back to barbarism? And if incapable of improvement, as he had asserted, how could they fall back who had never advanced? What he had adduced, as facts in history and truths in science, to prove that the negro was not a man, she refuted by the most irrefragable evidence.

She quoted from many of the most learned writers upon ethnology to show the unity of the races, and clearly proved that all of them were effected by their surroundings; that the formation of even the skull and limbs were materially influenced by culture, education and circumstances. She said the blacks had every attribute of white human nature, and therefore possessed the same inalienable right to self-government. She spoke of the wealth, refinement, education and ability of the colored race; of their many eminent men; of the amount of property owned by free people of color; of the industry and desire for education displayed by the freed people. She gave statistics of Hayti that presented a view of its inhabitants quite different from Burr's representations. This immaculate ex-reverend had descanted with holy horror on the gross immorality of the negro race. Mrs. C., in reply, pointed to the color of the slave children of the South, and to the fact of houses of infamy being licensed, as proof beyond a doubt of the superior morality of the white race.

She closed with a strong appeal for suffrage to the black man, because it was justice, and we needed to do justly as much as the black man needed justice done to him. We needed to have the colored men invested with the elective franchise, that his loyalty might oppose a sufficient bulwark against the machinations of the white rebels South and their coadjutors here. The nation's safety now depended upon it. This is but a brief outline of her lecture. She is one that must be heard in order to be fully appreciated. But every unprejudiced mind admitted that the copperhead "'postle" was completely demolished. We understand that Mrs. C. has accepted invitations at other places to speak in reply to Mr. Burr, and is doing a good work in the cause of humanity and liberty. Clear and concise in argument, ready in retort, scathing in denunciation, and eloquent and touching in her appeals for justice to the wronged and down-trodden, Mrs. C. stands unrivalled by any of her sex as an extemporaneous speaker.

E. P. C.

FREDERICK DOUGLASS UPON NATIONAL AFFAIRS.

FREDERICK DOUGLASS delivered an eloquent address recently at Newark, N. J., of which the following is a synopsis:

HIS CHANGED CONDITION.

He commenced by saying that he had often appeared before the people as a slave, and sometimes as a fugitive slave, but to-night he appeared in the proudest character of an American citizen. (Applause.) As he was through with talking for the enslaved, he proposed to-night to do a little in

the way of criticising our government, and he even proposed to point out defects in the Constitution and fundamental law.

CHANGE IN THE COUNTRY.

He said we do not stand where we once did among the nations of the earth. Some years ago this county sat like a Queen, knowing no sorrow and fearing none. There was a change in this respect. We do not stand where we once did. In 1848, when all Europe was convulsed as by a social earthquake, when powers, principalities and dominions were crumbling, and Princes and Kings were running from their crowns before an excited uprising of the people, we were comparatively quiet, strong, and glorying in our strength.

NATIONAL DEFECTS.

But to-day some persons criticise us and point out very palpable defects in our national character. We do not hate traitors enough. We are a kind of free-love nation—we love everybody. A nation that cannot hate cannot love. A nation that don't hate treason has no heart to love liberty. (Applause.) We don't appear to have any ability to punish traitors and reward and protect loyal men. Loyal men by the score and hundred have been shot down in open daylight in the presence of the bristling bayonets of the Republic. If our governments were such as it ought to be, there would be no spot so safe for a traitor on the earth as to afford security for the guilty men who dabbled their fingers in the blood of loyal men in New Orleans. But Mayor Monroe, chief butcher of New Orleans, hobnobs and drinks wine at the White House. (Applause.)

THE RIGHT TO CRITICIZE.

Neither is there cohesion in the different branches of our government. The executive is arrayed against the legislative, and the military is disposed to obey orders from headquarters, though even under protest. (Laughter.) We ought to examine our government, and we have the right to discuss every part of it. If we are hanged we have a right to examine the gallows. It is true there has a great deal been said about the sacredness of our glorious Constitution. But what is there that should forbid the fullest and freest handling of the Constitution by the American people? There was nothing sacred about its origin. There was no earthquake, nor tempest, nor lightning and lightning, nor any other serious disturbance of nature when that institution was adopted. The speaker's early condition of life was not favorable to the development of what some call patriotism, or reverence for the Constitution, or for our institutions in general—certainly not for the peculiar institution.

THIS IS NOT A WHITE MAN'S GOVERNMENT.

But he could honor the men who made the Constitution for saying nothing recognizing slavery. Those who think this government was made for the white man, and that this is a white man's government, find no sort of countenance for that heresy in the Constitution of the United States. In that instrument there is no white nor black. We are citizens of a common country without respect to complexion. They had not got this ethnological notion about measuring human rights by a man's complexion. Ethnologists seem to be trying to establish some connection between the negro and the monkey, on account of the length of his heel, and that the longer a man's heel the further he is removed from the monkey, and the shorter—he wouldn't say what. (Laughter.)

THE CAUSE OF VICTORY.

We were not successful in the war because of our Constitution, or because God was with the most money or the heaviest battalions, but because we fought for liberty. Another reason that we were successful was, that we had an honest man at the helm. If we had W. H. Seward, or Franklin Pierce, or John Tyler, or James Buchanan—(laughter)—or that other politician, the vilest of the vile, the basest of the base, the most contemptible of American politicians, who shall be nameless now that he is described—(applause)—we have reason to believe that the rebels would have obtained an easy victory.

THE THREE BOXES.

If the church in this country could heap up the chains and whips and hellish instruments of slavery, and point to them as the monument of its labors, it would be worth more than all the tracts and expurgated tracts issued by the American Tract Society. Liberty was not the result of the moral conviction of this nation. We had the same reason to be thankful to this government for our freedom that the Israelites had to be thankful to Pharoah; the circumstances controlled in one case as in the other. But now the people of this country can do some justice to the negro from choice, let them do it—let them do it in New Jersey—give the negro the ballot! (Applause.) Let him have rights not in three boxes, the ballot-box, the jury-box, the cartridge-box, and the man who is outside of the ballot-box, and who, no man can say, from the ballot-box because of his color. Let no woman be kept from the ballot-box because of her sex. Mr. Douglass argued at some length in favor of woman suffrage.

TOO MUCH MAN POWER.

There is too much of the one-man power left in our Constitution. We have got it, we have got it bad, and we feel it, too. (Laughter.) As Seward says, Andrew Johnson is our king; and he rules us with an autocratic power and a contempt for the will of the people that it would be dangerous for Louis Napoleon to exercise. (Applause.) But he has his authority from the Constitution, and we are in danger of having the same thing over again, as long as the Constitution remains as it is. We have to do away with the one-man power in our own President, but what the American people want is, not the right to choose a master, but the right and power of being our own masters and our own governors. We are free while we are discussing this and paper with some names on it—no matter how they got on it—into a box. After that the national annual takes the power. He may rear, or kick, or roll over, but he is there every time. (Laughter.) No officer in our system ever resigns in response to the will of the people.

HOW TO REMEDY THE MATTER.

One of the curses of this one-man power is the immense patronage which the President wields. With this he controls the legislation of the country. Every American is educated in one thing, and that is never to fight against his bread and butter. He shall never have a faithful administration of our government so long as we allow our President to be elected a second term. He will always have one eye on the present term and one eye on the future term. The patronage power we already disgusted with. It has been used to pardon treason for reasons of personal influence. We have had enough of these back-door pardons—pardons obtained by bad men, and by women, for reasons whose influence over the President no man can tell. The speaker would also abolish the veto power. It was absurd to place one man in the balance against the three hundred of the legislative power of the government. A man of weak mind, like Andrew Johnson, for he is that; a man of boundless ambition and endless vanity will use the veto to show his power and authority. The veto is against the genius of our institutions. It would be dangerous for Queen Victoria to interpose her veto against the well-considered acts of the House of Commons and House of Lords, and our House of Representatives is fully equal to the House of Commons, and our Senate incomparably superior to the House of Lords.

CONCERNING ASSASSINATIONS AND POISONINGS OF PRESIDENTS BY VICE-PRESIDENTS.

We must do away with the Vice-Presidency. We have had bad luck with Vice-Presidents. (Laughter). Ambition is ambition at all times. The Presidential chair is a tempting bauble. For crowns men have done many strange things and many horrible things. For crowns men have committed murders and assassinations. For the crown men have sent the midnight assassin to the dungeons of Europe, and caused them to plunge the cold steel into the quivering heart. For the crown the brains of smiling infants have been dashed out. For the crown poison has been resorted to. The Presidency in our country stands in the place of the crown. It make no change. I do not even deal in insinuation. If anything happens to the President out of the usual way, it is almost impossible to keep men from thinking something about the Vice-President. There is a danger in this thing, and the fact of this case by which the Vice-President may be surrounded by malign influences. How easy to approach him and inquire "How would you administer the government, provided the President should remove Providence, (laughter) the President should be removed; who would you make Collector in the city of New York, or who would you send to the Court of St. James, or any other place of the world you do about this policy?" There is an assassin in every 50,000 men. There was a traitor in the best twelve that ever lived. How easy to put the President out of the way and put the other man in. How easy to bribe the President. We have had three Vice-Presidents within the last twenty-five years, and two of them, though elected on the same platform, by the same party, as the President—not one but that has betrayed the party that elected him, and trampled upon the will of the people. Why this uniform desertion of party and principle by Vice-Presidents? I don't know—you don't know; but we keep up thinking. (Laughter and applause.)

It remains for me to say that Mr. Johnson was in any way privy to the assassination conspiracy that terminated the life of our murdered President, or that he ever connived at the murder of Abraham Lincoln, knew Andrew Johnson then as we know him now. (Loud applause.) If they did not, they acted like madmen. They acted like men out of their senses. If they believed Andrew Johnson would carry out his threats against them, they acted like a man who was jumping from the frying pan into the fire. It don't seem to me but what they knew what his subsequent action would be; and we all know that he is now the recognized champion of the rebels who are responsible for that assassination. (Applause.) There is no reason why we should elect a Vice-President with the President any more than there is that we should select our second wife on the evening of our first marriage. Sufficient unto the day is the evil thereof. (Laughter.) But, you ask, "what should we do if the President should die?" Well, that is what I am telling you. He wouldn't die—if you had no Vice-President. (Laughter.) There would not be so many of these heavy men. John Tyler used to call himself a lucky man. He was put on as Lieutenant-Governor, and the Governor died and he became Governor. He got to be Vice-President, and the President died and he became President.

IMPARTIAL SUFFRAGE.

I wanted, before I closed, to say a few words about another matter. Ohio has gone most unmistakably against negro suffrage.

It is likely, it is probable, I do not say possible, that New York will do the same. There is ought to be no room for slavery and prejudice all over. You can appeal to it very easily. To hate the negro is one of the things everywhere prevalent, and it can be brought into an election with telling effect.

We should assume that this is the work of the Federal government itself. That is my ground. If we have a government, it is a government; and if it is a government it has the right to determine who are our citizens; and if it has the right to determine who our citizens are, it has also the right to determine who have the rights of citizens. And assuming this ground, the work is before us now for the Congress of the United States to declare in favor of equal impartial suffrage throughout the Union. Let us support Congress in such a measure. There is no reason why the negro should not vote. He is a citizen for the purpose of bearing the burdens of the State; why not allow him the rights of citizenship? Mr. Douglass closed by an eloquent recital of the deeds of heroism of negroes in the civil war.

THE SOUTH.

TENNESSEE.

ARREST OF A BLOOD-THIRSTY ENEMY OF THE COLORED RACE.

The Memphis *Post* gives the following record of an ex-rebel soldier, named Rolla Poindexter, recently arrested at Holly Springs, Miss., and turned over to Gov. Brownlow's Guard at this place:

"On the 5th inst., as a young colored man, named Jake Thompson, and his cousin, a young woman named Lucy Partee, were walking across the square, between the hotel and depot, at Marshall's Station, on the Memphis and Ohio Railroad, between 6 and 7 o'clock in the evening, Poindexter rode up on horseback, with a pistol in his hand, and, without a word, endeavored to ride over Thompson. The latter quickly stepped aside, and continued to walk on. Three times the bloodthirsty villain repeated this movement, evidently hoping to provoke some resistance from the colored man, to give him a pretext for killing him. The young fellow, however, only attempted to get out of the way of the murderer, and avoid him. Without a word being said on either side, Poindexter for the third time raised his pistol, and then fired. The ball went crashing through the head of the unoffending man, and he fell on his face, his hands still in his pockets, as they were when he was walking quietly along. The murdered man never had any difficulty with his murderer, as far as is known, the bloody deed being the result of hatred and malice toward an unoffending race.

"It is stated that Poindexter had frequently declared that he would kill all the niggers he could. In August last, he stepped up to a colored man named Sikes, Williams, and deliberately attempted to murder him by cutting his throat. He drew a knife across his throat, cutting a gash of two or three inches in length, the scar of which is still visible. Sikes at the time was employed by Justice Rice, who was about leaving on the cars. A warrant was issued by another magistrate, but Poindexter heard of the warrant, left the cars, and when he returned no further steps were taken to bring him to punishment.

"His next attempt at carrying out his threat of killing all the niggers he could, was made about the first of September, upon Henderson Turman. He drew a pistol upon him and attempted to shoot him, and was only prevented by the interference of a bystander, who knocked up his arm just as he fired the pistol, and the ball passed over the colored man's head. For this attempt at murder, Poindexter was fined $10, a local magistrate considering the payment of that sum a sufficient punishment for an attempt on the life of a colored man."

REBEL TERRORISM.

Col. Forney sends to the Philadelphia *Press* the following, among other extracts, from the Southern correspondence of the Republican Congressional Executive Committee on Reconstruction:

WILMINGTON, N. C.

Our friend ——, has just returned from his great missionary tour. In ——county he was unable to find men, either white or black, who dared to avow that they were Republicans. After great difficulty he got together a few "poor whites" and a number of freedmen, and explained the principles and objects of the formation of Republican Clubs. He remained two nights with them, and they seemed to be as much surprised and enlightened as if he had come to them from the skies. *He had to walk seventy-five miles to get to these oppressed people.*

A correspondent from another part of North Carolina says:

Hardly one of Johnson's civil officers is with us, and they co-operate and associate with the ex-rebel Governor Graham; and as all the old State officers hold over, you can see what a hard thing it is for a white man to be a Republican in the South.

LYNCHBURG, VA.

The failure of Congress in Ohio to remove rebels and malignants from the civil offices under the defunct State Constitution, and the confirmation by the Senate of some men for Federal offices, on the pledge that they would be loyal men, has caused many a chilling effect among the poor whites, and kept many from the polls, who are with us in heart, and will be rejoiced if we reorganize Virginia on general and impartial principles. The white vote against the Convention is three-fourths of it disloyal, and could be easily got to favor another ordinance of secession. The only respectable number of white voters cast their votes against it in western Virginia. Four counties in that region gave a majority of white votes for the Convention, others polled one-third, and the majority of the white vote in a large number of white Radicals were kept away in other counties for fear of the vengeance of the ex-rebel leaders. Ev in these South-Western counties we have not one white secessionist, and if the poor white men are only encouraged to read and write, they will soon be on our side. We have no chance whatever with the rich whites in the State. *Our strength is with the laboring classes alone.*

From Eastern Virginia, a gentleman elected to the Convention by an immense majority, says:

I beg leave to call your attention to the small number of white votes polled, and to state to you that many of white voters are disloyal, and a professing Union paper, supported by the collector of the internal revenue, who denounced as as Radicals, Agrarians, and incendiaries.

From Georgia another correspondent says:

When the Copperheads complain of negro supremacy in Georgia, tell them that they can tell them their friends, the rebels of Georgia, insult every white man that is anxious to go with the Radicals, and even threaten their lives when they do so. The rebels would act with us but for this terrorism, and when Georgia is fairly in the Union, our party will be as popular as any of the old party organizations.

From another part of the same State we are told the following:

One of my best white men in Early county delivered a Republican speech on the 23d October, which made a wonderful impression. His name is J. S. Powell. I put he came near paying a high price for his life. Numbers of the rebels crowd to mob him. One man levelled his pistol at him, but the colored people rushed around him and saved him. I send you his speech for publication.

I might fill columns with similar extracts; but from these you will see that the men who would treat the Union blacks as the British treated the Sepoys of India are equally malevolent against the Union whites. Need I remind you of the persecutions of the white Unionists of the South before and during the rebellion? How the rebels hunted and hung and shot, the patriots of East Tennessee, who voted against secession, and sent their sons into the war to fight for the old flag? How, as proved by Governor Hamilton, of Texas, and boasted of by the rebels, thousands of Union men in that State were murdered in cold blood for the present enemies of reconstruction? The allegation that the negroes have got command of the position in the South, established by these stern facts, comes simply to an argument for the old "white man's party" in this section has resolved to make it so in order to prevent the way for the restoration of the traitors. OCCASIONAL.

"ARE WE A NATION?"

The Chicago *Republican* reports the following synopsis of Mr. SUMNER's new lecture recently delivered in that city to a very large audience:

Senator Sumner spoke substantially as follows:

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN: At the close of a bloody revolution instituted by Slaveholders to the sacred principles of independence, and instituted in the name of Slave rights, it belongs to us to provide that these sacred principles never be called in question again, and that the question of State Rights never disturb the repose of the Republic. One terrible war is more than enough; and, after a terrible struggle and a glorious victory, it is not too much to ask for safeguards for the future. It must be definitely settled now. National unity must be assured by the recognition of the principles declared by our fathers. In one word, the Declaration of Independence must become the law of the land, and State Rights, in all their denationalizing pretensions, be trampled out forever. And now, Are we a Nation?

That is the question I propose, believing the whole case is involved in the answer. If so, we must have the indestructible unity, the central authority inherent in all just governments, of protecting citizens in the rights of citizenship, and of providing for all the promises made by our Nation. Words are sometimes things, and I have written words in our country and our people lost in power from the near relation having in it certain weaknesses and possibilities of disunity. I have never been able to familiarize myself with the use of the word National Government. There is one case, however, where it never occurs—the debt of our country is always a National, and never a Federal one. But another word is constantly used, and high a price as dollars and cents. It was natural that the word Federal should be employed in the days of the Confederation, but when our people gathered under one government and with one sovereignty—the United Constitution—then the term Federal was appropriate. There was no occasion for the use of "national" in early days, but there is now, for the Nation is born. There is something in the word Nation suggestive beyond anything of it in the dictionary. It awakens an echo in the heart; it brings to the mind of every intelligent mass, for whom there is a law of Nations. Here it implies vastness. In common usage, the word Nation means an aggregation of human beings so civilized that they are no longer a tribe or nomadic, it is not a city or a principality; it is one people occupying a common territory. Well did Louis the IV. of France exclaim when he heard the word Nation, "Nation, what is it? Am I not a King? Are there any other Kings than me?"

In ancient days there was in Latin but one word for city and State, and the word Nation was considered to apply to those of the same descent or blood. Only in modern times has it been so extended as to mean those embraced by a common government. Yet, there are you many definitions of the word, but will content myself with the best of them—that given by Noah Webster. He defines a Nation thus: "A body of inhabitants of a country, united under one government." All the definitions end in "unity under one government." They do not contemplate unity of language or of blood. There are nations on the earth where no such units are preserved. No such unity can be found in this country. Where unity of blood and language are sought to be made unity under government, you have the completest unity, but it is not essential.

The greatest manifestations of egotism is in State Rights. For the States, as the representatives and organs of local government, all must bow the knee in respect for them; but local sovereignty is out of place under a truly National government. Would you know the inherent misery of States Rights? Look at the three living instances on our continent. The first is that of the Indians; they are split in tribes, each under a chieftain, and with no local government. The second is that of our unhappy neighbor, where National supremacy has never been recognized. The third is our own recent history, civil war, and wasted treasures—ten thousand lives. They all cry out against the enemy lurking in States Rights.

In ancient days the highest type of government was a city state. The nations of Europe grew out of these leagues, confederacies, all of which were ineffectual against States Rights. The parts refused to organize the whole. There was no National life in Greece, and Greece died. From that venerable sepulchre, which was buried so much of mortal beauty, there sounds a voice echoing "beware."

Rome was also a city state at first, but in its latter days a patched together Empire. Then came the colossal power of Charlemagne, where people and provinces were congregated in masses. It was an Empire, but not a Nation. Then came the feudal system and local sovereignty. Guizot truly said that feudalism was only a form of confederation. As long as feudalism lingers, all efforts for national life are crushed. Sweden and Hungary never had life in a National sense, they early acquired an influence at variance with their strength. It was because they were already nations. In England, there was been feudalism like to many European countries, and it was abolished earlier. France was naturally formed for unity, but with feudalism it became a victim to State Rights. At last it was subdued, and the flag of France never covered a united people. Then there was a French nation, breathing a common life, burning with a common fire, and animated with a common glory.

Spain overcame State Rights, and entered on a glorious career. Its kings became lords of the earth, and her banner was carried to the uttermost parts of the seas. Catherine of Cortez conquered Montezuma, and her with national life. Italy was less happy, and was divided into Republic and petty Kingdoms; it was only a geographical expression, and no place in the world of history. At last a feeling of national life arose. It broke out like the fires of its own Vesuvius, and Garibaldi became its conductor. (Applause.) Germany is the most instructive example; it is formed by nature to be united, and it never has been. Prussia has succeeded in absorbing several of the minor States, but thus far the great longing of the Germans has not been fulfilled, and only in aspiration is Germany one nation.

And now, after this survey and introduction to the argument which I shall offer, I come back to the question I begun with: Are we a Nation? Clearly we are not a city state, nor are we an Empire founded on conquest like Rome. Nor are we a Confederation in any that sense of the word. The Constitution makes a government to now there has been but one authoritative voice in the matter. It is in the Declaration of Independence, breaking our connection for ever with any European countries, and it was adopted early in the Constitution of the United States. All these at various times testify that we are one people, under one sovereignty, one law and government by a dedication to human rights. (Applause.) Even assuming that one of the original thirteen States had the right to renounce the sovereignty of the whole, would it follow that one of the new States might? It was little short of madness to imagine any State, new or old, could renounce its obedience to the Union. The Union is a knot the more it is pulled, but which no mortal fingers can untie without common consent. (Applause.) This Union has been together from the first; under Heaven it has been united together. Who can sever it? In 1642 the first effort for Union was made; an effort was made for the organization of the Colonies of New England. The object was political, but it was thought. There is the foundation of this great Union. Owing to the labors of Benjamin Franklin, a Congress met at Albany in 1754 to give expression to longings for Union. There was another in 1765, and twelve years later another one met at New York. It was inspired by the genius of James Otis, he who was in favor of "the rights of the colonies and people without distinction of color." (Applause.) Boston and Massachusetts were soon in chains. Samuel Adams proposed a Congress of American Colonies to bring one at Philadelphia, which met in 1774 the Congress met. Next year there was another, and it gave Washington a commission as General-in-Chief and Commander of all the forces raised to defend American liberty. On the 3d of July, 1776, all the people were under the mother country. Where did they go on the 4th? They entered into the Union of the United American people. The Confederation was formed, and it proved a failure; nothing could be accomplished under it. At last a Convention was called, and the present Constitution was brought out. There is the Union, it sounds like a majestic overture—a fit prelude to a glorious national life. (Applause.) It was made by "we, the people," and not by the States, as such.

The National flag is an emblem of unity, and who, in looking at it, can fail to recognize the image of the whole nation in its folds? It has accompanied our fathers in their marching. Another emblem of unity is found in our motto, *E Pluribus Unum*—out of many differences there come a unity. There is another emblem of unity in the National Capital, United States of America, as we are called America in its early days, and we are always called Americans; and unity was written by the hand of the Almighty in the confirmation of the country; it cannot be dissolved.

I come now to the moral of what I have said. As a Nation, we have all the power of a Nation, and all the corresponding responsibilities. There are three essential powers: The power of upholding and defending our national unity; the power of maintaining the citizen everywhere throughout the country in equality of rights, and of impartial protection; and the power to perform the promises made by our Nation. The Constitution must be interpreted by the Declaration of Independence, or rather, they must be declared together.

We can truly say we are a Nation. I would vindicate always the just powers of the States, but they must be kept in their proper spheres. Assured in the equality of equal civil rights, it remains that all persons shall be assured in the equality of political rights. (Applause.) Liberty has already been won; equality must be now added. Let it be our watchwords, our banners, I call you forth. Come forth victors of so many fields and win now the highest field of all. A victory of ideas is grander far than a victory of war. All hail to the Republic, redeemed and regenerated, one and indivisible! Secession and multiplication are like the defunct monsters of a former geological period, to be seen only in the museum of history. With their extinction must disappear the spirit engendered by State Rights. The whole face of the country will be transformed; there will be concord for discord, and smiles for frowns. There will no longer be a North, South, East and West; no longer a single part of our mass, but the whole will receive our attention. Not the Southern cross in its brilliant beauty, nor the Northern star with its modest and still smaller cluster, the whole constellation will be our glory and life. The people will everywhere cheer the spirit of reconciliation, and they too will be reconciled. Such, at least, is our aspiration.

National Anti-Slavery Standard.

WITHOUT CONCEALMENT—WITHOUT COMPROMISE.

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 9, 1867.

Wendell Phillips's

SPEECHES AND LECTURES, a handsomely-bound volume, 562 pages, with steel portrait, will be sent, post-paid, to any person renewing a subscription for the NATIONAL ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD and sending the name of one new subscriber ($6), or for two new subscribers $3 a year.

THE NOVEMBER ELECTIONS.

The elections of this month, like those of October, have resulted in a Republican defeat. The vote is so decisive in this State as to put in great jeopardy, when the revised Constitution shall be submitted, the negro suffrage amendment already adopted by our Constitutional Convention. The total adverse vote of this, and other States, on Tuesday will weigh heavily as a discouragement upon the loyal South, and by it dark shadows are cast before the events of next year.

While we are not at all surprised at these untoward results, and have constantly forewarned Republicans against them, we deeply regret anything which promises a Democratic ascendency in national politics. We shall witness renewed and desperate efforts to prevent the permanent enfranchisement of the blacks of the South. With the record the conscienceless, place-hunting white Republicans, and the negro-hating Democrats of the North and West have just made, it will not be strange if henceforth most strenuous and determined opposition to negro enfranchisement should be put forth by the whites of the South. It is true the blacks of the South are in many places a majority, while at the North they are a small minority, but the principle involved is the same in both cases. Following closely upon the decisions of last month, the former slave-owners have commenced the preparation of lists of their slaves for whom they mean now to demand compensation of Congress. They will seek, with renewed and desperate energy the triumph, through diplomacy, of the cause which they failed to win by the sword.

Never was there a clearer case of party suicide than the Republicans present this Autumn. Their defeat is a deserved punishment for the insincere and shiftless policy they have chosen to pursue in their dealing with the treacherous Executive, and in their treatment of the problem of Reconstruction. Their management with Johnson has been such as to make him, at each new turn, more completely master of the situation, until now he can better afford to be defiant than at any previous date. He is not likely to be slow in following up his advantage. Refusing to confiscate, Congress has given its sanction to a monopoly of rebel-landowners. If undisturbed, they will presently become a most formidable political oligarchy. Entirely distrustful of Johnson, whose impeachment the people desired long ago, and were led fully to expect when Congress re-assembled last July, weary with taxation and sore with fresh grief following the war, we do not wonder this the Congressional party has not stern rebuke at the polls at this time. The accidental intrigue in the interest of rival candidates, coupled with the old and deep-rooted prejudice against the negro race, has had much to do with the elections just held. Jealous of the popular sympathy with the leading and most earnest Radicals, the middle-men of the Republican party have sought to divide the vote at this time, hoping thereby to make their candidate of next Summer inevitable. To that end the *Evening Post* and the N. Y. *Times* (both Grant journals) have been edited very effectively in the interest of the Democratic party, under the name of Republicanism, throughout the campaign just closed. In ordinary times these party-political manœuvres are of less consequence, but in this period they put the public welfare in great jeopardy. The rebellion, as transferred to the sphere of politics, is as threatening to the nation to-day as it has been at any date since 1861.

An important question now is will Congress be wise enough, on re-assembling, to rise above party considerations, and promptly seize its remaining opportunity to repair the injury occasioned by its past omissions? A wise statesmanship in Congress may still save us from serious troubles which otherwise will be inevitable. The limited and conditional grant of political rights already extended to the negroes of the South, has awakened among them a consciousness of power which they did not feel a year ago. They expected then that the Federal government would guarantee to them not only political equality, but also homesteads. Every effort has been made to disabuse their minds as to the prospect of land from the Federal government, but they have, meanwhile, been learning more fully the significance of the ballot in the hands of a landless majority, with unrepentant rebels for opponents. We speak advisedly when we say, that though the negroes are not now, as formerly, looking for land from the General government, they have not given up the expectation of having it in another way. Unless Johnson, following the lead of his initial movement in disarming the blacks of the District of Columbia, is allowed to override the present reconstruction, and crush out the Radical political strength now rapidly developing in the South, the blacks, wherever they with their friends, are in the voting majority, will so shape the new State legislation as to make the landed property of the South (their's by their own past unrequited toil) subserve their immediate wants in the way of education and homestead. In subjecting the Southern lands to heavy taxation for educational and other legitimate ends, they would act wisely and well. If the possession of too much unprodnctive land, under such an administration, should be found a burden, its sale at low rates would provide cheap homesteads for all, and give an independent agricultural constituency for the State and National governments much more stable and trustworthy than the South has hitherto furnished. But in anticipation of this turn of affairs, Johnson already begins to discriminate against, and to disarm colored men, and the Democratic journals North and South raise a great hue-and-cry against the negroes, and prophesy bloodshed and all sorts of evil results. That the negroes will claim more than is justly their due, or that they will incline to enforce their claims in an irregular, violent manner we do not believe. If there is any violent outbreak it may safely be charged to the white rebel-Democracy and to their Northern allies who are setting them on. The Fortieth Congress will still have the opportunity, if it has the wisdom and the courage, to provide for a uniform national system of suffrage, and of education, also to restore to the Federal government the possession of the immense landed estates of rebels, perfidiously surrendered by the traitor Executive. Thus it may assume, as a sequence of the war, jurisdiction of problems which otherwise will inevitably continue for a long time to divide the people of the South and to distract the Nation. We are near the Presidential campaign, but with Johnson impeached and suspended, and prompt, thorough, radical legislation, such as we have indicated, the "Bull Run" of the October and November elections can be more than made up. There may arise a contingency in which it will be the duty of the Congress already chosen, not only to depose a President, but to designate one for the next succeeding term.

Br the aid of Napoleon, the progress of the Italian revolution has been temporarily arrested, and Gen. Garibaldi and his son Menotti, have been captured and sent to Florence as prisoners of war. The culmination in favor of Italian freedom is postponed, but, while Garibaldi lives, not hopelessly defeated.

It is greatly to be regretted that Kansas refuses to extend suffrage either to colored men or women.

POLL TAX.

A SONG OF NORTH CAROLINA FREEDMEN.

[Our North Carolina correspondent sends the following political song, as sung by the Freedmen. In a note accompanying it, he says: "I enclose a song in relation to 'poll tax' which is being sung by the colored men of this vicinity with much gusto. The question of Poll-tax is quite a serious one with us. At present we are taxed, including 'road-tax,' about twelve days work or its equivalent, per annum, being four per cent. almost on labor. It is no wonder the colored men are getting impatient under this burden."]

De black man's gittin' awful rich,
De people seems to fear,
Although he seems to get in debt
A leettle chhry year.
Of course he gits the biggest kind
Of wages every day,
But when he comes to settle up,
It crumbles all away.

Den jis fork up de little tax,
Dat's laid upon de poll,
Its jis a tax de State exacts
For hahhin of a soul.

You got no land, you got no cash,
You only got some debts,
You couldn't take de haukrup law
Cos ye hadn't got no "setts";
De children day mus hav dar bread,
De mudder's gittin ole,
So, darkey you mus' starve yerself
To pay upon yer poll.

Den jis fork up de little tax, etc.

You know you's worked dis many a year
To hny de land for master;
An' now you orter pay de tax,
So 't he kin hold it faster.
He works one acre 'n every tu,
De others idly stand,
So pay de tax upon your poll,
An' take it off his land.

Den jis fork up de little tax, etc.

Ch dat's de song dat some folks sing,
Say, how d'ye like de soun'?
Dey say de poor man oughter pay
For walkin on de groun'.
When colored men get rich, you know,
'Twas drefful hard to tax em;
But jis de minnit dat they go,
God save us! how dey wax em!

Den jis fork up de little tax, etc.

Now haint we got s'most enuff
Ob taxin on de polls,
When poor men hab to scrabble hard
To keep alive der souls?
Denylet de poor man use his vote
An use it for himself,
An lay de little poll-tax up
Upon de corner shelf.

Den let's throw off de little tax
Dat's laid upon de poll,
Its jis a tax de State exacts
For hahhin oh a soul.

PERSONAL.

James Gordon Bennett is seventy-one years old, and worth $3,000,000.

Gen. Schofield orders that the Virginia Constitutional Convention shall assemble at Richmond on Tuesday, December 3.

The Rev. John T. Sargent, of Boston, will preach tomorrow (Sunday, Nov. 10), in Northampton, and at Florence, Mass., before the Free Congregational Society.

Elihu Burritt does not intend to return to this country to live, as has been reported. His residence in the suburbs of Birmingham, England, is called New Britain Villa.

Ex-rebel Gov. Vance, of North Carolina, was the first lawyer of note who addressed a colored jury in the second military district, empanelled under Gen. Canby's order. He addressed them as "gentlemen of the jury," and won his case.

From Pesth we learn simultaneously that Kossuth has published another letter attacking the Deak party, whose compromises he considers as a sort of treason, and that he has withdrawn from being a candidate for the representation of the town of Zombor in the Hungarian Diet.

Wendell Phillips delivered his first lyceum lecture the present season on Thursday evening last, in Music Hall, Boston, upon "The Dwadling Congress." Monday evening he lectured in Meriden, Conn. He gives the present week to Pennsylvania, and thenceforward has no unengaged evening for the winter.

The departure of Mr. Charles Dickens was made, on Saturday evening, the occasion of a new and pleasant testimonial of the peculiar admiration and friendly feeling of his literary friends in London. As usual in England, the testimonial took the shape of a dinner, which was given at the Freemasons Tavern.

Auber the great composer, is 85 years old, but is very active. The grey-haired master retires to bed at one o'clock in the morning, and gets up regularly at five. A cup of tea for breakfast has to continue his nourishment till about seven in the evening, when he plays his part valiantly at a solid and set dinner. It is rarely that he can stay at home later than nine o'clock in the morning. He goes to the Conservatory, to the Senate, or to the Institute; lounges on the Boulevards, or takes a carriage-drive.

Mr. Henry Champion Deming lately gave to a Providence, R. I., military organization an autograph letter of General Israel Putnam:

CAMP AT PROSPECT HIL

"Sir Pleas to delivor the Barror hearef 2 Tons of Bread to some rod Islanders as they came from roxbary yesterday and nothing te eat.

ISRAEL PUTNAM."

The Chinese in California are shrewd, and have a vein dry humor, which sounds especially quaint when delivered in their queer "pigeon English." One of them, in San Francisco, met a prominent Democrat the other day in the streets of that city, and spoke thus unto him:

"Say, what for Haight he no like Chinaman? He Gubnor now; he makee all Chinamen leave, yon tinkee so? What for all democlat allee time talkee dam Chinaman? Chinaman allee same democlat, no likee nigger, no likee Injun. Bimeby Chinaman vote allee same Mellican man, I guess so, wat you tink? Democla heap taxee Chinaman ten dollar one month, no can pay, to muchee!"

The "democlat's" reply is not given.

Mrs. Harriet Beecher Stowe's home, in Florida, is at Mandarin, on the St. John's river, about fifteen miles south of Jacksonville, and contains a good dwelling house and four hundred acres of land, with half a mile of river front, and a sweet orange grove of one hundred bearing trees, with an annual production of sixty thousand oranges, also numerous young trees. The annual crop of oranges is worth $1,800, and the price paid for the place was $10,000, or twenty-five dollars an acre.

Mr. Dickens's first reading in this city will be given at Steinway Hall on the evening of Monday, December 9, and the selections are the "Christmas Carol" and the "Trial," from "Pickwick." The price of tickets is fixed at $1 50 for admission, and $2 for secured seats. The first season will consist of eight nights.

Mr. Dickens will leave Liverpool in the steamer Cuba, on the 9th of November, and probably arrive in Boston on the 23d. His first readings will take place at the Tremont Temple in that city.

Only eighty readings will be given in the United States, as Mr. Dickens must return to England in May next.

Rev. Robert Collyer said last Sunday, in his address before the Chicago Christian Union: "Now, you know I suppose, many of you, that in the earlier years of my residence in this city I devoted my whole time to ministering to the poor. In that time I found out a good deal about the poor, naturally, and passed through, sometimes, very painful personal experiences, and I kept a little record of my conclusions about the poor that I was meeting every day, under three heads, to which I finally added a fourth. I divided them into the Lord's poor first, our own poor second, and the devil's poor third, and then a miscellaneous lot I marked—those that hibernate in Summer and hibernate in Winter, and are poor in both seasons all the time. Now, I understand, through these experiences, something that I think is not generally understood, and that is, that the class I marked as the 'devil's poor'—being those that are too lazy to work, but not too mean to lie—are continually hanging like a dead weight upon every public charity that can be gotten up. And I believe they get every year more meat and money from this charity than all the worthy poor in any city I know anything about."

Charles W. Slack, Esq., editor of the Boston *Commonwealth*, was of the party of several gentlemen from the North who went to Richmond, Va., in June last, for a conference with the leading Republicans of Virginia, with a view of securing harmonious action among them. Mr. Hunnicutt represented one division, the Radical wing, Messrs. Botts and Pierpoint the Conservatives. Mr. Slack writes of Mr. Hunnicutt, to whom there has been a great outcry, in the following terms:

"We shall never forget Mr. Hunnicutt's speech at the consultation of Northern gentlemen with the factions of loyalists, at Richmond, in June last. Mr. Botts had made a speech, the burden of which was his grief that the Union cause had passed into the hands of the black men of the State and the few loyal white men who had emigrated to the State during the war. The 'old, respectable, propertyed' people of Virginia, as he termed them, cancer leaders, had been ignored, and a new set of men, many of them obscure, were seeking to lead Virginia. The pride of the State would not submit to this, he said. The white men must be restored—the old leadership revived. Mr. Hunnicutt answered him. He had come into the State from exile the moment there was a foothold afforded by the presence of the Union army. With the fall of Richmond he had removed to that city, and established his paper, which had been suppressed at Fredericksburg. Every white man's eye was averted from him; every white man's hand was against him. He had leaped into a nest of Unionhaters who daily threatened his life. Not a white man in all the State, so far as he knew, had a word of sympathy for the cause he represented. Obloquy and poverty were his portion. Often without food to stay the hunger of his family—steeped in poverty to the dregs—that very night his boys lying on the bare floors of his home for need of a bed—he had never failed to find the black people his friends. He had wanted to co-operate with his white brethren, but they stood aloof because he was a true Union man. He had begged for their association. He had been willing to become the humblest of followers if they would expouse his cause and leader to victory. But they would not do it. Despised, rejected, condemned, he came to our city for food and lodging. He had appealed to the blacks, and they, as one man, stood by him. If there should be no other constituency for loyalty and unionism in the State, there would at least be a black constituency. He was poor and humble, he knew; but there was not a black woman in all Virginia that did not know his name and who would not bake a hoe-cake to keep him from starving. God helping him, so long as the blacks stood by him, he never would give up the cause of loyalty till it was successful. He wished to go with us co-operating; but it must be from men whose hearts are in the work.

"The plaintive voice of the speaker, his earnest appeal for co-operation, the recital of his poverty, the sublime purpose manifested, touched every Northern man present, and made them feel they were in a nobler presence than they had thought. What John Brown's speech was in the Court-House of Charlestown, was this speech of Hunnicutt's in the Executive Mansion at Richmond. Every one felt that he was 'master of the situation' and could be trusted. The result has proved that he was master of the situation, and his devotion, earnestness and good management, seconded by the few loyal white men who have settled in the State, and sustained by the united black population, have saved the 'Old Dominion' to loyal reconstruction, and made the most doubtful of the Southern States safe and strong for the Republican cause and nominee in the next Presidential contest."

Philadelphia Correspondence.

PHILADELPHIA, Nov. 4, 1867.

WHICH is right, Montgomery Blair or William D. Kelley? Both have attempted to define the position of Gen. Grant, and as they differ in their estimates, one or the other must be wrong. How are people to decide which is right while Grant persists in the questionable prudence of wearing a padlock on his lips? Blair says that "Grant has hitherto denounced negro suffrage and the destructive polic

ple, shrinks from infusing itself into their movement. Blair has put them in an awkward position. Will they tamely persist in their course whilst his declarations exhibit so different anthentic contradiction? Under the circumstances their action is absurd. It is a greedy manifestation of desire to get the Presidential office in their keeping. In order to accomplish this they commit the wretched blunder of nominating a man whom the Democrats claim as their own. It is a peculiarly interesting case. Our District Attorney and his auxious brotherhood must be somewhat embarrassed, and they will doubtlessly bright to assure the people that there is no truth in the rumor. But Grant remains silent, and they are perplexed. Will he proclaim his belief? Prove his faith? Will he declare he is a Democrat or a Republican? Or have these become synonymous terms? Or I suppose negro suffrage? Is he a Democrat or a Republican? Or have these become synonymous terms?

I find the following among a series of resolutions adopted at a recent ward meeting here, called to manifestate a Grant club. It is a fair sample of the material that usually compass the expression of sentiment at these meetings: "Resolved, That Gen. U. S. Grant, by his record as a soldier, is clearly committed to the policy of the Republican party in its management of this war; and by his vigorous prosecution of the Congressional plan of reconstruction of the rebellious States, he is equally committed to its peace policy as indicated by its Congressional action."

It seems like a decidedly loose case that can be fortified only by such flimsy logic as this. But they have nothing better, nothing clearer, or more convincing. The half-closed eye of expediency is more easily satisfied than the broad vision of principle. W.

Our Boston Correspondence.

BOSTON, Nov. 3d, 1867.

FEEBLE and slow as the Republican party is, it yet does some good by urging forward the members of a society still less inclined to progress, namely, the Church. There can be no doubt that Henry Wilson, and the numerous other Republicans who have joined churches of various denominations, have, by this act, been doing a truly missionary work. Some fruit is of it are already beginning to appear. The Young Men's Christian Associations" (so called), which are a sort of advanced guard of skirmishers for the Church, were always, in the old times, thoroughly pro-slavery, and might always have got, from their parent churches, such a certificate of their favorable attitude towards the peculiar institution as the young Christians of Troy in your State did yet, ten years ago or so, in preparation for a projected visit to the young Christians of New Orleans. But now strange as it is, and passing strange as it must seem to the "Young Men's Christian Associations" all over the country, a Convention of theirs at Washington, D. C., has placed a colored man among its Vice-Presidents. Of course, quite a number of the delegates objected, and a few seceded. But the particular straw on the tide which I wish to mark is that a pious paper in this city, which never found fault with the pro-slavery position of the Christians before the rebellion, now heads its notice of the secession above mentioned—"ANTI-CHRISTIAN CONDUCT IN A CHRISTIAN CONVENTION."

Four days ago ex-Governor John A. Andrew was suddenly taken from me by an apoplectic seizure. No death among us for a long time has occasioned so wide-spread and profound a sensation of grief; and even the parson politicians who were opposed to him, and whose constant attacks were a testimony of his great service to the Republican cause, bear unstinted witness to the manifold excellence of his character. He was a man of thorough independence, of immense energy and industry, and of a character equally combining strength and sweetness. Taking part in active struggle of various sorts, and frequently assailed by opponents, he never displayed either bitterness or malice. He was a diligent worker in benevolent associations of various kinds, and was active in many departments of reform. To his conservative opponents he seemed, no doubt, a ferocious radical, and was constantly censured as such; and yet, in some reformatory enterprises, he held to an intermediate rather than an extreme position. Thus, he was Unitarian in theology, yet kept himself aloof from that logical sequence of Unitarian premises, the movement called "rationalism;" and, though moved by his abhorrence of slavery to join the Liberty party in 1840, and choose James G. Birney for his Presidential candidate—and then to act with the Free Soil party while it lasted—and then to be a member and leader of the Republican party—he refrained from associating himself with the Abolitionists.

It was a very singular circumstance that, being thus to a certain extent conservative, Mr. Andrew should have been not only a warm friend but a partisan of John Brown, with whom he became acquainted during the Kansas struggle. When that old hero became a prisoner in Charlestown, Virginia, no one was more active in raising money and using personal influence to aid him than Mr. Andrew. After the State of Virginia had murdered John Brown, the Boston meeting held in Tremont Temple for the relief of his family was presided over by Mr. Andrew; and I well remember the thunders of applause that followed when he said—in reply to the note of a popular young clergyman who excused himself from speaking on the ground that he was on the opposite side of the question—that he did not know there were two sides to the question whether John Brown's wife and children should be left to starve or not. At the same meeting Mr. Andrew uttered the following sentiment, which cleared away the doubts of a great many timid and hesitating people: "Whether the enterprise in Virginia was wise or foolish, right or wrong, John Brown himself is right."

A very few days after President Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation, Jan. 1st, 1863, something happened which astonished and aroused Gov. Andrew, and put into his mind a course of thought and action which perhaps bore better and more abundant fruit than any other action of his life. This event was a visit from a highly valued friend, Lewis Hayden, who (according to Wendell Phillips's recent definition) is more of a statesman than the majority of people who now hold official positions. Some passing event had brought afresh to Mr. Hayden's mind the monstrous absurdity—at a time when recruiting for the loyal armies had become more difficult, and every State had so exerted itself to the utmost to raise its quota—of refusing the services of half-a-million able-bodied men, unsurpassed for loyalty, and identified with the struggle by personal considerations even more than the rest of the community; men burning with ardor to take the field against the rebel slaveholders, and doubly effective against them because they would fight (as many of our soldiers, alas, did *not*) against the cause of the rebellion as well as against the rebellion.

This thought took possession of Mr. Hayden, led him straight to the Governor, and there inspired him with eloquence, the force of which may be judged from its results.

Well might Gov. Andrew be astonished, to hear himself asked by a fugitive slave what would be *the verdict of history* in regard to the absence of a race numbering five millions in this country, from a contest caused by, and intended to decide, the question whether that race should be freemen or slaves? Why did not the blacks fight against the slaveholders during those long and doubtful years of war? Were they cowards? Was it true, as their old masters had asserted, that they were a race fit only to be slaves? The historian, in coming years, must necessarily give the answer to these questions. Will it look well for the United States, will it look well for Massachusetts, if the answer is given that these blacks eagerly offered their services, but that a prejudice born of slavery prevented the opponents of slavery from using those services?

When Mr. Hayden finished speaking, Gov. Andrew had already decided upon his course. He said to his friend simply—"This matter shall be looked to." But he went immediately to Washington, and laid before President Lincoln the project of recruiting colored troops, North and South. We know, of course, how successful must have been the first mention of such a project to the man who "had never outgrown Kentucky;" for the Massachusetts Governor was in earnest, and the need was urgent. The main point was soon conceded. Then a question arose whether black regiments would march under white officers. Gov. Andrew telegraphed to his friend Mr. Hayden to have this question answered. After journey and consultation, it was affirmatively answered: and on the 27th of January, 1863, an order came from the War Department, authorizing Gov. Andrew to enlist volunteers for three years for the artillery and infantry service, "including persons of African descent, organized into special corps," and to "make the usual needful requisitions on the appropriate bureaus and officers for the proper transportation, organization, supplies, subsistence, arms and equipments of such volunteers."

Upon the authority granted by this Order, the organization of the Fifty-fourth Massachusetts Regiment of Infantry—the first colored regiment raised by any State in the war of the rebellion—was begun. It was specially important to choose the right officers for such a command. Gov. Andrew's views upon this point may be seen in a letter which he wrote to Francis G. Shaw, Esq., of New York, requesting that his son might be Colonel of the new regiment. Here is a paragraph from it:

"This I cannot but regard as the most important corps to be organized during the whole war, in view of what must be the composition of our new levies, and therefore I am very anxious to organize it judiciously, in order that it may be a model for all future colored regiments. I am desirous to have for its officers—particularly for its field-officers—young men of military experience, of firm anti-slavery principles, ambitious, superior to a vulgar contempt for color, and having faith in the capacity of the colored race for military service. Such officers must necessarily be gentlemen of the highest tone and honor; and I shall look for them in those circles of educated anti-slavery society which, next to the colored race itself, have the highest interest in the success of this experiment."

Guided by these considerations, Gov. Andrew offered the Colonelcy of the Fifty-fourth Regiment to Capt. Shaw, and the Lieutenant-Colonelcy to Capt. Hallowell, and the organization was indeed a fitting model for all subsequent ones.

I heard, after Mr. Andrew's death, this expression of opinion from one of his heartiest and most genuine friends, namely, that it would have been better for his reputation had he died a year ago, or not till two years hence; for, within the period last named, the speaker thought, Mr. Andrew would have seen his error in advocating the cause of the liquor-dealers, and giving his name and influence to a business so pernicious as theirs; and, once seeing the greatness of this error, he would have heartily set himself to counteract it. Undoubtedly, of all the acts of his life, this was the one which did most to astonish, grieve, and sadden his best friends, and to shake the confidence that had been reposed in him as a sound thinker.

An immense throng of people attended his funeral yesterday, the representatives of all classes, all parties, all forms of thought, all methods of philanthropic action. Hardly a man could be found who was a member of so many associations for the work of practical beneficence. The church which (on account of its large capacity) had been chosen for the funeral services, would admit but a small proportion of those who had assembled to hear them. This man was truly beloved, as well as revered and admired, to a degree that a man in public life very rarely attains. He was to have presided and made an address at a great Unitarian meeting in the Music Hall this evening; but by universal consent, this meeting will now be devoted to a memorial service, that fitting tributes to his memory and worth may be paid by some of those who best knew him.

NORTH.

Our Washington Correspondence.

WASHINGTON, D. C., Oct. 30th, 1867.

[The following letter was intended for our last issue, but did not arrive in season.]

"THE Campbells" are not only "coming," but many of them have already come. Pennsylvania avenue bears their tread. The hotel vestibules resound with the "slogan"—"Dinna ye hear it?" The Campbells I refer to are the Copperhead and Conservative politicians. My experiences of the Federal Capital remeth not back to the mystical period of which the garrulous "oldest inhabitants" prate so solemnly about, but it still bears vividly unpleasant remembrances of the size and characteristics of these creatures. The nation's "new birth," had the effect, at least during its period of fiery gestration, of driving this class of unclean creatures away from the city. But they are back again and are to be seen in crowds everywhere. No better evidence is wanted of Mr. Johnson's associations and the influences which affect the Administration, than the reappearance of these political "bummers."

I can detect many of the small faces and persons that thronged here to plot with the secession, and to glut, vulture-like, over the spoils of a dismembered Union. They are now here again, jubilant at a victory of prejudice and passion, and eagerly demanding a reward.

Ohio does not seem to have affected a very great change in the tone of radical Congressmen therefrom. Several of them are here, and they seem as bravely determined to press on as if they had not recently received an overwhelming defeat. It will be found that such men as Schenck, Lawrence, etc., will be earnest supporters of the pending Suffrage bill presented by Mr. Sumner. It is useless to attempt to offer any explanation, other than that found in the cowardly prejudice which still exists among the masses—for nothing less than that will adequately account for the result. Still there are causes other than this which did materially aid to swell the adverse vote. One was in the linking of the suffrage question with that of the disfranchisement of deserters. It is claimed that several thousand men, in Ohio as elsewhere, returned to their homes when the rebel armies surrendered, without waiting the formality of a discharge. This was culpable but not criminal. This doubtless affected a score thousand or more votes. Another cause of defeat lay in what I am assured was the excellent character of the Democratic Legislative nominations, which the Republicans, over-confident of success, did not imitate. But a more potent and disgraceful cause of dissatisfaction is to be found in Presidential intrigues. The friends of Judge Chase would have been fairly chargeable with the result, had Gen. Hayes been defeated. It is not too much to say that his success was not owing to their efforts, but to the vigorous canvass, carried on by others, who were not parties to either wing of the Republican party.

The position Judge Chase allows his supporters to put him in is a singular one. Everybody knows that the Chief-Justice has long had a severe attack of the Presidential fever once so wittily diagnosised by the late Theodore Parker. Intellectually Mr. Chase is the ablest of any here mentioned as being known to be his ardent supporters, declaring him the truest of Conservatives—*entre nous*. The Cincinnati *Commercial* Editor wrote the article on Chase's Conservative position, *after a lengthened interview* with the Chief-Justice, during a recent trip to Ohio. The fact of Mr. Haskell's writing the article aforesaid after such an interview cannot be denied. Mr. Chase cannot win a Republican nomination with a "forked tongue," nor can he make any one believe black's white, nor he or his supporters. But then this double dealing is in accord with a fact that I believe your correspondent "Watchman" maintained about Mr. Chase's opposition to impeachment on the ground that it would interfere with Presidential candidacy. It is a curious specimen of carrying water on both shoulders, to see the Radical statesman and jurist, who at San Fernandina in the Fall of 1865 declared that the colored people were to be hereafter the real aristocracy of the South, now deprecating the present giving of suffrage to the colored people of Ohio. The truth is that Mr. Chase is the victim of bad advisers. He has no knowledge of men, and is better with the Presidential Tarantula. Let us hope he will see that it is more honest, if he must be a candidate for the Presidency, to stand by a record which really shames most of the politicians by its consistent defence of the rights of man.

We have had another illustration of the "thimble rig" policy which controls the Grand Cabal. His position is a regular "you see it and now you don't" tion is a regular "you see it and now you don't" dodge. The last edition is an interview had with him by a Dr. Bard, Editor of the Atlanta (Ga.) *New Era*, and rebel surgeon during the war. Bard belongs to the Joe Brown School; his paper is the ex-Freeeater's organ, and last Summer he placed Grant's name at the head of his columns. He is a timid politician, who would like to be a Republican if he dared. But he has, like other dogs, "gone back to his vomit," and in his interview he tries to use Grant. That there can be any doubt of the latter's position is in any case humiliating. I asked a very intelligent gentleman here, whose position gives him an inside view of affairs, what he thought of the Bard statement? He is rather inclined to accept Grant candidacy as inevitable, yet in response he only shrugged his shoulders and said *Quien sabe* (who knows)? Who does know? There's the rub.

Bard, the was the Chase man are deprecating any criticism on Grant, hoping, I presume, to tie themselves to his fortunes in such a manner as to allow of Grant's nations in the Convention between themselves and his friends, should it be necessary.

As everything relating to the General's position is of interest, let me give you what was said in a conversation I heard between a well-informed journalist here (not a friend of Grant) and a friend just returned from a trip to Europe. The latter asked—"What is known now about Grant's position?"

"Well," was the reply, "He stands with Congress, that is certain."

"Yes, I suppose he does, but do you mean Congress as Trumbull, Fessenden, Sherman, Brigham and Blaine represent it, or with Thad. Stevens, Thayer, Drake, Boutwell, and their friends represent it?" was the questioning response.

"As to impeachment, I don't know; but as to reconstruction most certainly he is with the latter. I know personally that he urged upon Senators especially the imminent danger the country would be in if Congress adjourned. He told Trumbull that the worst consequence might be expected from the President in that event. He also told Benton C. Cook, of Illinois, the same thing, so we may safely set him down as the supporter of radical reconstruction."

I give the foregoing for what it is worth, mainly because the Republican politicians are all tending towards deeming his nomination a foregone conclusion.

The impeachment, it is believed by its friends, will be carried successfully through the House. The report is being printed slowly, and it is kept very scrupulously from the busy bees of the press, while the public printer, Mr. Defrees, who is strenuously opposed to impeachment, avails himself of what strength lies in his supposed knowledge to be constantly affirming that there is nothing in the testimony which warrants impeachment. Mr. Defrees might be more faithful to the obligations of his position if he would hold his tongue.

Cabinet changes are sure, if "my policy" succeeds in New York—or rather Democracy. Frank P. Blair will be Postmaster-General, Gen. Tom Ewing, Jr., will be Secretary of War. This position has been offered him. In spite of all that has been said, Seward will hold his place. The recent war on him was a plundering scheme. Jerry Black and Ward Lamon have a claim, from which, if successful, they are to receive $400,000. It is that of a Baltimore house who discovered a guano island in the Pacific, were driven away by, I believe, the Peruvians, and now claim about a million and half dollars damages though not being protected by the government in their rights. Seward rejected the claim contemptuously. Hence the recent attack from the Black clique. The claim was laid before Mr. Johnson, and by him has been referred to the Attorney-General, where Binckley is cooking up an opinion thereon.

Such politicians as Gen. Tom Ewing, Jr., have raised a huge laugh recently by seriously urging the nomination for the next Presidency of Senator Doolittle or Charles Francis Adams. By the way, can any one suggest what secret mission Doolittle was intrusted with in Europe? Is it probable that he has discussed with some of the diplomats there a probable revolution here by Mr. Johnson, and urged that if his accidency did thrust out Congress, the Executive would be the government, and should be recognized by foreign powers? Such a suggestion has been made by persons recently returned from Europe. Andrew Johnson has determined on nullifying the Tenure of Office act. He will remove Mr. Stanton after the New York election, and will nominate a Secretary of War, probably Gen. Ewing, already mentioned. This name will be sent into the Senate, and no explanation offered as to Mr. Stanton's removal. The President's friends argue if Mr. Stanton is restored by the Senate, he will not be permitted to re-enter the War Department, but must seek a remedy before the Supreme Court, which will then decide upon the law's constitionality. Other points will be forgotten in this nice arrangement, and that is, that according to the theory of Mr. Stanbery, announced last May before the Supreme Court, the President cannot be brought before that or any other court except the High Court of Impeachment. As the question must be made directly on the President's nullification of the law, it is difficult to see how impeachment is to be evaded. The dodge now is among conservative Senators to declare that Mr. Stanton's case is outside of the Tenure of Office bill, he never having been renominated by Mr Johnson. Trumbull is reported to give mouth to this.

A curious bit of gossip is to the effect that the President has in his pay a body of detectives whose duty is to watch the leading impeachers.

The *Tribune's* Washington correspondence is curiously conducted. A large portion of it is supplied from and in the interest of the White House. Mr. Worden, "Data" of the Baltimore *Sun* and of the Philadelphia *Ledger*, gives the court news to the *Tribune*. Now to obtain this news is not objectionable, it is the semi-official apologetic style in which it is presented. Worden could not have the run of the White House scullery if he did not give the drippings in a shape to suit his master. So the *Tribune* allows itself to work at making bricks without straw. ASMODEUS.

NOVEMBER 5.

There exists in this district a number of volunteer military companies. Some of them are of foreign birth—one being connected with the German Schutzen-Bund; others are affiliated with the Fenian Brotherhood. The avowed purpose of these latter is to be ready for the purpose of making war upon a power in amicable relations with this government. Nobody proposes to interfere with them. Then, again, there is an organization known as "The Constitutional Guards"—a spawn of Copperheadism, of which Tom Florence is the head. *Nobody*, that I have heard, has proposed to suppress that Falstaffian array, though Florence talks of its intention with more brag than his Shakespearian prototype displayed. But there are other companies organized for the gratification of the members' military tastes, and not certainly for any ulterior designs. But then they do not have the "honest German accent or the swate Irish brogue," nor the Copperhead's hatred of loyalty, to recommend them. On the contrary they are mainly men who fought to defend the Republic and establish freedom. But worse than that, they are men of dark skin, though I observed in a recent parade that some were possessed of fairer complexion than Andrew Johnson.

There are about ten companies of colored men organized here, of which, perhaps, one-third are armed. The muskets are their own property, being those bought by them from the Ordnance Bureau when the owners were mustered out of the volunteer service. For about eighteen months a number of these young men have been meeting for purposes of drill. While the Adjutant-General's office was in charge of the Department, Gen. Canby for authority, and also asked for arms. Both were refused, and under Gen. Canby's advice the drills were stopped also. Within a year past, however, the companies have re-organized. A very neat Zouave uniform has been adopted, and occasional parades have offended A. J.'s friends, and pleased those who like military movements well executed. To-day we are gravely informed that the Administration has directed the Acting-Secretary of War to disband those companies. This probably includes the dispossessing them of the arms they own. Gen. Grant, we are informed, has twice refused their application for a full equipment. Probably the President and the General-in-Chief have not "unrolled the Constitution" far enough to be able to read that article which declares inviolate the citizen's right to bear arms. We are also gravely informed that Grant will execute the order. Directions have been issued to provide the Department of Washington with force enough to suppress insurrectionary movements, that it is believed by the President, are projected. Grant is also charged with this task. What a neat lay-figure he makes for the White House tailor to display his garments upon. But it is not a very creditable display for the nation to make.

The *National Intelligencer* has, it is reported, been sold to persons interested in the nomination of Judge Chase. His claims will be presented on the basis of the Cincinnati *Commercial*—in favor of negro suffrage in the South, but not responsible for its submission to the people of Ohio—as having no opinion about impeachment, but opposed to suspending an officer while the trial proceeds.

The Equal Rights Association of Washington have a lecture course projected for the coming winter. Miss Dickinson, Mrs. Stanton, Miss Olympia Brown, and Mrs. Lucy Stone Blackwell, with, it is hoped, Wendell Phillips, are to be the attractions.

Messrs. Simpson & Co., publishers, of your city, are about to issue a valuable and much-needed volume the Slave Songs of the United States. It will contain music as well as words, and will be a very handsome volume.

OBITUARY.

JANE HILLBORN.

"And ever near us, though unseen,
The dear immortal spirits tread;
For all the boundless universe
Is life—there are no dead."

Truly can we adopt the language of the above lines when we are called upon to announce that, on the 20th inst., the spirit of our dear friend, JANE HILLBORN, entered into that higher life for which, by her firm adherence to what she believed to be truth, she was so admirably fitted. Early in life the Anti-Slavery cause and other reforms claimed her attention, and firmly through her daily course did she stem the tide of opposition to opinions then unpopular. Through a long and very suffering illness, which was borne with wonderful cheerfulness, her interest in the cause of humanity was kept alive, even to the end of her sojourn with us in the form. May we not feel that indeed

"There is no death. Her angel form
Still walks the earth with silent tread,"

aiding us in this great work before us?

Philadelphia, Oct., 1867.

MRS. SARAH STEPHENS.

DIED, in Plymouth, Mass., MRS. SARAH STEPHENS, wife of Mr. Samuel Stephens, aged seventy-nine years.

Mrs. Stephens was one of the earliest Abolitionists. Her intense, earnest soul caught eagerly at the watchwords, Justice, Equality, Freedom for all. A subscriber for the *Liberator* and STANDARD from the first years of their publication, her interest in the cause they advocated never diminished.

Although her name may not now fall familiarly on the ears of many, yet to the early Anti-Slavery laborers it will recall a pleasant home by the sea;—a true Anti-Slavery home, where all who worked for Truth and Right were cordially and joyfully welcomed.

The following lines suggested by her death,—or, more truly by her life—were sung on the occasion of her funeral:

O Noble Hearts, who steadfast keep
Self-consecrate to Truth and Right,
'Tis yours with noble grief to weep
A comrade falling in the fight!

Ah! kindly flashed those kindling eyes
When victory for the right was won!
Reproving tears their quick replies
If poor and weak were trampled on!

'Neath burning sun, through longest day,
His toilsome path the reaper cleaves;
At eve he takes his homeward way,
And brings, with joy, his bursting sheaves!

These tireless hands that rest to-day
Yet reaper shall sweep to Heaven bear;
Oh, hymn with joy the victor's way,
And join the song which greets her there!

TO AMRICANS.

WHAT is he who hides in silence,
In the hours when Freedom's cry
Shakes the wide heavens with entreaty,
Rends the earth with agony?
What is he who listens idly,
Passing on without reply?

Who stirs not when the Beloved
Falls beneath outrageous wrong;
Waits events, pretends excuses,
Hopes for other help ere long?
Is not what we call our Country
A disturbing spell as strong?

Who is unmoved? Names are ready,
Ignominious, fittiug well:
Coward, traitor, and deserter,
False friend, faithless sentinel.
Thieves have honor; comrade-duty
Finds acceptance even in hell.

Comrades—brothers—who of freemen
Wears the livery of Cain?
Is the brotherhood less active
When a whole land shrieks with pain?
Who would wash his hands with Pilate
When a Nation-Christ is slain?

On the track a child is lying:
Do not let your business wait!
Bid the car pass over quickly
Lest that bargain be too late!—
Now it is a trampled people:
Will yon overtread their fate?

Rome and Brennus!—Say, Camillus
Move the scale, as yet he may:
Well, pass on, your word not needed!
Yet turn not your eyes away!
If the Gaul be overpowerful?
It was so but yesterday.

Ay! what fought yon for so lately?
Only in the list of will?
Or to make yourselves a nation,
And a nation's work fulfil?
You have won your spurs: now forward,
Sworn to choose 'twixt good and ill!

Is America too feeble,
Weak from one victorious fight?
Or even yet untangled in caring
For more questions of right?
Is one star enough for splendor
Through the long historic night?

What if England be decrepid,
Age-worn, palsied, sick at home,
With just strength to recall of Cromwell
Out of some old mouldy tome,
How his cannon spoke to Tunis,
How his voice was heard in Rome.

Blake and Cromwell—both your heroes!
Are not you too hero-born?
Longingly we too look to you,
To redeem our name from scorn.
Rise, Columbian constellation!
Though our red-cross flag be torn.

O Columbia! fill the legend
Which the Genoese began!
Lo, our new Columbus* seeks you:
Once again the ocean span
Tow'rd the new world of the future,
The new world republican!

Speak one word to tell old Europe
That the kingly days are past;
One strong word to sweep their kingdoms,
As dead leaves the winter blast.
Say unto these brigand emperors
Earth's redemption comes at last.

England, waking from her stupor,
Will re-echo back your word.
O, but speak! but speak in earnest!
And your voice shall be a sword,
Swift as Gideon's or as Cromwell's—
As the lightning of the Lord.

Nov. 2. W. J. LINTON.

* Mazzini and Garibaldi are both Genoese.

SALLIE HOLLY will lecture as follows: Canastota, Sunday, November 10. Wampsville, Tuesday, November 12. Onondago Valley, November 14. Waterburg, November 19. Trumansburg, November 24. Reynoldsville, November 27. Searsburg, November 29. North Hector, December 1.

A stated meeting of the Philadelphia Female Anti-Slavery Society will be held at 727 Filbert street, on Fifth day, the 14th inst., at 3½ o'clock.

G. W. S. P. JONES, Sec'y.

IF any of our readers are in want of a superior Piano-forte we advise them to examine "Rose's Improved Action Pianos" before making their selections. These instruments are all finely finished, sweet-toned, brilliant without being harsh, extremely durable, and are sold at a less price than first-class Piano made. Warerooms, 701 Broadway.

LITERARY.

FREE RELIGION, a Report of addresses at a meeting held in Boston, May 30, 1867. Pp. 55. Boston: Adams & Co., New York: James Miller, 522 Broadway.

The meeting of which this pamphlet is a report was "to consider the Conditions, Wants and Prospects of Free Religion in America." Addresses were delivered by the President, the Rev. O. B. Frothingham, by Ralph Waldo Emerson, T. W. Higginson, Incretia Mott, D. A. Wasson, Robert Dale Owen, Rev. John Weiss, and others. The attendance was large, and the interest manifested in the meeting very marked.

With the multitudes of the intelligent men and women within and outside of church associations, there is a desire for a better quality of religious teaching than is furnished by the majority of the clergymen and the popular religious press of our time. Many who habitually but mechanically observe church forms and ceremonies, when they are candid with themselves, confess to their discontent with such emptiness and long for something more real and substantial for the soul's nourishment. The large and increasing class of active, cultivated and practically benevolent men and women, too large in stature for the narrow confines of any close church fellowship, widely separated yet closely bound in a common sympathy crave some association which, without restricting freedom of opinion, shall quicken thought, stimulate to investigation, strengthen the individual through the bonds of friendship in association upon a thoroughly catholic basis. It was, with these two classes, this latent desire for something more and better in the way of religious experience and culture which drew to Horticultural Hall to attend this meeting an eager audience larger than could possibly gain admission even for standing-room. We doubt if the occasion fully answered this desire, yet the meeting accomplished probably all that could reasonably be expected of it. It was something to give the example to others of a Convention in which the speakers were at liberty to speak, not studiously upon such topics only as all might agree in, but rather were expected and desired to develop their strongest points of dissimilarity in belief. Through this method only is the sure way of attaining that sublimer catholic unity which shall include, and, in freedom, harmonize, all diversities. We are glad the addresses have been reported and printed in this form, and we doubt not the pamphlet will be widely circulated.

At an adjourned afternoon session, a Free Religious Association was formed, of which Rev. O. B. Frothingham was chosen President, the objects being "to promote the interests of pure religion, to encourage the scientific study of theology, and to increase fellowship in the spirit."

HORACE B. FULLER has issued ten volumes of his new edition of the writings of Theodore Parker. The set will be completed in fourteen volumes. The volumes just out are: "Sermons of Theism, Atheism and Popular Theology," "Ten Sermons of Religion;" "Critical and Miscellaneous Writings;" Speeches, Addresses and Occasional Sermons," in three volumes; "Additional Speeches, Addresses and Occasional Sermons," in two volumes; "Prayers;" and "Two Christmas Celebrations: A. D. L. mdcccxlv. and MDCCCLV.: a Christmas story for MDCCLVI." They are neatly bound in uniform style, and printed on tinted paper. The writings of Mr. Parker have long been out of print, and many of his friends have imported Miss Cobbe's English edition, owing to the impossibility of procuring a full set in the United States. The additional volumes are: "Discourse of Matters pertaining to Religion," "A Critical and Historical Introduction to the Canonical Scriptures of the Old Testament," and "The Trial of Theodore Parker for the Misdemeanor of a Speech in Faneuil Hall against Kidnapping, before the Circuit Court of the United States at Boston, April 3, 1855. With the defence." Mr. Fuller is already receiving orders for this set from different parts of the country.

Mr. Parker left in manuscript a thousand sermons and lectures which have never been printed. A selection will probably be made from this mountain of manuscript and published by Mr. Fuller. The famous course of lectures on great Americans is likely to see the light at an early date.

QUEER LITTLE PEOPLE is a reprint, in a handsome volume, of the delightful stories which Mrs. Stowe has been writing in "*Our Young Folks*." It comprises fourteen stories and stories, all of which are illustrated. It includes such favorites as "The Hen that Raised Ducks," "Hum the Son of Buz," and "Aunt Esther's Stories," "The Squirrels that Live in a House," "Our Dogs," etc. The stories will be as easily read by the little ones and their parents, in their new form, as when first issued. They are published by Ticknor and Fields, and for sale by Steele & Avery.

Probably the oldest book extant, ever published in America, is now in the possession of Gen. J. W. Phelps, of Vermont. It is a dictionary of the Aztec language, and was printed in the City of Mexico, in 1571—nearly fifty years before the landing the Pilgrims at Plymouth, and more than thirty years previous to the establishment of the colony at Jamestown, Virginia.

The third number of *Harper's Bazar* has appeared with the Winter fashions for cloaks, walking-dresses, bonnets, etc. It is a very handsomely printed paper, and contains, beside the illustrations of the fashions, an interesting variety of reading matter. Ladies in the country will be supplied gratuitously through the mails with the first six numbers of *Harper's Bazar* upon written application to the publishers.

Shortly after Christmas Robert Browning will give to the world a new poem, on which he has been engaged for years. Its interest hinges on a murder, its length is about fifteen thousand lines, and discussions are incidentally introduced on a host of the most interesting and puzzling social problems of the day.

The *Westminster Review* for October contains Polygamy and Monogamy in Turkey; the Apostle's Creed; M. Lonis Blanc's Letters on England; Lloyd's Sweden and its Game Birds; Dualish in Austria; La Bruyere: his Life and Works; Democracy; Russia; Contemporary Literature, etc.

The *Christian Examiner* for November contains Francis Power Cobbe, by J. W. Chadwick; Youmans on Modern Culture, by F. Tiffany; Curtis on Inspiration, by H. G. Spaulding; Bunsen's Egypt, by C. H. Dall: Jewish Christian Character, by C. F. Barnard; Woman in Public Life, by W. R. Alger; Josiah Quincy, by J. T. Bixby; Review of Current Literature, etc.

Messrs. Sheldon & Co., 500 Broadway, announce that they will issue on Tuesday next *The Sexton's Tale and other Poems*, in one volume complete, by Theodore Tilton.

Dr. Dio Lewis is to have an article in the first issue of *Putnam's New Monthly*.

A collection has been made of the writings of Rev. O. B. Frothingham for publication.

RECEIVED.

THE GUARDIAN ANGEL, by Oliver Wendell Holmes. 420 pages. Boston: Ticknor & Fields.

MADAME SWETCHINE'S LIFE AND LETTERS, by Miss Preston, 369 pages. Boston: Roberts Brothers.

BREAKING AWAY, by Oliver Optic, 300 pages. Boston: Lee and Shepard.

SHAMBOCK AND THISTLE; or Young America Abroad, by Oliver Optic, 343 pages. Boston: Lee & Shepard.

The *Westminster Review* for October. New York: The Leonard Scott Publishing Company.

The *Christian Examiner* for November. New York: James Miller, publisher.

Circe; or Three Acts in the Life of an Artist. A novel, by Babington White. New York: Harper & Brothers.

The Eighteenth Annual Report of the New York JUVENILE GUARDIAN SOCIETY. New York: Baker & Godwin.

The *Tomahawk*: A Saturday journal of satire. London.

Littell's Living Age. Boston: Littell & Gay.

Every Saturday. Boston: Ticknor & Fields.

Special Notices.

NOTICE.—The colored people of the State of Pennsylvania will hold a Convention on the fifth day of November next at West Chester, in Horticultural Hall, to consult in relation to the Educational interests of the race, and for such other business as may come before the Convention. The Hon. Salmon P. Chase, Chief Justice; the Hon. James W. Nye, U. S. Senator; the Hon. Schuyler Colfax, Speaker of the House of Representatives; Dr. William Longfellow, Prof. Green, and others, have been invited to address the Convention.

By order of the Committee.

THE NEW YORK MEDICAL COLLEGE FOR WOMEN will begin their FIFTH ANNUAL TERM, of 30 weeks, at the College in 13th Street, two doors east of Fourth Avenue, the first Monday in November. Address the Dean, MRS. C. S. LOZIER, M. D., 341 West 34th Street, N. Y., or the Secretary, MRS. C. F. WELLS, care of Fowler and Wells, N. Y.

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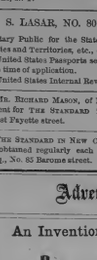

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DAY of DOOM;

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JEAN INGELOW'S NEW POEMS.—The great popularity of the last Laureate is owing to the fact that, like Burns, she writ

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THE LAST [illegible] COLUMN.

[illegible]

O ye the [illegible] ye [illegible] hands
Plead with the [illegible] [illegible]
I see, love [illegible] lands,
The sea [illegible] with [illegible]
Around [illegible]
Seem prying [illegible]
And, for the [illegible]
With winter's [illegible] more stone.

Along the [illegible]
The [illegible]
And [illegible]
The [illegible]
And on a [illegible]
And azure [illegible]
The silver [illegible]
And scarlet berries [illegible] bloomed the sweet wild-rose!

With mingled sound of horses and bells,
A far heard clang the wild geese fly,
Storm sent, from Arctic moors and fells,
Like a great arrow through the sky,
Two dusky lines converged in one,
Chasing the southward-flying sun;
While the brave snow-bird and the hardy jay
Call to them from the pines, as if to bid them stay.

I passed this way a year ago.
The wind blew south; the noon of day
Was warm as June's; and save that snow
Flecked the low mountains far away,
And that the vernal-scenting breeze
Mocked faded grass and leafless trees,
I might have dreamed of summer as I lay,
Watching the fallen leaves with the soft wind at play.

Since then, the winter blasts have piled
The white pagodas of the snow
On these rough slopes, and, strong and wild,
Yon river, in its overflow
Of spring-time rain and thaw, set free,
Crashed with its ices to the sea;
And over the gray fields, then green and gold,
The summer corn has waved, the thunder's organ rolled.

Rich gift of God! A year of time!
What pomp of rise and shut of day,
What hues wherewith our Northern clime
Makes autumn's dropping woodlands gay;
What airs outblown from ferny dells,
And clover-bloom and sweet-brier smells,
What songs of brooks and birds, what fruits and flowers,
Green woods and moon-lit snows, have in its round been ours!

I know not how, in other lands,
The changing seasons come and go;
What splendors fall on Syrian sands,
What purple lights on Alpine snow!
Nor how the pomp of sunrise waits
On Venice at her watery gates;
A dream alone to me is Arno's vale,
And the Alhambra's halls are but a traveller's tale.

Yet, on life's current, he who drifts
Is one with him who rows or sails;
And he who wanders widest lifts
No more of beauty's jealous veils
Than he, who from his doorway sees
The miracle of flowers and trees,
Feels the warm Orient in the noonday air,
And from cloud minarets hears the sunset call to prayer!

The eye may well be glad, that looks
Where Pharpa's fountains rise and fall;
But he who sees his native brooks
Laugh in the sun, has seen them all.
The marble palaces of Ind
Rise round him in the snow and wind;
From his lone sweet-brier Persian Hafiz smiles,
[illegible]

And thus it is my fancy blends
The near at hand and far and rare;
And while the same horizon bends
Above the silver-sprinkled hair
Which flashed the light of morning skies
On childhood's wonder-lifted eyes,
Within its round of sea, and sky and field,
Earth wheels with all her zones, the Kosmos stands revealed.

And thus the sick man on his bed,
The toiler to his task-work bound,
Behold their prison walls outspread,
Their chipped horizon widen round!
While freedom-giving fancy waits,
Like Peter's angel at the gates,
The power is theirs to baffle care and pain,
To bring the lost world back and make it theirs again.

What lack of goodly company,
When masters of the ancient lyre
Obey my call, and trace for me
Their words of mingled tears and fire?
I talk with Bacon, grave and wise,
I read the world with Pascal's eyes;
And priest and sage, with solemn brows austere,
Billing and cooing, around me, the Lords of Thought, draw near.

Methinks, O friend, I hear thee say,
"In vain the human heart we mock;
Bring living guests who love the day,
Not ghosts who fly at crow of cock!
The herbs we share with flesh and blood,
Are better than ambrosial food,
With laurelled shades." I grant it, nothing loth,
But doubly blest is he who can partake of both.

He who might Plato's banquet grace,
Have I not seen before me sit,
And watched his prolitanic face,
With more than eastern wisdom lit?
Shrewd mystic! who, upon the back
Of his Poor Richard's almanac,
Writing the Sufi's song, the Gentoo's dream,
Links Mecca's age of thought to Fulton's age of steam!

Here, too, of answering love's sure,
Have I not welcomed to my hearth
The gentle pilgrim too, [illegible]
Whose songs have [illegible] the earth
Whose pages, like the [illegible]
Wherein the Eastern [illegible]
Have borne me over Rhine-land's purple vines,
And Nubia's tawny sands, and Pilgrim's mountain pines!

And he, who to the lettered wealth
Of ages adds the lore unpraised,
The wisdom and the moral health,
The ethics of the school of Christ:
The statesman to his holy trust,
Are the Athenian Aristides just,
Struck down, exiled like him for truth alone,
Has he not gladed my home with beauty all his own?

What greetings smile, what farewells wave,
What loved ones enter and depart!
The good, the beautiful, the brave,
The honored and [illegible] of the heart!
How conscious seems the frozen sod
And beechen slope whereon they trod!
The oak-leaves rustle, and the dry grass bends
Beneath the shadowy feet of long absent friends.

Then ask not why to these blank walls
I cling, as clings the tufted moss,
To hear the winter's lingering chills,
The mocking spring's perpetual loss.
I dream of lands where summer smiles,
And soft winds blow from spicy isles;
But scarce would Ceylon's breath of flowers be sweet,
Could I not feel thy soil, New England, at my feet!

At times I long for gentler skies,
And baths in dreams of softer air,
But homesick even as I would fill the eyes
That saw the Grecian [illegible] the Bear.
The sigh must whisper to the palm,
[illegible] break the tropic calm;
[illegible]

The North! [illegible] virtue, [illegible] and strength to beauty [illegible] all right-minded people, both North and South.

14. Resolved, That we favor an international Congress [illegible] to discuss the question of a uniform currency [illegible] and that the Congress [illegible] the adoption of such a currency throughout the world, that may [illegible] the commerce of the world.

By A. S. [illegible]

15. Resolved, That we appeal to the Church of Christ throughout the universe, [illegible] the adoption of the seventh clause of the Constitution of the Universal Peace Society, viz., "Peace and the principles of Jesus Christ, the Founder of this Society."

These resolutions were unanimously adopted. Other [illegible] were presented. By Dr. H. C. Wright:

Whereas, the law of death, [illegible] as its history proves, and never [illegible] in means of abolishing [illegible] among man, whether that law be [illegible] by individuals, States or nations: therefore,

Resolved, That we earnestly recommend the formation of Courts of Arbitration among the friends of Radical peace principles in every locality where it is possible, and in case parties of which Court or Congress shall be to settle any difficulty or difficulties that may arise among such friends.

From the Committee:

Whereas, We are indebted to Lysander S. Richards, of Boston, for his generous and gratuitous labors as the First Corresponding Secretary of the Society; therefore,

Resolved, That we tender to him our sincere thanks for his labors in the Peace Society and reform.

Resolved, That taxing the people for the purpose of erection, monuments in honor of those who have died while engaged in the late war, only shows to future generations of this age, and also to the present, the amazing inconsistency of the people in appropriating money for such objects, when the wives and families of those soldiers were compelled to live upon the smallest pittances.

It was voted that James M. Peebles, of Michigan, in whom we repose high confidence as a man and reformer, be delegated from us to confer personally with the friends of peace and various peace organizations, and to assure them of our hearty co-operation and support in all vigorous and uncompromising efforts, and this vote be engrossed, signed by the principal officers of our Society, and passed to Mr. Peebles as his credentials from us.

The afternoon session was opened with the reading of letters from Alexander Burns, West Middleton, Washington Co., Pa.; F. B. Sanborn, Boston; Frederick Smith, Kirkville, Mo.; Lucius Bliven, Providence, R. I.; E. James, Philadelphia, Pa.; Frederic Passey, General Secretary of the League of France; J. Miller McKim, Philadelphia, Pa.; John Laurens, St. Lawrence, Scott Co., Minn.; Deborah A. Butler, Vineland, N. J.; J. S. Griffing, Washington, D. C.; W. E. Hoit, New York City; Samuel May, Leicester, Mass.; H. T. Child, Philadelphia, Pa.

An earnest discussion was held upon the resolutions before the meeting, by H. C. Wright, L. K. Joslin, Rufus Lyman of Cambridge, A. H. Love, Mrs. Albertson, William Chace and E. H. Heywood.

Mr. Heywood said he had been unfortunately misrepresented in reports of the New York meeting as advocating repudiation of the national debt. Of course he thought the government should pay its bills. All he said was, that he should never appear as an advocate of the government on this question. But he wished the people to be instructed in regard to their duties when government demands that they should go to war.

Henry C. Wright claimed that there was but one government that can stand, and that is self-government. The self-governed man is the only man who lives and walks near to God, the only man who walks in the footsteps of the martyr of Calvary. But as long as one man claimed the right to govern another body but himself, just so long we shall have war and bloodshed.

Ira Stewart, of Hopedale, said that the laboring people are so shut out from such meetings as these that they have no opportunity to be instructed.

A. H. Love cited the example of the Board of the Corn Exchange of Philadelphia, who always settled difficulties by arbitration. The new bankrupt law he considered a step in the right direction.

J. H. W. Toohey participated in the discussions of the afternoon.

The kind, gentle spirit of peace pervaded the meeting. Noble thoughts were uttered, noble resolves fixed in the minds and hearts of the earnest souls who determine to work for the establishment of peace on earth.

The meeting adjourned until half-past seven, evening, at the opening of which a beautiful letter was read from Madam Stayr, whose literary name is Fanny Lewald.

THURSDAY MORNING, OCT. 10.—The President called the meeting to order, and made some remarks concerning the recent political decision in the Lower State.

J. P. Blanchard's resolution, which was as follows, was adopted:

Whereas, We view with surprise and pleasure the late movement of the workingmen of Birmingham, England, in favor of national peace, consistently and true to us by Elihu Burritt, of that city, and desire to express through him to them our high commendation and warmest sympathy for their noble and Christian sentiments, and to accord to them the glory of being the leaders of pacific reaction against war from those depressed classes who have suffered the most, and possess the smallest voice in martial enterprise; therefore,

Resolved, That this expression of sympathy to the working classes of Birmingham manifest our faith in the of honor co-operation to the cause of the workingmen everywhere, and to all who are imporverished by the authority of aristocracies, the injustice of monopolies and the tyranny of corporation, since in the last analysis the workingman has to support the war-system in his person and by his purse, by fighting its battles and paying its debts.

Resolved, That we recommend the earnest fraternity of effort with every reform having the well-being and equal rights of men and women, that the unhappy and degraded classes, through ignorance and poverty, and ignorant, may disappear and cease to be among the actuating causes of partisan, political and national warfare.

Resolved, That peace means bread, time, compensation and education, and they in turn make for peace, and we sympathise with all in making the peace-principles a practicality in the government of individuals and nations.

Voted, that Joshua P. Blanchard, of Boston, be authorized and directed to communicate the above to Elihu Burritt, of Birmingham, England, for the information of the workingmen there.

H. C. Wright, L. K. Joslin and Rufus Wyman spoke upon Resolution No. 1, favoring earnestly its sentiments.

H. B. Storer, in his usual earnest and sincere way, asked some questions of the part of the government, we conjure the governed never to consent to the anti-Christian and anti-republican government of the war system.

8. Resolved, That as the foundation-stock of pure religion is *peace*, the true object of government is peace, and the prayer of the people is peace, we protest against all appropriations for and all preparations in war, under any circumstances whatever, as they never have and never can secure perpetual peace. An armed peace is the evil and reproach of modern history, and we demand disarmament and arbitration the world over.

5. Resolved, That the cry of "Peace at any price," is not for us. There is but one price for peace: that price is the sacrifice of the human rights.

6. Resolved, That the boast, "I will die for my country," is empty and vain, when made under arms. It should be, "I will live for my country."

7. Resolved, That crime originates, and poverty perpetuates wars and fightings. The rightful and just means of supporting life and preventing poverty can be secured only by peace.

8. Resolved, That to the workingman or workingwoman who toils for the means of livelihood, war is impoverishment, and taxes fabricated in war, are to the man or woman who loves freedom and life, war is inquisitorial death.

9. Resolved, That the Indian war is a shame and reproach to America, and we tremble for the day of retribution. *We can have peace only by retracing our strong steps, and doing right.* The Indian has the right to life, to the homestead, to representation and to nationality, and properly approached would co-operate with the laying of the Pacific Railroad, and thus Christianize our civilization. But civilization existed by the sword-power resumes its purposes and perpetuates war.

Henry C. Wright, presented—

10. Resolved, That what is theft, robbery, murder and piracy, in one acting alone, is the same when done by millions acting together as a State or nation.

11. Resolved, That if it is murder for a man to kill his fellow-beings at his own discretion, and for his own benefit, it is murder, and should be so regarded when to the man or woman who loves freedom and life, war is inquisitorial death.

12. Resolved, That if he is a hired assassin who hires himself out to one man to kill human beings at his bidding for his interests, he stands before God in the same light who hires himself one to millions, acting as a State or nation, to kill human beings at their bidding and for their benefit.

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13. Resolved, That however grave may be the issues involved in reconstruction, an attempt to settle them otherwise than by peaceful legislation or arbitration is unwise and unconstitutional, and should be regarded by Congress and the President, all radical or conservative leaders, that to refer their differences to the sword, and set these States again in armed conflict for any purpose whatever, is a crime against the Constitution and the peace of all right-minded people, both North and South.

14. Resolved, That we favor an international Congress [illegible] and that it is a crime against humanity and God for governments to wear, and tax the people for the support of, such [illegible] and [illegible] as are necessary to maintain the world's [illegible] as [illegible]

By A. S. [illegible]

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