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Gerrit Smith

"I Denounce the doctrine that civil war in the South takes away from
the loyal North the benefits of one principle of civil liberty. "

THE
OLD GUARD,

A MONTHLY JOURNAL,

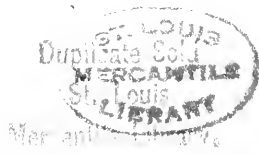
DEVOTED TO THE PRINCIPLES OF

1776 AND 1787.

—♦♦—
VOL. I.—1863.
—♦♦—

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THE OLD GUARD,

A MONTHLY JOURNAL DEVOTED TO THE PRINCIPLES OF
1776 AND 1787.

VOLUME II.—JANUARY, 1863.—No. I.

THE COST OF THE WAR, AND WHO MUST PAY IT.

THE Annual Report of the Secretary of the Treasury, which was laid before Congress at the opening of the session, produced a profound impression upon the public mind. The anxiety which before was growing in the community was deepened when the self-contradictory and dissembling Report from the Treasury Department confirmed latent fears of an approaching national bankruptcy. The course adopted by the Secretary last year, was one that all reflecting persons knew would lead to such a result if long persevered in; but the persistent declaration from members of the Government that "sixty days," "a few weeks," "two or three months," would put an end to the war, served, among those who put faith in such predictions, to keep alive a hope that peace would come before financial ruin. The insidious progress of paper promises was rapidly eating out the vitals of the nation, which looked for decisive victory in the field as the antidote to the fatal poison in its system. There seemed to be a race between financial destruction and military vic-

tory. If the latter should arrive, it might save the nation. If it came not, or came too late, it could perch only on the banners of a sunken ship, o'er which the billows of bankruptcy were making way. There are few persons who comprehend, in its full force, that which is meant by national bankruptcy resulting from discredited paper money. It is now seventy years since the country was involved in the ruin occasioned by the continental money of the Revolution, and few living had practical experience of those disastrous days, when money did not exist, trade was paralyzed, debts could not be collected, judgments could not be enforced, taxes were out of the question, and armed bands—even in Massachusetts—broke up the sittings of courts, while insurrection defied the execution of any legal authority tending to the collection of taxes. The life of the nation was as a flickering lamp which a breath would extinguish. Through the conciliatory wisdom of Congress and the firmness of Washington, the difficulties gradually subsided under the influence of the

union of States, which gave the Federal Government revenue through the customs, and enabled it to relinquish claim to taxes which could not be collected. Its conciliatory conduct, after the lapse of one or two years, induced Rhode Island and Georgia to come back into the Union, and a season of prosperity was inaugurated.

How great soever may have been the dangers and disasters of that dark hour, this were as nothing to the ruin which is now impending from a similar cause. The country then was poor, and but little surplus capital existed in the shape of credit, while all the States were so exhausted by a long war, that necessary prudence tempered rising animosities. This is not now the case. Eighty years of profound peace and unexampled prosperity have made the country the envy of other nations, more particularly for its rapid development of that vast wealth which is evenly distributed among the people. There are now railroad bonds, mortgages, annuities, ground rents, life insurance, bank stocks, savings' deposits, and numerous other credits, to a value of more than two thousand millions, which have already become unsettled, and which, borne on the rising tide of Mr. Chase's paper scheme, are even now moving on the current to be swiftly engulfed in the flood of bankruptcy. In that hour, when the hands of every individual will be filled with "green-back" promises, and currency no longer exists, how and by whom will the \$250,000,000 per annum of taxes, that Mr. Chase even now demands as the permanent "peace tax," be enforced? What federal army will extort taxes from a ruined people?—What courts or what juries will be

found to accord judgments for debts contracted in depreciated paper and demanded in coin? The creditors of the Federal Government, if it should exist in that disastrous hour, will be numerous, but they cannot outnumber the ruined people no longer able to pay taxes to satisfy their claims. The question of taxation itself would speedily be the signal for collision between States. Thus, should the Constitution survive the assaults of the present party in power, taxation must be laid according to representation. Missouri and Massachusetts are of equal representation. The former has been devastated by the war until her wealth consists only in her land. Massachusetts has derived immense wealth from the war. Her factories, her ships, her jobbers, her contractors, her senators and their favorites, her expeditions to the Southern coast, her pro-consul, Butler, at New Orleans, have drawn within her borders the wealth of the nation, and they foster a war which pays so well. While the heart's blood of the Middle and Western States has watered the battle-fields of the Union, New England has the profits of the war; but she has not taken a dollar of the general stock. New York has supplied the capital which Massachusetts has absorbed.—When the necessity of taxation arises, the response will be the constitutional provision, that "the tax must be equal according to representation," and Massachusetts will pay no more than the ruined people of Missouri can pay—out of that ability the Government creditor will be paid but poorly.

The Secretary of the Treasury evidently foresaw the coming evil, and his Report is simply an attempt to relieve

himself of the responsibility. This attempt was met by the Chairman of Ways and Means, who, in a speech Dec. 19, attempted to repel the responsibility where it is due, says that—"when general bankruptcy overtook the nation, he would have the satisfaction to know that he tried to prevent it." The fact that the architects of ruin are already seeking to escape the falling fabric confirms the public dread, and imports increased caution to capitalists.

The Secretary, in his Report, gave the aggregate receipts and expenditures of the Government for three years as in the annexed statement.

The expenditures for the three years now half expired, it will be observed, are two thousand, two hundred and four millions, or more than two-thirds of the whole British debt! This vast expenditure, the Secretary estimates, will leave a debt, at the close of the third year of war, of \$1,744,685,586, which, at six per cent. interest, will bear an annual interest of \$105,000,000. The annual interest of the British debt is \$138,696,100. Hence, if the United States' debt could be contracted at six per cent., its actual burden upon the people would be three-fourths of the British debt. Now the only nation that ever approached such a scale of expenditure before was the British, in the first fifteen years of the present century.—That Government in one year expended \$500,000,000, but they did so under peculiarly favorable circumstances. They commanded the ocean, and monopolized the commerce of the world. The inventions of steam, the loom, the cotton gin, &c., had wonderfully developed her manufactures, and she had the markets

RECEIPTS.

	Ordinary.	Loans.	Total.
1862.	\$51,935,720.76	\$524,692,460	\$581,628,181.00
1863.	107,451,798.79	608,063,432	774,525,220.79
1864.	223,025,000.00	622,388,183	845,413,183.56
Total, 3 years	\$382,412,519.55	\$1,755,144,075	\$2,201,566,585.35

EXPENDITURES.

	Current.	Debt.	Total.
	\$474,744,778.16	\$96,096,922.09	\$570,841,700.25
	693,346,321.48	95,212,456.14	788,558,777.62
	826,028,279.40	19,384,804.16	845,413,183.56
Total, 3 years	\$1,994,119,379.04	\$210,694,182.39	\$2,204,813,661.43

of the world to supply at monopoly prices. Owing to the disturbed state of the Continent, timid capitalists there, even from France, with whom she was at war, sent to England large sums for safe-keeping. Under such circumstances she could borrow largely, and she did so; but her loans did not exceed thirty per cent. of the expenses. Of every 1,000,000*l.* raised, 700,000*l.* was from taxes, and 300,000*l.* from loans.—Notwithstanding this safe course, her stock fell to forty-eight per cent. once. The United States' Secretary now proposes to borrow eighty per cent. of the whole of an enormous expenditure—double the largest war expenditure ever undertaken, in one year, by the British Government—and he has the absurdity to assume that those loans can be contracted at par for six per cent., and makes large reliance to supply the capital upon a system of paper, which he knows to be fallacious.

Of this large sum required, nearly \$1,500,000,000 is to be borrowed in the next eighteen months. The debt is now indeed, in round numbers, \$600,000,000; but of that sum only \$200,000,000 is funded, and of that amount \$100,000,000 falls due in 1864, and must be met.—The remaining \$400,000,000 are due on demand, and must be provided for.

There are only three possible ways of raising the \$1,000,000,000 demanded by the Secretary for the service of the next eighteen months:—1. To tax for the whole amount. 2. To borrow the money on issues of stocks at the market rate, whatever that may be. 3. To issue paper money to the amount that may be required. The question of taxation seems not to have entered into the views of either the Secretary or the

Committee of Ways and Means. It was, apparently, taken for granted that, after Congress had repealed the direct tax of last year, and imposed the income and internal taxes, that the extent of taxation was reached. The Secretary estimates the receipt of the taxes for the year now half expired at \$167,451,798, and for the fiscal year 1864 at \$223,025,000, embracing the customs. He proposes to issue no more currency notes, but to borrow \$1,000,000,000 on six per cent. stock, which he wishes to sell privately at his own discretion, not being limited in terms by Congress.—This is the plan of the Secretary, including a proposition to create a National Bank Law, which is too evidently unpractical to enter into a discussion.—The Chairman of the Committee of Ways and Means also proposed to issue bonds for the sums wanted above \$250,000,000, which he proposed to add to the notes now outstanding, making the Government currency \$500,000,000.—The question is apparently between stock bearing interest and paper money; but this is only apparent, since it is very evident from the statements of both the Secretary and the Chairman, that both regard the resort to paper money exclusively as inevitable, and both seek to avoid the odium which, in the inevitable hour of national bankruptcy, will overwhelm the authors of the ruin.

The history of the financial operations of the Secretary hitherto would convince an ordinary man—and have doubtless fully convinced him—that loans are impossible, to any great extent, in the market. There is no such amount of capital in the country as \$1,700,000,000 which can, in the space of three years, be taken from the employments of in-

dustry, and loaned permanently to the Government at six per cent. All questions of credit or discredit apart, this sum could not be raised but at such an exorbitant rate of interest as would outbid all employments of industry, and by so doing, stop that production of wealth on which the payment of the taxes depend. The sum expresses an investment of \$400 in stock by every Northern family, in addition to all other property held. The Secretary feels the impossibility of the operation, since, in the last year, he has not been able to negotiate any important loan. In fact, since the war began, he has made no loans, except from the banks, who have thus invested money placed with them on temporary deposit, because it had, by the war, been driven out of its ordinary employments. It is to be borne in mind, that the capital which can be loaned to the Government, consists only in that surplus which a man may possess over and above what he can employ in his business. In this country of vast natural resources, there is never capital enough to carry on industry, and it always bears a high rate. According to the last census returns, the amount of capital invested in productive industry in the Free States was \$920,568,681.—This included the real estate employed. This capital employed one hundred thousand factories, giving work to one million, two hundred and fifty thousand persons, active producers. The value produced was nearly double, or \$1,700,000,000. The average annual profit may be placed at ten per cent., or \$170,000,000 per annum. Out of that sum the expenses of the employees are to be met, and the remainder may constitute a surplus that can be invested on inter-

est. If it is assumed that the amount to be invested may, one year with another, reach \$100,000,000, then in ten years the nation will have saved \$1,000,000,000 for investments. These investments now exist in various forms, as follows:

State and City Debts.....	\$250,000,000
Railroad Stocks.....	300,000,000
“ Bonds.....	700,000,000
Banks.....	300,000,000
Insurance Companies.....	
Savings' Deposits.....	200,000,000
Bonds and Mortgages.....	200,000,000
Other Miscellaneous—Mines, Gas, &c.....	150,000,000
Total.....	<u>\$2,200,000,000</u>

This is an approximation to the existing amount of surplus capital invested, and has been the product of at least eighty years' accumulation. Without deducting what existed when the Government was formed, the accumulation would have been at the rate of \$30,000,000 per annum; but it has of late years been very rapid, and if put at \$100,000,000, in time of peace, it will coincide with the fact that \$1,000,000,000 were expended for railroads, in the ten years ending with 1860. But in time of war there is no accumulation; on the contrary, one million men—or one-fourth the active population—being in the army, production is small, and the immense waste of capital causes a rapid decline in amount. Under the tax law, the Government has constituted itself a partner in every man's business. It sends its agents to inspect books and stocks, and to exact, not a portion of the profits, but three per cent. on the production. This being \$1,700,000,000, the tax on manufactures will be \$55,000,000, which may be more than the profit. The tax on incomes draws a further sum from profits; and if the Secretar

obtains the \$150,000,000 that he estimates, it will sweep off all profits, and no accumulation will take place. It is now to be remembered that \$900,000,000 are expended in keeping industry employed, and that \$2,200,000,000 are invested in various securities, making \$3,100,000,000 of capital in the country. The Government now comes forward and demands one-half of that capital in eighteen months. What will result? If it offers, by the depreciation of its stock, such a temptation as to make holders sell out other investments, it may tempt them to change. But this is impossible. They cannot change their investments to any extent, because to sell there must be buyers; and all securities, supposing the Government credit to remain as good as that of the States, will decline, step by step, with the Government stocks. Those who sell other securities to buy, will be obliged to sell cheap. If the Government stock sells so low as to induce employers to stop their enterprises, discharge their hands, and convert the capital into Government stock, the industry of the nation will come to an end, and with it the tax upon its production. But it will be observed that the \$1,500,000,000 of loans that the Secretary requires, is estimated on getting the amount at par for six per cent. twenty-year stocks, and those stocks are now seventy-five per cent. for gold. Even if he could borrow at that rate, the amount of stock issued will be \$2,000,000,000. He cannot, however, borrow at that rate. He must give such rates as will outbid all other interests, and to do so will as surely bankrupt the whole country as that he attempts it, if the credit of the

Federal Government should, under the circumstances, remain unbroken. This is, however, not the case; its credit abroad is already so disturbed, that all obligations there held are being constantly sent here for realization, making the current of gold which flows out in such a broad stream more than sixty millions—or double the California supply—having been exported in the past year. The foreign capitalist, looking on upon a gigantic war, which, end as it may, will swallow up the resources of the country, naturally asks—Who are the payers of the obligations? The Federal Government presents itself, with increasing wants and depreciating credit, to borrow a sum equal to half the whole capital of the country, with the avowed object of destroying an industry, and deporting four millions of workers, which has been one of the most prolific sources of the existing wealth. During the forty years—1820 to 1860—according to the Treasury Tables, there were exported \$4,856,863,368 worth of domestic productions. Of this amount, \$3,250,300,000 was created by those workers which the Proclamation of the President proposes to emancipate and deport out of the country, at an expense of many hundred millions of dollars. Whatever may be thought of this as a matter of State policy, it surely does not aid the chance of paying the Government debts. The object of the war, for which \$1,500,000,000 must be borrowed, is avowed to be the extinguishment of an interest which produces \$500,000,000 per annum. Thus, in any event, whatever may be the result of the war, the Northern industry must pay the whole of the war debt.

ABOLITION PREACHERS *versus* CHRIST AND THE APOSTLES.

TO REV. DRS. CHEEVER, BEECHER AND
TYNG:

Gentlemen,—You have attempted no answer to my letter published in the New York *Express* of December 8th.—I did not expect you would. You could not vindicate your present bloody and inhuman attitude before the country, without assailing the Word of God, and falsifying the apostolic history of the Church. If the spirit of charity, forgiveness, and of non-resistant peace, preached by James, was of God, then it is evident that your savage war-cries, your implacable resistance of evil with evil, is of the *Devil*. You cannot be called the followers of Him who said—“Blessed are the peace-makers; for they shall be called the children of God.” You perceive, *Gentlemen*, whose children you *are not*; and, by implication, whose children you *are*. The kind of Gospel you preach goes out, like the Scythian Abaris, on a poisoned arrow. You have set men on to fight about negroes. You have made a negro idol, and called upon the people to fall down before it. Do you remember that Pope once asked this question: “What must be the priest, where the monkey is a god?” You have turned the world upside down, and shouted in delirious glee to see your country plunged into a gulf of death. Then you have dared to lift up your bloody hands in prayer to Heaven. You have raved about liberty for negroes, while applauding the destruction of white men. Forgive me if I am reminded of what Macaulay says of George Fox: “With an intellect the most unhappy of all states; that is to say, too much disordered for liberty, and not sufficiently disordered for bedlam.”

In my first letter, I pointed out your wide departure from the spirit of the “gospel of peace,” in bringing on this horrid war. In this one, I wish to show that you set yourselves up to be reformers of the teachings of Jesus Christ.—You declare that to be a sin which the Savior never pronounced to be so; and you are willing to deluge the land with blood to push forward your stupendous assumption. Where, *Gentlemen*, do the Christian Scriptures pronounce slaveholding a sin? Point to a single text. At the advent of Christ, slavery existed all over the civilized world. The Roman Empire was at the zenith of its civilization and power. It had sixty millions of slaves. It was not an unusual thing for one man to own ten thousand or even twenty thousand slaves. History informs us that Scaurus had four thousand domestic, and as many rural slaves. It was fashionable for a man to go abroad surrounded by his slaves, as a general is by his army. Horace made this custom the subject of one of his Satires. From the time of Augustus to that of Justinian, there were in Italy twenty millions of slaves to six millions of freeman. These slaves were acquired by war, by commerce, or by purchase, and by being born in a state of slavery. Such was the extent of slavery in the Roman Empire, when Jesus and his apostles preached the gospel over its wide domain. At the same time, there were in Greece four slaves to one freeman. The city of Corinth, in which the Apostle Paul founded a church of believers, was the chief slave mart for Greece, and—in consequence of its communication with Brundisium and other ports on the eastern side of Italy—of Rome also.

Timæus asserts that Corinth, at one time, had four hundred and sixty thousand slaves.

Though Christ and his apostles were thus surrounded with slaveholders, they never once denounced the institution as a sin. While they professed to teach *all godliness*, and to denounce *all sin*, they never intimated that the institution of slavery was what you Gentlemen call it—"the sum of all villainies." Both Jesus and his apostles denounced *idolatry*, the State religion of imperial Rome, though it was as much interwoven with all the interests of the State as slavery, which shows that they did not hold their peace in relation to slavery from intimidation. Even you, Gentlemen, are not deluded enough to pretend that the Son of Man was restrained by motives of policy or fear from denouncing slaveholding, if he had believed it a sin. It is certain, Gentlemen, if you had been there, with your present opinions, you would have raised such a storm about the ears of the imperial slaveholders, as would have "made Rome howl again." What! will you say that Jesus Christ refused to denounce a sin! Did he come to pronounce the whole counsel of God, and then fail in his mission so fatally as to leave a wide-spread and damning wrong unrebuked? You will not deny that in almost every instance where the word *servant* occurs in the New Testament, it means a *slave*—a man held as the property of another. When *servant* does not mean a *slave*, it is usually connected with an adjective which shows its signification—as, *hired servant*; the Greek word is *misthois*, which means one hired. But the word generally translated *servant* is *doulos*, which

you, Gentlemen, will not deny means a *slave*—one who is the property of another. Though nearly every man Christ met, during his earthly mission, was either a slaveholder or a slave, never once did he intimate a disapprobation of such a relation. And it is certain that he never taught his disciples to condemn slaveholders and slaveholding. The teaching of the apostles is evidence of that, for they directly command slaves to be "obedient" to their masters. For example, Ephesians vi. 5—"Servants, (*douloi*,) be obedient to them that are your masters." Titus ii. 9—"Exhort servants (*doulos*) to be obedient unto their own masters." 1 Timothy vi. 1—"Let as many servants (*douloi*) as are under the yoke, count their own masters worthy of all honor, that the name of God and his doctrine be not blasphemed." The eminent Scotch divine and commentator, McKnight, explaining this text, says:

"Because the law of Moses allowed no Israelite to be made a slave for life without his own consent, the Judaizing teachers, to allure slaves to their own party, taught that under the gospel, likewise, involuntary slavery is unlawful. This doctrine the apostle condemned here, as in his other Epistles, by enjoining Christian slaves to honor and obey their masters, whether they were believers or unbelievers, and by assuring Timothy that if any person taught otherwise, he opposed the wholesome precept of Jesus Christ, and the doctrine of the gospel, which in all points is conformable to godliness or sound morality, and was puffed up with pride, without possessing any true knowledge either of Jewish or Christian revelation."

Ministers of your principles and behavior, Gentlemen, certainly fare rough

ly at the hands of your own standard commentator, McKnight. But not more roughly than at the hands of the apostle, who declares that the "name of God is blasphemed" by all who teach slaves insubordination to their masters.

Read Whitby's comment on the same text:

"Let as many servants as are under the yoke, (*of bondage to the heathen,*) count their own masters worthy of all (*due*) honor, that the name of God and his doctrine be not blasphemed, (*or evil spoken of, as tending to dissolve those civil obligations, but rather honored in all estates of men, as tending to make them better in their several relations.*)"

Gentlemen, it is not much comfort that preachers of your conduct can find in the writings of the great Christian commentators—of men of learning and piety of all denominations. And the Scripture is still more against you.—The New Testament commands the slave to obey, and exhorts the master to be kind. In this the recognized lawfulness of the relation is established.—Have you forgotten what an exalted compliment the Savior paid the centurion, a slaveholder?—"I have not found so great faith, no, not in Israel." Had you, Gentlemen, been in the Savior's place on that occasion, and possessing your present delusion, you would have denounced that slaveholder as a "man-stealer, a barbarian," a "hell-deserving wretch;" and you would have wound up by advising the slave to cut his master's throat. How unlike you was St. Paul, who, when he had converted a fugitive slave—Onesimus—sent him back to his master—Philemon—with a letter, asking him to receive his returning slave kindly. On this

subject Dr. Adam Clark, the standard Methodist commentator, says: "*Justice* required St. Paul to send back Onesimus to his master, and *conscience* obliged Onesimus to agree to the propriety of the measure; but *love* to the servant induced the apostle to write this conciliatory letter to the master." Paul addresses this slaveholder as "our dearly beloved and fellow-laborer." Think of that, Gentlemen! Read the whole of this affectionate letter, and then tell us what you think of St. Paul, who poured out his lavish love upon a slaveholder, and sent back the runaway slave into bondage? You would not do so, Gentlemen. O no. According to your notions, Paul was "a wretch"—"a slave-catcher"—an "abettor of the slaveholder in his sin." If Jesus Christ and his apostles were on earth now, they would be denounced as "traitors" and sympathizers with rebellion." One of your number said, not long since, in the pulpit, that he "would not keep company with the apostles, if they did not believe slavery was a sin." Alas! deluded man! you will probably never have the opportunity of refusing. How unlike the Master whom you profess to serve are you in all your ministrations. Our Lord often refers to the institution of slavery, to illustrate some great principle of duty. See Matthew xxv. 14, and Luke xix. 12, 13. He always refers to it without a word of censure, using it to illustrate even the doctrine of "the kingdom of heaven." Many of our Lord's most beautiful parables are pictures of slave establishments. "The kingdom of heaven is like unto a man traveling into a far country, who calleth his own slaves," &c. In almost every one of his public discourses is some al-

lusion to this institution—some reference to the picturesque relations of a patriarchal and a slaveholding people. Yet in all the four gospels there is not a word, even by implication, uttered against slavery.

A very large number of the earlier converts to the gospel were slaves. In the Corinthian church there were a great many; and the apostle instructs them thus: "Let every man abide in the same calling wherein he is called. Art thou called being a servant? (slave) care not for it—but if thou mayest be made free, use it rather." That is—*if you are a slave, be faithful still; but if your master offers you liberty, receive it.* But the apostles never enjoined it upon masters to emancipate their slaves, nor upon slaves to run away from, much less to murder their masters *a la* the Rev. Messrs. Beecher, Cheever and Tyng. Gentlemen, what a scattering would you have made among the great crowd of Christian slaves at Corinth! Instead of saying, as Paul did, to the slaves—*be content with your condition*, you would have set on foot an "Ossawatomie Brown" raid, instructing the slaves in the art of sedition and murder. In several places the apostles recognize the lawfulness of slavery, by regulating the true relations between master and servant, and instructing the Christian slaveholders in their duty to their slaves. It was, according to these divine teachers, the duty of the slaves to be obedient and faithful, and of the masters to be kind and generous. Thus, Ephesians xi. 9—"Treat servants (slaves) well, forbearing threatening." He does not intimate that they ought to emancipate their slaves.—Again, Coll. iv. 1—"Masters, give unto

your servants (slaves) that which is just and equal, knowing that you also have a Master in heaven." Not a word about emancipation. Not a word in condemnation of the institution of slavery. Hear further what the apostle says to the slaves, Titus ii. 9—"Exhort servants to be obedient to their own masters, and to please them well in all things; not answering again, nor purloining, but showing all good fidelity—that they may adorn the doctrine of God our Savior in all things." Here the apostle instructs the converted slaves that, if they disobeyed their masters, or stole from them, they would not "adorn the doctrine of God our Savior." You, Gentlemen, teach the slaves that is their duty to steal, to disobey, to runaway, and to murder their masters! You are turbulent despisers of the "doctrine of God our Savior," "mischief-makers," and violators alike of the human and the divine law. 1 Peter ii. 18, 19—"Slaves, be subject to your masters, with all fear—not only to the good and gentle, but also to the forward; for this is thankworthy, if a man, for conscience towards God, endure grief, suffering wrongfully." Gentlemen, I sympathize with you. You must be horrified at the indecent tyranny commended by the apostle Peter. You denounce him as "a doughface," "a sympathizer with the damning sin of slavery," "a pro-slavery tyrant."—Will he not one day denounce you, O ye "vain boasters," despisers of "the doctrine of God our Savior!" The dreadful day will come. Paul, in his letter to Timothy, calls slaveholders "faithful and beloved, partakers of the benefit," and exhorts slaves "under the yoke," to "count their own masters

worthy of all honor." The apostle continues: "These things teach and exhort. If any man teach otherwise, and consent not to wholesome words, even the words of our Lord Jesus Christ, *he is proud, knowing nothing, but doating about questions and stress of words, whereof cometh envy, strife, railings, evil surmisings, perverse disputings of men of corrupt minds, and destitute of truth—from such withdraw thyself*"—1 Timothy, vi. 1—5. This is the picture the apostle Paul draws of the abolitionists of his day. The portrait needs no retouching, Gentlemen, for yourselves. There you stand, the same "disturbers of the peace" that the like of you were in the days of Paul. In the language of the apostle, all good men are commanded "from such to withdraw."

You, Gentlemen, say that slavery is a sin. Abraham, "the father of the faithful," had a thousand slaves who "were bought with his money."

You say slavery is a sin. The divine law said—"Thy bondmen and thy bondmaids, whom ye shall buy of the heathen, shall be your *slaves forever*."—You say slaveholding is a sin. All the teachings of the Savior—all the sermons of the apostles—all the Epistles—the entire New Testament—are silent as to its sinfulness. On the other hand, we have seen that they clearly affirm its lawfulness. They teach the slave not to steal, not to runaway, not to commit any violence; but to be obedient to their masters, with all fear and godliness. You set yourselves up above Christ and his apostles, You reformers of the teachings of the New Testament! Who are you? Transcendent mountebanks of a quack philanthropy, who

go about in the midst of your debauched and deluded flocks clothed, not in the Savior's "robes of peace and righteousness," but, like Jack the Giant Killer, in a coat of darkness. Instead of feeding your people with "*the bread of life*," you feed them with blood and gunpowder. One of your number, (Beecher,) in a late discourse in Boston, said:—"*We need more bloodshed. Blood is the wine of the nations. God feeds them on blood.*" Then pour out your own purple current, ye snuffing, yelping bloodhounds! The lives of three hundred thousand brave men have been sacrificed upon your altars. Their graves, now fresh, will remain everlasting remembrances of your guilt. Look over your congregations, and see the sobbing hundreds of widows and orphans.—They are the victims of your crimes, and of the like of you. Your appetite for blood is not yet appeased. You are the leeches without bowels, that ever cry, *more!* You are the "wolves in sheep's clothing." You have not only dragged the blessed gospel of peace down into a pool of blood, but you have impaled humanity as in hell. Under your preaching, the *vox populi* is not the *vox Dei*, but the *vox "diabaloï."* The besotted throngs who have drunk of your spirit are nearer devils than men. The "sword of the spirit," in your hands, is a Vulcan sledge-hammer, breaking humanity to pieces on the anvil of death. Hammer away, ye grim and ghastly Titans! Hammer, but beware! The time is at hand when the returning reason of the people will pound you to dust on the invisible anvils of truth! When the people return to drink of the pure fountains of gospel peace and love

what will become of your occupation of "war and murder!" Who will hear you preach then? Remember the punishment of Tantalus! Remember Milo, who was wedged to death in trying to split an oak! You have driven a *black* wedge into the proud oak of your country. Remember Milo! You have betrayed the "kingdom of heaven" into the war and carnage of "this world." Remember Judas Iscariot! Under the ministrations of abolition preachers, both Church and State are demoralized and destroyed. In your day and mine, the Church will not recover from the ruin and shame you have brought upon it—our country, I fear, never! Nations may die; but not often is there any resurrection for them. To find our glory, must we turn our eyes backwards to the past? Can we only say of our country as Lucan, in his *Pharisalia*, said of Pompey—"Stat magni nominis umbra"—it stands, the *shadow* of a mighty name. If it had died, like some ancient States, of old age, there would be some poetry in the thought. Or if it had perished in honorable war, for the glorious principle of self-government and constitutional liberty, we should be consoled. But to be stabbed to the heart in a vulgar and brutal quarrel about negroes, is too much for human nature to endure. Did ever a nation die so ingloriously before? To see a proud and prosperous country assassinated, in its glorious youth, by a mob of brawling abolition preachers and colporteurs!

The thought is enough to drive a man mad! Are you sure that the people will not wake up some day in their wrath, and drive you and your bloody altars into the sea? Will not the ruin you have invoked upon others fall upon your own heads? It is the eternal law of justice. You have profaned your own altars—expect not the people to respect them as holy. In becoming ministers of war and carnage, you have ceased to be ministers of the gospel of Christ. Do you say I am hard upon you? Whom have you spared in your implacable rage? Ought I, or any other man who respects himself, to respect you? You have respected neither humanity, religion, nor the sound rules of morality and manners. Did you not once hold prayer-meetings to deify an assassin? Do you not still minister at the bloody altars of your newly canonized saint, Ossawatomie? He was a burglar and a murderer. Are his avowed disciples fit associates for gentlemen and Christians? One of you once said—"John Brown has made the gallows more glorious than Jesus Christ has the cross." Who would own such a man for a friend? Gentlemen, either you will be silenced by the overpowering indignation of an outraged people, or, you will be allowed to go on until you have turned our country into an African jungle.

Your obedient servant,

C. CHAUNCEY BURR.

A TRAITOR CONGRESS AND A TRAITOR PRESIDENT.

THAD. STEVENS, the leader of the administration party in Congress, in a recent speech before that body, on the establishment of a new State within the territory of Virginia, used the following language:

"I say, then, that we may admit West Virginia as a new State, *not by virtue of any provision of the Constitution*, but under our absolute power which the laws of war give us in the circumstances in which we are placed. I shall vote for this bill upon that theory, and upon that alone; for *I will not stultify myself by supposing that we have any warrant in the Constitution for this proceeding.*

This talk of restoring the Union as it was, under the Constitution as it is, is one of the absurdities which I have heard repeated, until I have become about sick of it. This Union can never be restored as it was. There are many things which render such an event impossible. *This Union shall never, with my consent, be restored under the Constitution as it is, with slavery to be protected by it."*

No one doubts that this is the sentiment and the programme of the administration. We are told, "*this Union shall never be restored under the Constitution as it is.*" We have not for a long time doubted that such is the determination of Mr. Lincoln and the whole party in power. But had they announced their real designs in the beginning, they could have never raised a respectable army for such a purpose.—Mr. Lincoln had no right to call soldiers into the field for such an object. And unless he backs squarely down from this unconstitutional use of the army, where will he get another soldier?—Will the States of New Jersey and New York permit any men to be drafted from the militia, for an object which is a con-

fessed violation of the Constitution and the laws? The objects for which the State militia may be called into the service of the Federal Government, are expressly named and carefully limited by the Constitution. If the President attempts to use the militia for unconstitutional purposes, it is clearly the duty of the States to recall their troops from the field, and to refuse to allow any further drafting, until the administration returns to the Constitution and the laws. It is within the power of State Executives and Legislatures to force a usurping President to abandon such a career of crime, by withholding and withdrawing the State troops. A Governor who should allow the citizens of his State to be drafted, and dragged into the army for the avowed purpose of *destroying the Union as it was, and the Constitution as it is*, would be sure, in the end, to receive the execration and curses of the people, and would finally fall into the same hated page of history with the obscene joker, who thus abuses the confidence and the patriotism of a loyal people. The duty of the Governors is plain. They are to promptly respect all constitutional requirements of the Federal administration. But they are not to obey an unlawful demand. Suppose the President should issue an order for drafting the troops of New Jersey, for the avowed purpose of abolishing the marriage laws in the State of Pennsylvania. Would such an order be obeyed by the State of New Jersey?—No, it would be resisted even to the point of the bayonet, if it came to that. But we are told there is rebellion against the laws of the Union. Then it is lawful to call out troops to enforce the laws of the Union; but it is not lawful to

call them out to *destroy the Union*. But we have satisfied ourselves that we can not enforce the laws of the Union.— And so you have made up your minds to destroy the Union! Because you find you are not strong enough to administer all the laws of the Constitution, you have determined to destroy that sacred instrument altogether!— Because some deluded men say—we wish no longer to live within the temple of the Union, you have set yourselves to work to pull the whole temple down, so that nobody shall ever live in it any more! That is your position, O ye Catalines of Congress! Shall we send our sons to fight to destroy the Union and the Constitution, because some have proclaimed that they are tired of living under their protection? No, we will not. There must be another kind of legislation in Congress—another kind of proclamation from the hand of our law-defying and grammar-despising President—before States which are truly loyal to the Government of our fathers will send more troops into the field.— We have been told by the apologists for Mr. Lincoln, that the radical, traitor Governors have coerced the President to do wrong. Then let the conservative, loyal Governors coerce him back again to do right. If the radical traitors would not suffer State troops to move forward until the President came out with a series of unconstitutional proclamations, let the conservative pa-

triot withhold their forces until those unconstitutional schemes are abandoned. If, as we have been told, this wretched man, the President, has been forced to proclaim against the Constitution, let him, by all means, be forced to re-proclaim in its favor. If rascals have compelled him to do wrong, let honest men compel him to do right. If the President is an honest man, he will rejoice to be forced out of the clutches of the disunion radicals. If he does not agree with the Chairman of his Committee of Ways and Means, when he says—“*The Union shall never, with my consent, be restored under the Constitution as it is,*” let him come out by proclamation and say so, and we shall be among the first to rush to his support, in every lawful endeavor to *restore the Union under the Constitution as it is*.

But, on the other hand, if he agrees with Mr. Stevens, that the “Union shall never be restored under the Constitution,” let us look to see who will dare to move any further to aid him in his work of treason and destruction. Let us begin to prepare epitaphs of eternal shame for the tombs of the traitors who dare lift up their hands, with Abraham Lincoln and his fellow-conspirators, against the Union and the Constitution! The terrible Danton once thundered into the French Assembly: “*Room, there! Room in Hell for Maxamillian Robespierre!*— Read, O conspirators, your epitaph.

TRIAL BY COMMISSIONS.

ARTICLE 3d, section 2, of the Constitution declares that—

“The trial of all crimes, except in cases of impeachment, shall be by jury; and such trial shall be held in the State where the said crimes shall have been committed.”

It has been the boast of England for centuries, that the right of trial by jury is the “bulwark of British liberty.” It is a fundamental article of Magna Charta that—

“No man shall be arrested, nor imprisoned, nor banished, nor deprived of life, except by the judgment of his peers, or by the law of the land.”

This right of trial by jury cost the people of England a long and bloody conflict with the despotism of the throne; but they triumphed at last, and for centuries now, no occupant of the British throne has presumed to deny to the humblest citizen, either in peace or war, the sacred right of trial by a jury of men of his own degree. Our fathers copied this great right of the Magna Charta into the Constitution of our country, as the foundation of American liberty. They were careful that there should never be any possibility of a misunderstanding of the law: “*The trial of all crimes shall be by jury.*”

In his comments on this article of the Constitution, Chief Justice Story says:

“It is observable, that the trial of all crimes is not only to be by jury, but to be held in the State where they are committed. The object of this clause is, to secure the party accused from being dragged to a trial in some distant State, far away from his friends, and witnesses, and neighborhood, and thus subjected to the verdict of mere strangers, who may feel no common

sympathy, or who may even cherish animosities or prejudices against him.—There is little danger, indeed, that Congress would ever exert their power in so oppressive and unjustifiable a manner. But, upon a subject so vital to the security of the citizen, it was fit to leave as little as possible to mere discretion. By the common law, the trial of all crimes is required to be in the county where they are committed.”

Now no honorable man will deny that the present administration has recklessly and criminally trampled this most sacred portion of the Constitution under foot. Not only have men been arrested without any process known to the laws of the country, and denied the right of a trial by jury, but they have been dragged beyond the limits of their own States, and plunged into distant dungeons, where they have been savagely denied counsel, and where their friends were never allowed to visit them. Here have they been held, under the hand of lawless despotism, for months, and that, too, in cases where no charges have been preferred against them—where no charges could be preferred against them—and where no reason could be given for their incarceration, except private and political malice. Neither the dungeons of the Inquisition in Spain, nor of the Bastille in France, in the bloody reign of Robespierre, can furnish any instances of greater violations of law and justice. In the Spanish and French reigns of terror there was, at least, a pretended respect for the forms of law; but this besotted administration has spit upon even the forms of all laws, whether of constitutional or statute origin. It has totally ignored the right of trial by jury, and set the constitutional tribunals

of the country one side, with as easy and as reckless an impudence as Nero beat down the liberties of Rome, when he set fire to its capitol, and danced by the light of its burning temples.

In order more effectually to secure the great palladium of American liberty, the trial by jury of all crimes, our fathers made certain additions or amendments to the Constitution, which greatly added to the original constitutional barriers against persecution and oppression.—The following is one of these amendments :

“No person shall be held to answer for a capital, or otherwise infamous crime, unless on a presentment or indictment of a grand jury, except in cases arising in the land or naval forces, or in the militia when in actual service.”

It will be noticed that this article applies to all cases of crime, except committed by those who are in “actual service” in the militia or navy in time of war, where the civil courts cannot have convenient jurisdiction. It applies to all cases except soldiers, or other persons within the lines of the army in actual war.

Chief Justice Story’s comment on this amendment is as follows :

“From this summary statement, it is obvious that the grand jury perform most important public functions, and are a great security to the citizens against vindictive prosecutions, either by the Government, or by political partizans, or by private enemies. Nor is this all: the indictment must charge the time, and place, and nature, and circumstances of the offence with clearness and certainty, so that the party may have full notice of the charge and, be able to make his defence with all reasonable knowledge and ability.”

The same article of the amendment to the Constitution declares, that every party “accused shall enjoy the right to a speedy and public trial, by an impartial jury of the State and district wherein the crime shall have been committed.”

It is a well-known fact, that this provision of the Constitution has been cruelly violated by the administration, by withholding from the victims of its persecution “the right of a *speedy and public trial* by an impartial jury:” for it has criminally refused any form of trial for months, while the accused were dying in prisons pleading to be tried, and demanding in vain to know what were the charges against them, and who were their accusers. And, whenever a trial did come, it was not by jury, but by a “military commission” appointed by the President, and which conducted its mockings of justice in secret, without allowing the accused to be present, or to call a single witness in his defence. My God! is this America?—Are we the sons of those brave defenders of liberty who fought the battles of the Revolution, and gave us that grand palladium of freedom, the Constitution! In what part of the Constitution does the President find his authority for appointing “commissioners” to try American freemen in secret? Is it that clause which declares that “the trial of *all crimes* shall be by jury?” or is it that other clause, which provides that every person accused “shall enjoy the right of a speedy and public trial, by a jury of the State and district wherein the crime shall have been committed?” This is the supreme law of our land, which has never, until now, been violated.

The history of England furnishes some examples of trials by "commissioners" instead of by jurors, as *Magna Charta* commands; but in that country there has ever been found sufficient virtue in the courts, and sufficient justice in Parliament, to affix the stamp of disgrace and condemnation upon such illegal deeds of tyranny.

In the reign of Elizabeth, on an occasion of "great public danger," an order was issued, on the 4th of August, 1512, giving a commissioner arbitrary powers over the rogues and vagabonds of London, which order was shown to be illegal, in a great argument by Lord Bacon. He declared that all such trials by commissioners "are not sufficient to call any man to answer by any warrant by them made, without indictment or other matter of record, according to the old law of the land."

In the reign of King Edward the Third, "in a time of great public danger," certain "commissioners of enquiry" were appointed, who conducted their business in secret. This led to a special act of Parliament, forbidding any such "secret enquiries" to be made, and ordering, by statute, that all such commissions for enquiry should be issued to the judges on the bench, and that all enquiries should be made "in open courts, and not in any close or secret place; and that all enquiries should be by juries, and by no digression or examination." The English judges in the time of Henry VIII. gave verdicts against all such commissions, and pronounced it "directly against the law to take any man's body without indictment." It was held that no man's liberty was secure, if the crown could

appoint commissioners to stand in the place of juries and the courts of law. It would have cost any King of England, at any time for the last century and a half, not only his crown, but his head, if he had attempted the deeds which Mr. Lincoln has done in this land of boasted liberty. His own Congressmen have admitted that he has been guilty of violating the Constitution and laws of the country, by passing an act to protect him and his agents in guilt from arrest and imprisonment. By this indemnifying act they confess his crime—confess that he is liable to be arraigned before the courts of justice, to be tried and convicted. That proof they have foolishly sent forth to the world in the damning shape of a *confession*. It brands the President as a self-convicted felon. We say *foolishly*, because their act is no law, and does not afford the guilty President the least relief. The Constitution says: "No *ex post facto* law shall be passed;" i. e. law made after the act is done. Congress has no power to pass a law to stay the punishment of crime already accomplished. Such an act is a violation of the Constitution, and is, therefore, of no binding effect whatever upon the courts. Any judge who should respect such an act, would render himself liable to impeachment and removal. Nor is this delirious Congress any better off with its other equally unconstitutional act—suspending the writ of *habeas corpus* in States not in rebellion against the laws of the land. Congress has no power to pass such an act. Article 1, section 9, of the Constitution declares that "the privilege of the writ of *habeas corpus* shall not be suspended unless, when in cases

of rebellion or invasion, the public safety require it." But there is no rebellion nor invasion in the State of New Jersey, nor in any of the Northern States, and Congress has, therefore, no power to suspend the writ of liberty in these States—no more power than it has to pass an act ordering citizens to be hanged without trial and without proof of guilt. This act suspending the writ of *habeas corpus* in non-rebellious States, not only violates the ninth section of the first article of the Constitution, but it necessarily leads to the violation of a portion of the second section of the third article, which declares that "the trial of all crimes, except in cases of impeachment, shall be by jury; and such trial shall be held in the State where the said crimes shall have been committed. This suspension act of Congress also virturly violates articles 1, 2, 4, 5, 6, 8 and 10 of the amendments to the Constitution.

Article 1 prohibits Congress from passing any act that abridges the freedom of speech, or the press.

Article 2 prevents Congress from passing any law to prohibit the people from keeping arms for self-defence.

Article 4 forbids Congress to pass any law to render citizens insecure in their persons, houses, papers and effects, or to subject them to any arrest not supported by oath or affirmation.

Article 5 forbids Congress to pass any law whereby a citizen, who is not a soldier in the land or naval service, shall be held to answer for any crime unless on a presentment or an indictment of a grand jury, or to deprive any man of his liberty without due process of law.

Article 6 forbids Congress to pass any act to prevent an accused man from having a speedy and public trial by an

impartial jury, or to try a man without informing him of the nature of the accusation against him, or confronting him with his accusers.

Article 8 guarantees every citizen against unusual and cruel punishments.

Article 10 forbids Congress to exercise any powers not delegated to it by the States.

Now the act suspending the writ of liberty in States where there is no rebellion nor invasion, really amounts to a violation of all these articles. Indeed, it *violates not less than nine articles and sections of the Constitution!* It is, therefore, no law, and will be so pronounced by the courts. People who submit to such a violation of their Constitution, such an invasion of their chartered rights, deserve to be slaves. Since the reign of tyranny began, a thousand kings have lost their heads for infinitely less crimes against the lawful rights of the people. If the colporteurs, mesmeric doctors, and abolition lecturers of Congress do not know that they have no power to suspend the courts, where there is no "rebellion nor invasion," then it is time the courts and the people gave these furious imbeciles a lesson or two in constitutional law. Shall their masters, the sovereign people, for a single moment cower beneath the scowling impotence of a mob of refuse humanity, which never yet knew the restraints and the manners of the society of gentlemen? Shall the sovereign people of this land look on passively, and see their Constitution trampled under foot by a herd of negro-worshipping savages? If the world has been wondering for two thousand years that the once noble people of Rome were not sooner stung to univer-

real fury under the rule of the joking, singing, dancing, profligate mimist, Nero, what must we expect the verdict of our children to be of us, when they shall read how we looked on and saw the mighty temple of constitutional liberty hacked and haggled down by a gang of blundering liars and impostors? Let us either learn to forget whose sons we are, or teach those whom we have appointed to administer our laws to respect our chartered rights.—There is rebellion in South Carolina!—Is that any reason why we here, where there is no rebellion, should be dispossessed of every safeguard of our liberty? We have given our treasure, al-

most to the last dollar—must we too be treated like rebels and felons? Denied all the rights made sure to us in our constitution and laws! Arrested for no crime! Incarcerated without charge and without remedy! Tried, not by juries, but by commissioners! Put into prison and let out again by telegraph! By hired spies! By drunken, libertine provost-marshals! By policemen! By pimps without warrants! By informers! By convicts from penitentiaries! And—O my God!—by abolition lecturers! Is there a “lower deep” yet? Then “death and hell hath given up their dead!”

THE U. S. TREASURY ROBBED TO BUY NEGROES.

THE Lower House of Congress has passed a bill to appropriate ten million dollars (\$10,000,000) of the people's money to buy the negroes in Missouri. If the people of Missouri are fools enough to take Mr. Lincoln's or Congress' *promise to pay* for that amount, so be it; but it will never be paid.—Congress has no power to appropriate the people's money for such an object—no more right to empty the treasury of the United States to buy negroes in Missouri, than it has to buy negroes in Guinea—or, than it has to pass a law authorizing Mr. Lincoln to send out his provost marshals to rob the pockets, and steal the shirts from the backs, of every man they can overtake.

The administration has been for some time spending more than one hundred thousand dollars a day, to support negroes whom they have stolen, or induced to run away from their masters. And

all this outlay for negroes has been going on while our soldiers have remained unpaid, and their wives and children are suffering with want—almost with starvation. Within the last thirty days, over a hundred thousand white men—North and South—have been slain to appease the terrible Moloch of abolitionism. The whole of this bloody crime may now be summed up in the horrid word—*abolitionism*. *Ilias malorum*. It is the death-warrant of the nation.

“Born to afflict Afric's family,
And sow dissension in the hearts of brothers.”

Born to impoverish and destroy white men, to bestow an imaginary and unattainable good upon black men. Will the people pay the unlawful debt? For one, I am resolved not to go into this negro-buying business if I can help it.

If the people of Missouri wish to get rid of their negroes, they are welcome—provided they do not throw them upon us for support. If they do not wish to get rid of them, they are welcome to keep them. Only the people of these Northern States are determined that they will not be taxed to buy them. Let those who wish invest in that kind of fund; only let them understand that they have Mr. Lincoln and his crazy Congress for paymasters. *I, Abraham*

Lincoln & Co., promise to pay ten millions of dollars for the aforesaid negroes of Missouri. If any body is content with such a note of hand they can take it; but let them not imagine that the nation will ever endorse it. If capitalists are content to advance money on such paper, it is their own speculation; let them not accuse the nation of dishonesty in repudiating the illegal demand.

THE PROPHECY OF CALHOUN.

In 1837, when abolition petitions were first presented to Congress, John C. Calhoun uttered the following prophetic language concerning them:

“As widely as this incendiary spirit has spread, it has not yet infected this body, or the great mass of the intelligent and business portion of the North; but unless it be speedily stopped, *it will spread and work upward till it brings the two great sections of the Union into deadly conflict.*

“A large portion of the Northern States believed slavery to be a sin, and would believe it an obligation to abolish it, if they should feel themselves in any degree responsible for its continuance, and that his (Webster’s) doctrine would necessarily lead to the belief of such responsibility. I then predicted that it would commence, as it has, with this fanatical portion of society; and that they would begin their operations on the ignorant, the weak, the young, the thoughtless, and would gradually extend upward till they become strong enough to obtain political control, when he, and

others holding the highest stations in society, would, however reluctant, be compelled to yield to their doctrine, *or be driven into obscurity.*

“Those who imagine that the spirit now abroad in the North will die away of itself *without a shock of convulsion,* have formed a very inadequate conception of its real character; it will continue to rise and spread, unless prompt and efficient measures to stay its progress be adopted. *Already it has taken possession of the pulpit, of the school, and, to a considerable extent, of the press—* these great instruments by which the mind of the rising generation will be formed.

“However sound the great body of the non-slaveholding section are at present, in the course of a few years they will be succeeded by those who have been taught to hate the people and institutions of nearly one-half of this Union, with a hatred more deadly than one hostile nation ever entertained toward another. It is easy to see the end. By the necessary course of events, if left to themselves, *we must become*

finally two people. It is impossible, under the deadly hatred which must spring up between the two great sections if the present causes are permitted to operate unchecked, that we should continue under the same political system. The conflicting elements would burst the Union asunder, as powerful as are the links which hold it together. *Abolition and the Union cannot coexist.* As a friend of the Union I openly proclaim it, and the sooner it is known the better."

Alas! how are these warning words fulfilled! Not only was Webster worse than driven into obscurity by abolition-

ism—he was cruelly mocked and maligned, even after he was dead, by its fiendish temper. And it has worked the destruction precisely as foreseen by the great statesman of the South. It was true then that "abolitionism and the Union cannot coexist." It is true now. It will be true forever. It is also true that there is no hope of reconstructing the Union until abolitionism is dead and buried. Those who really wish to save or reconstruct the Union, can only make a beginning by destroying the bloody fiend abolitionism. *If that lives, the nation must die.*

 ACROSTIC.

GRANT that thy wisdom's mantle yet may fall
 Encircling some brave soul with saving might;
 Or that, in answer to a nation's call,
 Reason may dawn and yet disperse the night.
 Grant that thy sacred heritage yet may be
 Eternal—Union, Peace and Liberty.

Would thou were't here—Sage, Hero of thy time,
 Among dissensions, and 'midst treasons rife.
 Secession standing in the ranks of Crime,
 Her nervous sons all maddened in the strife.
 In her dark train Disunion comes—
 North against South in fierce array.
 Grant from our altars and our homes
 This treacherous storm may pass away.
 Oh, save thy country, if thy spirit can,
 Nor leave its memory to the sneers of man.

NEW ENGLAND RULING THE MIDDLE AND WESTERN STATES.

To REALIZE how completely the New England school of politicians has seized the Government of the United States, we have only to refer to the following list of the chairmen of all the important committees of the Senate:

<i>Committee.</i>	<i>Chairman.</i>	<i>Where from.</i>
Foreign Relations.	Sumner.	New England.
Finance.	Fessenden.	New England.
Military Affairs.	Wilson.	New England.
Naval Affairs.	Hale.	New England.
Post Offices.	Collamer.	New England.
Pensions.	Foster.	New England.
Claims.	Clark.	New England.
Public Buildings.	Foote.	New England.
Conting't Expenses.	Dixon.	New England.

Practically, the United States Senate might just about as well meet in Boston as in Washington. The same preponderance of Yankee abolitionism is found in the committees of the Lower House. The fifteen millions of people in the Middle and Western States are used as a tail to the New

England abolition kite. These sharpers of New England thus control over \$800,000,000 per annum of the money of the country. The great States of New York, Pennsylvania, and of the West, have comparatively no voice in the management of the finance of the country. Its monetary and political destiny are in the hands of a set of abolition colporteurs and crazy fanatics. If a country thus used and thus abused can survive, either financially or politically, it will be a miracle indeed.

Beecher, in a late speech, boasted that "New England rules the United States." He might have said that it is determined to rule or ruin the United States, and that it has very nearly accomplished the latter. But the Middle and the Western States will some day throw off the abolition yoke. That day is at hand.

TO OUR SUBSCRIBERS.

THE Publishers of this Journal are happy to announce, that the liberation of the Press from the shackles which the besotted tyrants at Washington had imposed upon it, has opened the way to make the Work all that it was designed to be, as the organ of those political principles which date from the foundation of the Government, and which were, in fact, the inspiring source of the glorious struggle of the Revolution. From the time the first number was issued—in June last—until within a few weeks of the present date, the Editor lived under the perpetual threat of the Bastile, and of having the Work—in the polite language of the sublime head of the Post Office Department—“excluded from the mails, if any thing more that is treasonable appears in its columns.” We could not be ignorant of the meaning of this “gentle warning.” We knew that any criticism of the blundering stupidity and intolerant fanaticism of the Administration would be deemed *treason*; and so there was no course left for us but to fight for our rights, almost single-handed and alone, or to quietly wait the time when the reacting force of public opinion should break the fetters of the Press, and drive the scoundrelly usurpers to abandon their guilty designs. The latter seemed the wisest thing for us to do. As we were sure it would, the day of freedom has speedily returned, and we shall now go forward with our original design of publishing a Work that shall dare claim to be an organ of the pure Democracy that dates from other and better times—of the Democracy that ever stood forth the champion of the rights of the States, and of the well-defined constitutional restriction upon

the powers of the General Government, which are the great and only safeguards of the people against the dangerous encroachments of centralizing power. Be it the mission of this Work to help pilot Democracy out of these latter-day quagmires, where it has been floundering about in half-companionship with revolutionary Black Republicanism, and even with bloody and inexorable Abolitionism. Hateful, disgraceful company! We must renounce it and all that belongs to it, or witness the eternal ruin of our country. We must stop all this compromising with treason by electing *Black Republican Democrats* to office, or give up our party-honor and our country's salvation.

The three numbers of the first half-yearly volume of the OLD GUARD, due the subscribers who commenced with the beginning of the Work, will be forwarded immediately, or as soon as we have time to substitute some new matter in the place of the old plates, which were stereotyped in times when a man had to avoid declaring the whole truth, to save himself from being dragged from his home to be devoured by the vermin of Mr. Lincoln's dungeons. We desire, as much as possible, to purify the pages of this Work from all traces of the weakness which the President's brief reign of terror imposed upon the Press. Those who have paid for one year are, of course, credited up to June next. New subscribers wishing the six numbers of the first volume, will receive them by enclosing fifty cents with the subscription for the current year. The office of publication has been removed from Hackensack to New York, as a point favorable to a more extended circulation and usefulness.

GOVERNOR SEYMOUR.

THE fine steel engraving of Governor SEYMOUR which we publish this month, will, we are persuaded, be a source of great gratification to our patrons. The patriotic, the noble, the fearless stand he has taken in defence of the Constitution and laws of the perishing Republic, has attracted the attention not only of our own country, but of Europe. He has made himself the leading man of the hour. If he keeps on, and boldly resists the insidious march of unconstitutional and despotic power against the rights of the State and the liberty of its citizens, he will make for himself a name which will stand in history by the side of that of the Father of his Country.

This Journal was, we believe, the first to recommend his nomination for the office to which the people have just elected him, which it did as early as June last. But it must not, on this account, be supposed that we claim to be an organ of his administration. He is responsible for nothing that we say, and we are not responsible for any of his acts. We shall support him in all measures which appear to us to be just and wise in these trying times, and no further. This Journal only claims to be an independent organ of the time-honored principles of Democracy. It is an organ of principles —not of men.





Eng^d by W. G. Jackson, N.Y.

C. S. Vallandigham

"Devoted to the Union from the beginning, I will not
desert it now, in this the hour of its sorest trial."

Engraved expressly for The Old Guard.

THE OLD GUARD,

A MONTHLY JOURNAL DEVOTED TO THE PRINCIPLES OF
1776 AND 1787.

VOLUME II.—FEBRUARY, 1863.—No. II.

FINANCIAL RUIN OF THE COUNTRY.

THE wants of the Government, as we have said, are to be supplied only by three means, viz.: taxation, loans and paper money. The first has been ignored by the Government; the second we showed in our last number to be impossible; and it remains to discuss paper emissions, by which it is sought to obtain from the people, without interest, that capital which the wealthy refuse to lend the Government on any terms.

The person who invests in a long loan does so when he knows something of the stability and resources of the lender. In the present case, not the most devoted patriot can tell the issue of this war. How many States will exist when it shall have ceased, and who will be responsible for the debt created avowedly for revolution? Among the States that survive how many will be able to pay? How many will be willing to pay?—Even in the event of an ultimate restoration of the Union as it was, how far will the impoverished tax-payer consent to meet debts that are reeking with corruption? How many persons whose sons have bled on the battle-field will put their hands in their pockets to con-

solidate the scandalous fortunes gathered by robbing those sons, in their hour of need, of their food and clothing? All these and more are contingencies which make loans impossible, even if surplus capital existed to the extent required. The only alternative then is paper money; and it is no doubt the case that, while both Chairman and Secretary are striving to throw the responsibility upon each other, neither contemplates any other result of congressional action.

Both the Secretary of the Treasury and the Chairman of the Committee of Ways and Means labor under the delusion that paper money is capital, and that, consequently, the success of loans depends upon the amount of irredeemable paper first put afloat. The Secretary is so filled with this idea that he reproduces it on every occasion, and with a degree of fatuity scarcely credible. The same notion possesses Mr. Stevens, the Chairman of the Committee of Ways and Means, who, in his speech of Dec. 18, previously alluded to, has this extraordinary passage:

“It was proposed to do so by issuing legal tender notes to the extent of \$200,000,000 beyond the amount already authorized, and a *billion* of bonds at six per cent. interest, redeemable in twenty years in coin. The issue of \$500,000,000, legal tender, would render them so abundant that capitalists would be glad to turn them to profit by investing them in loans. In a year the whole *billion* of bonds would doubtless be taken at par.”

By what process of reasoning the Chairman persuades himself that the issues of Government promises in payment of its debts will make the public richer, and increase the amount of surplus capital they may have to invest, it is difficult to determine. It would appear that the history of the past year has been totally lost on both the Secretary and the Chairman. When Congress met in December, 1861, the Secretary had made three loans—two of \$50,000,000 each in three-year 7 3-10 bonds at par for gold; one in a twenty-year stock bearing six per cent. stock at eighty-nine per cent., or eleven per cent. discount for gold. He had issued \$24,000,000 of currency notes, and had still \$50,000,000 of bonds bearing 7 3-10 to issue, but he required to borrow, in addition, \$231,000,000 up to July, 1862.—To supply this, Congress authorized \$150,000,000 of currency notes, \$50,000,000 of six per cent. stock, interest payable in gold, and redeemable in from five to twenty years, in which the notes might be funded. It authorized, also, the recall of deposits payable on demand at five per cent. interest in gold, and the issue of an unlimited amount of certificates payable in a year, bearing six per cent. in gold. When Congress again met, in December, 1862, the Secretary reported that he had not been

able to negotiate any loans at all, although the price of United States six per cent. stock—twenty years to run—had fallen from par, December, 1861, to seventy-five, December, 1862, in gold. He yet found no buyers. He had with *great* difficulty raised during the year the following sums:

Currency notes issued.....	\$222,932,111
“ fractions.....	6872,101
Deposits received—five per cent.....	79,798,650
One-year certificates—six per cent....	87,363,241
Three-year bonds—7.3-10 per cent....	50,000,000
Five-20-year bonds—six per cent.....	23,750,000
Total.....	\$470,716,103

The currency was poured out, as fast as printed, in payment of soldiers, and creditors whose capital had been obtained by the Government. At the same time the three-year bonds and the one-year certificates were also paid out, until they fell to so heavy a discount that creditors refused them. The capital of trade and commerce being unemployed accumulated, but the Government loans were no temptation for its investment. It was loaned temporarily on deposit to the Government on bonds payable within a year, but could not be drawn into the long stock. While these operations were in progress, the paper of the Government depreciated twenty-five per cent., which was apparent in the rise in gold, and also in all commodities, their value having advanced thirty-three per cent. in the market.—The Secretary was surprised to find that notwithstanding the large amount of notes issued, they were not more available for Government loans than before. This fact might have opened his eyes to the real operation of his paper money. He adhered, however, to

his dogma—"the more paper the more capital." It is a law of finance, that currency cannot be increased by any artificial operation. In ordinary times, when specie payments are maintained, the currency required is determined by the productive industry of the country. If the crops are large and manufactures abundant, there must be more currency to represent them. If there are no bank notes, a portion of the products will be exported, and specie will return to swell the currency to the required sum. If the banks supply it, the notes will return upon them for redemption whenever there is an excess issued, and none can be kept out beyond the actual wants of commerce. If, in a time of suspension, as now, the Government undertakes to issue notes in excess of the natural demands of business, those notes, being neither exported nor redeemed, will depreciate in value in proportion to the amount issued. In other words, the prices will rise so as to require more of the notes to represent the same commodities; and no matter how great may be the issue, there will be no more currency than before. Thus: a bale of cotton which will make eighteen hundred yards of cloth, last spring was represented by \$60; it now requires \$310 to buy it. A yard of cotton cloth was worth 8 cents; it is now worth 22. Thus: last year a manufacturer would sell eighteen hundred yards for \$144.—To reproduce it he gave \$60 for cotton, \$50 for labor, and had \$34 for interest, rent, profit, &c.; now he sells eighteen hundred yards for \$396, gives \$305 for cotton, \$60 for labor, and there remains \$21 for other items, leaving no apparent profit. It will be observed that this transaction requires three times as much

money as before. All articles and all business are affected in the same way, but not to the extent of cotton, because the short supply of that article aids in the rise caused by the paper money.— This absorption of money by the rise in price is apparent in the higher loans of the banks and deposits. A man who sold one thousand bags of coffee last year, would deposit the proceeds, \$10,000, in bank; the same quantity sold now involves a deposit of \$30,000; hence the deposits of the banks represent no more capital, although the figures are much higher. A sale of ten thousand pounds of sugar last year would realize \$600; this year it will bring \$1,000, and this cost is made up as follows:

Sugar cost in Cuba, 1,000 lbs....	\$45.00
Duty 30 per cent. in gold.....	\$13.50
Premium on gold for duty.....	4.47
" " exchange in paper.	17.10
	<hr/>
Charges.....	35.07
	<hr/>
Cost of sugar...	\$80.07

To these rates must be added freight and other costs of importation, new taxes, and the profit of importers, and the consumer pays 10.1-4 cts. The consumption of sugar in the Northern States being per annum 30 lbs. per head, it follows that every individual now loses \$1.00 per annum on the sugar he uses, in consequence of the paper money. He is subjected to similar loss on every article he uses, and is gradually impoverished. It does not follow, because the prices are high, that the dealers make more profits, and have, therefore, more to invest in Government stocks. Nevertheless it is this delusion that possesses the Secretary,

and the Chairman of the Committee of Ways and Means. They alledge that the increase of business has absorbed the paper; that is, the paper having depreciated as compared with commodities, more is required to represent the same quantities; and they propose to double the quantity outstanding, which, as seen in the above extract, the Chairman of the Committee of Ways and Means says will suffice to fund "a billion" of stocks in a single year, at par. We do not know that he meant to be ironical, and ridicule the notion of the Secretary to the same effect, but the word "billion" twice repeated would lead to that supposition. "A billion" means a million multiplied by itself, or "one million of millions." The square of a million—a trillion—is a "million of millions of millions," the cube of a million, &c. It is hardly probable that the Chairman, who has been one of the most active men in pushing on and prolonging the war, has any idea of the force of the figures which he so glibly uses to represent its cost. The sum he mentions as possible to borrow in a year is three times the whole British debt, which required one hundred and fifty years and many wars to create.—It is obvious, however, that that sum might very easily be reached in the way he proposes, without the results that he anticipates, although both the Secretary and the Chairman overlook the main effect of their paper issues, and the only one by which such magnificent figures may be reached. We have shown that prices rise in proportion to the quantity of paper out. With that rise the amount of paper must be increased. Thus: the salaries of the diplomatic corps are \$1,000,000 per annum. At present, to

pay that sum abroad, it costs the Government \$1,330,000, because it must buy exchange with paper. The whole expense of the Government is increased in the same proportion; \$600,000,000 this year will go no further than \$400,000,000 last year, and the disbursement of this money will make \$900,000,000 necessary next year to effect the same object. This, in its turn, will produce further depreciation, and it will be observed that the amount of taxes levied will not keep pace with this depreciation. If the cost is enhanced this year by \$200,000,000 by the use of paper money, that sum absorbs and neutralizes the whole tax, even if it should reach \$200,000,000. This process of depreciation is also greatly aided by the diminished production of needed articles. One million of men have stopped productive labor and become destroyers. The price rises in the double ratio of scarcity and depreciated currency, and the point is being rapidly approximated when the paper will become discredited. Holders of property will then bargain only for gold, and the whole fabric of paper will perish in an awful crash. Meantime, creditors will have been ruined, while debtors will not have been enriched. Suppose a life insured for the benefit of a family falls in when legal tender paper is of the value of \$1,000 for a barrel of flour, what becomes of the dependence of that family? There are now \$200,000,000 of hard earnings in the savings banks, most of it lodged in gold. Mr. Chase and Mr. Stevens have put it afloat, and told the poor owners they must take paper, no matter what may be its value. The assets of the savings banks will be paid to them in this valueless paper, and

they will have no other means of payment. The owners of ground rents fixed in their value will get paper of no value. The holders of \$700,000,000 of railroad bonds will get paper of such value as it may happen to be when the payment is due. The banks of New York have now no legal existence, but they are incurring their liabilities on federal paper, which has also no legal existence. Their assets will be paid in the depreciated legal tender of the Government, leaving their stockholders personally liable for the flood of paper they are issuing based on the Government paper.

The ruin of fortunes and values flows from the exhaustion of capital fictitiously

represented. Whether the Government borrows in stock or on paper money the result is the same—it obtains capital, the products of industry, and consumes it without reproduction. If it borrows on stock, it destroys values by competing for the capital represented by those values; if it borrows with paper money, it destroys capital by sapping its revenue. A person who holds \$1,000 New York six per cent. stock receives \$60 income. This was last year equal to twelve barrels of flour; it is this year only equal to eight barrels. One-fourth of his income is gone, and with each succeeding issue of paper his income will diminish, until a common insolvency falls upon all alike.

REMARKS ON THE FRENCH DECLARATION OF RIGHTS OF 1793.

WE give below, entire, a translation of the celebrated Declaration of Rights put forth by the French nation in 1793—followed by remarks on certain sections which are important at the present time. This Declaration of Rights possesses an especial interest to us, from the fact that it was made six years after the establishment of our own Constitution, and much of it was undoubtedly inspired by that immortal instrument.

DECLARATION OF THE RIGHTS OF MAN AND OF CITIZENS.

The French People, convinced that the forgetting of the natural rights of Man, and the contempt shown to these rights, are the only causes of the calamities in the world, have resolved to

set forth in a solemn declaration these sacred and unalienable rights; in order that, it being in the power of all Citizens to compare continually the acts of the government with the design of every social institution, they may never suffer themselves to be oppressed and debased by tyranny;—and in order that the People may always have before their eyes the foundations of their liberty and of their happiness; the magistrate, the rule of his duties; the legislator, the object of his mission.

Consequently, the French People proclaim, in the presence of the Supreme Being, the following Declaration of the Rights of Man and of Citizens:

ART. 1. The design of Society is common happiness.

Government is instituted to secure to Man the enjoyment of his natural and imprescriptible rights.

2. These rights are: equality, liberty, safety and property.

3. All men are equal by nature and in the sight of the law.

4. The law is the free and solemn expression of the general will; and is the same for all, both in protecting and in punishing; it cannot command but that which is just and useful to Society; it cannot forbid but that which is hurtful to the same.

5. All Citizens are equally admissible to public employments. Free People acknowledge no other motives of preference in their elections than virtues and talents.

6. Liberty is that power which belongs to Man, of doing everything that does not hurt the rights of another: its principle is nature; its rule justice; its protection the law: its moral limits are defined by this sentence: *Do not to another what thou wouldst not wish done to thyself.*

7. The right of manifesting one's thoughts and opinions, either by the press, or in any other manner—the right of assembling peaceably—and the free exercise of the different manners of worship—cannot be forbidden.

The necessity of declaring these rights, supposes either the presence, or the recent remembrance, of despotism.

8. Safety consists in the protection granted by Society to each of its members, for the preservation of his person, his rights, and his property.

9. The law ought to protect the liberty of the public, and of each individual, against the oppression of those who govern.

10. No person can be accused, arrested, nor detained, but in cases determined by the law, and according to the forms which it prescribes. Every Citizen summoned or arrested under the authority of the law, ought immediately to obey; he renders himself culpable by resistance.

11. Every act exercised against a man not within the cases determined by the law, or without the forms prescribed

by the same, is arbitrary and tyrannical; the person against whom it should be attempted to be executed by violence, has a right to repel it by force.

12. Those who solicit, despatch, sign, execute, or cause to be executed, arbitrary acts, are guilty, and ought to be punished.

13. Every man being supposed innocent until he has been declared guilty, if it is judged indispensable to arrest him, all rigor, not necessary to secure his person, ought to be severely repressed by the law.

14. No one ought to be judged nor punished but after having been heard or legally summoned, nor unless he comes under a law made public before the perpetration of the crime; a law which should punish offences committed before it existed would be tyrannical; the retroactive effect given to a law would be a crime.

15. The law ought not to decree any punishments but such as are strictly and evidently necessary: the punishments ought to be proportioned to the crimes, and useful to Society.

16. The right of property is that right which belongs to every Citizen of enjoying, according to his pleasure, his goods, his revenues, the fruits of his labor and industry—and of disposing, according to his pleasure, of the same.

17. No kind of labor, culture or commerce can be forbidden to the industrious Citizen.

18. Every man may engage his services and his time; but he can neither sell himself, nor be sold. His person is not alienable property. The law acknowledges no servitude; there can exist only an engagement to perform and to reward, between the man who works and the man who employs him.

19. No one can be deprived of the least portion of his property without his consent, except when the public necessity, legally ascertained, requires it, and on condition of a just and previous indemnification.

20. No contribution can be enacted

but for general utility. All Citizens have a right to have a share in fixing the contributions, to watch over the use made of them, and to require an account of their expenditure.

21. Public succors are a sacred debt. The Society owes subsistence to the Citizens that are unfortunate, both by furnishing them with work, and by securing the means of existence to those who are unable to work.

22. Instruction is the want of all. The Society ought to favor with all its power the progress of public reason, and to place the means of instruction within the reach of every Citizen.

23. The social guarantee consists in the action of all to secure to each the enjoyment and preservation of his rights; this guarantee rests on the national sovereignty.

24. The social guarantee cannot exist if the limits of the public functions are not clearly defined by the law, and if the responsibility of all public functionaries is not well secured.

25. The sovereignty resides in the People. It is one and indivisible, imprescriptible and unalienable.

26. No portion of the People can exercise the power of the whole People; but each section of the Sovereign assembled ought to enjoy the right of expressing its will with entire liberty.

27. If any individual usurps the Sovereignty, let him be immediately put to death by freemen.

28. A People have always the right of revising, of reforming, and of changing their constitution. One generation cannot be subject to its laws future generations.

29. Every citizen has an equal right to have a share in making the law, and in appointing his mandataries and agents.

30. Public functions are essentially temporary; they cannot be considered as distinctions nor as rewards, but as duties.

31. Crimes committed by the mandataries and the agents of the people

ought never to remain unpunished. No one has a right to pretend to be more inviolable than other Citizens.

32. The right of presenting petitions to the depositaries of public authority [belongs to every individual. The exercise of this right] can in no case be prohibited, suspended, or limited.

33. Resistance to oppression is the consequence of the other rights of Man.

34. Oppression is exercised against the Social Body, when even only one of its members is oppressed. Oppression is exercised against each member when the Social Body is oppressed.

35. When the government violates the rights of the People, insurrection is, to the People and to every portion of the People, the most sacred of rights and the most indispensable of duties.

REMARKS.

DANGERS OF POWER.

Section 1.—The protection of the citizen against the oppression of those who govern, is a vital object of constitutional law. It is one of the highest offices of *constitutions* to protect the rights and the liberty of the citizen. We may say that if a constitution fails in this, it fails in all. Under all forms of government the greatest danger to the citizen is from those who govern. In a republic like ours this danger is even greater than in monarchies, whenever those who are entrusted with the administration of the laws refuse to keep strictly within the constitutional limitations; for then *anarchy* is sure to go hand in hand with *despotism*, so that the citizen has the two greatest enemies of freedom to contend with at the same time. The greatest foe to the State is not that which assails its external integrity, or territorial boundaries, but that which wars with the organic spirit or principle of the nation. Better to lose ten, or even twenty

States from the territorial lines of the Republic, than that the sacred *principle* on which the Government was founded should be marred in the slightest particular. For this reason, *secessionism*, great as its crimes may be, is a less destructive foe to our country than *abolitionism*. The one lops off a piece of our territory, runs away with a certain number of our acres—the other crushes the life out of our national principle. The one mutilates the body, the other kills the soul. The one says we wish no longer to enjoy liberty in the same temple with you—we will go by ourselves to be free in our own way—leave you to yourselves, to be free in your own way. The other says nobody shall have freedom that we do not dictate the fashion of. No matter how much you may be attached to your own domestic institutions, if they do not please us you shall not have them. You shall not govern yourselves; we will do it for you. If the Constitution is in our way, there is a “necessity” for us to set it aside. If the Constitution does not give us all the power to abolish your institutions, then we must assume the power. This is the attitude of Mr. Lincoln and his party before the world at the present time. Those who have been appointed to be, *pro tempore*, the agents of the Government, have declared themselves the *Government* itself. A President acts as though he were King. He is a usurper, and a tyrant, to the extent of his shallow ability. If the liberty of the people is not in great danger from his usurpation, it is because he is too weak and foolish a man to carry forward and consummate his crimes. But his *attempts* must be rebuked and punished. Let us believe

with Tacitus, that “*Nec unquam satis fida potentia ubi nimis est.*”—Power without control is never to be trusted. Particularly power in the hands of a joking mountebank, buffoon, and fanatic, who is the tool of men of still worse passions than himself.

DUTY OF THE PEOPLE TO STOP USURPATION.

On section 2.—This proposition is a logical deduction from the American principle of Government, which asserts that men do not govern *jure divino*, but by human appointment. They are not rulers “by the grace of God,” as old King-craft affirmed, but by the will of the people. They are elected, not to do their own will and pleasure, but to administer the laws, which the people have ordained by their sovereign act. When these laws are violated by those who are elected to administer them; and especially when the laws are so set aside that the people cannot possibly obtain legal redress against the delinquent magistrates, then it is clearly the right and the duty of the people to rise in their sovereign majesty and repel by force the assaults upon their liberty. It is an old trick of usurpers and tyrants to enforce silence on their acts, and then urge that compulsory silence as a proof that the people do not complain of the Administration. It was by such practices that the *Decemvirs* at Rome, who by the laws were to be elected annually, got their term extended to another year; and in that interval they, by preventing the assembling of the *Comitia*, endeavored to perpetuate their power. That was a good while ago. But we have something like it going on in our midst at the present time. Do we not see

Abraham Lincoln and his Congress plotting to prolong their power by bringing into that body creatures of their own, elected, or rather appointed, in violation of the Constitution, and representing no legally constituted constituency? These tools of despotism will not be more legally members of Congress than a deputation of cannibals from the centre of Africa would be. Regard for the laws, for our national honor, and for the preservation of our liberty demands that they shall be treated, by an outraged people, precisely as the same number of African cannibals would be who should attempt to squat in Congress. I know that this language will be called "extreme" by those who sympathize with this abolition rebellion against our Constitution and laws. Those who threw the tea over board, and burned up the British stamp paper at the dawn of the revolution, were called "extreme" by the traitors to liberty of that time. But call me *extreme*; for in the defence of right and liberty I would be so. Call me any thing but a supporter of the Administration of Abraham Lincoln! That ignominy—that impeachment of a man's reason and honor, could not be endured. But what will ye do, O most puissant *modorados*?—sit there in supine submission, dubitant of the propriety of tearing out and crushing the worm that bores at the heart of the Constitution? Then patriotism and courage are dead. Fanaticism or cowardice have killed them!

EXECUTIVE FUNCTIONS LIMITED BY LAW.

On Section 24.—Our own Constitution has so cautiously limited the Federal Government, and fenced it round with

restrictions, that there can never be the least danger, either to the States or to individuals, unless the Executive and Congress usurp powers that do not belong to them. In order that the Federal Government should never have even the shadow of an excuse for mistaking its own powers or misunderstanding the rights of the States, the following clause was inserted in the Constitution: "The powers not delegated to the United States are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people." This leaves nothing to the mere *discretion* of the Federal Government. Its powers are limited and fixed by statute. It cannot, by the utmost stretch of the imagination, infer that it may assume to do whatever *it* believes would be useful to the nation, which is not *expressly prohibited*, for, if it is not clearly delegated to the general Government it is denied to it, and reserved to the States. The President has no right to assume anything. There is the Constitution—let him follow that, or be denounced as a usurper and a criminal. In this our fathers acted wisely. The history of nations shows that it is not possible to put those who are entrusted with power under too many restraints. They may use it well; but those act most prudently who, imagining that their rulers might abuse power, enclose them within certain bounds, beyond which they cannot lawfully go. Power is like fire—if it is not carefully watched and guarded it burns and destroys those it was intended to comfort and serve. The tendency of power ever is to break its bounds, and therefore a wise people leave nothing to chance or to the humors of men in authority. This great principle was

strongly intrenched in the Constitution of the United States just six years before it was affirmed in the French Declaration of Rights. The French people afterwards lost their liberties by allowing those whom they had entrusted with authority to violate it with impunity. There is no evil under the sun but what is to be dreaded from men who may do as they please, without the fear of punishment. The history of the world gives us many examples of nations allowing their rulers to raise, by their own authority, whatever money and soldiers they thought needful in cases of great necessity; and every case afterwards was a "*case of great necessity*." Always afterwards the *necessities* multiplied so fast that the whole wealth and population of the country were swallowed up to supply them. Since the world began this has happened in every land, where those who ask are suffered to judge what ought to be given. It has always ended in *taking* without *asking*.

Shall we add another to these dark examples of history? No!—rather let us hold Mr. Lincoln to a strict observance of the constitution and laws of the land. If he asks for money and men for unlawful purposes, deny him. Deny him according to law. If he attempts to enforce an unlawful demand, resist it—not by unlawful deeds, but by the force which the constitution and laws place at our disposal. We must obey all the laws ourselves; but we must not permit an ignoramus or a usurper to violate our laws and strip us of our rights.

DUTY TO RESIST ARBITRARY AND UNCONSTITUTIONAL DEEDS.

On Section 27.—This is a strong pro-

position—but it is, nevertheless, somewhat based in natural justice and necessity. The laws allow every man the right of killing his assailant in the defence of his own life. A usurping ruler—an Executive who breaks down the laws that have been established for the protection of the property, liberty and life of the people, sets on foot a train which is liable to end in the illegal imprisonment and may be in the murder of thousands of citizens. The Executive who will usurp power to illegally imprison citizens, is on the highway to finally put them to death for the same reason. The one is but the concluding act of the other. This, too, is confirmed by history. Even Nero lived for some time inoffensively, and reigned virtuously; but finding, at last, that he might do whatever he pleased, he let loose his appetite for blood, and committed such mighty, such monstrous, such unnatural slaughters and outrages as have appalled the imagination of man ever since. "Why," exclaimed a Roman patriot, "was not this monster killed when he took the first step of that despotism which has been allowed to go on until he has shed the blood of the best sons of Rome?" The doom did overtake him at last. Of forty-three emperors of Rome, thirty-three died by the hand of violence. But, by all these assassinations, the people gained nothing, except to swop one tyrant for another. When they allowed the first Caesar to suspend the laws of the commonwealth, the whole mischief which precipitated itself upon future generations of that nation was accomplished. Despotic power once achieved has rarely ever been broken by any after struggles of freedom. The map of the old

world gives this lesson. It teaches us that, whenever usurpation and despotism are allowed to fasten themselves in power, there is no hope left for the people but to rid the nation and the world of the existence of the tyrant. And even this does not promise a return of their lost liberty. The revenge may be sweet, but it poorly atones for the loss of that peace and good order in which rational freedom alone can reside. If usurpation and despotism are ever crushed the work must be done at the start, before the guilty power is fully achieved—and, as much violence as is necessary to save the people's liberty from falling under the hand of usurped authority it is clearly the right and the duty of a virtuous people to use. It is no man's duty to be dragged to a dungeon, in violation of his rights and of the laws of his country, without resist-

ing the despotic mandate by all the means in his power. Indeed it is his duty to resist, since the rights of every other citizen in the commonwealth are assailed by his illegal imprisonment, and the whole community would be endangered by his quiet submission to the lawless power. Every man who consents to aid in the illegal arrest of a citizen fairly puts his life into the scales against the liberty of the party assaulted. Every good citizen will join for the defence of the Constitution and the laws of his country. Mr. Lincoln and his marshals, provost-marshals, or any other tools of his lawless deeds, should meet whatever fate may follow a just and manly resistance to a despotic and illegal assault upon the rights of citizens. That is alike natural justice and constitutional law.

FAREWELL, SWEET LIBERTY!

Fumus Troes: fuit ilium, et ingens Gloria Teucrorum.—VIRGIL.

FAREWELL, sweet Liberty, farewell!
 Thy soul of peace no more may dwell
 Where white men strive themselves to be
 Enslaved, to set the negro free!
 But ere, sweet Liberty, we part,
 Accept this tribute of my heart;
 A broken heart, that bleeds to see
 A nation fearing to be free;
 Crouching beneath a feeble hand,
 Raised only for the "contraband"—
 The white man's scorn—the negro's joy—
 Surplus of nature's weak alloy!
 A dead activity of hate!
 For war too quick! for peace too late!

ALARMING EVIDENCES OF DEMORALIZATION IN THE ARMY.

A SOLDIER in Burnside's army, under date of Jan. 3d, 1862, writes to a brother in this city as follows:

"You ought to be here to see how they treat negroes, and then see how they treat white men. The negroes have first rate tents with stoves in them—get soft bread to eat most of the time, and don't have to do night work. The white men have no stoves, have to eat hard *tack*, and do night work. The difference is, that here negroes are white men, and white men negroes. I do not believe we will have an abolitionist in our regiment when we go home, although there were plenty when we came here. A white man in this army cannot go anywhere, nor get anything, while a negro goes where he pleases, and gets whatever he wants. The negroes are paid every month, while there are plenty of regiments here which have not been paid a cent in six months."

A second lieut. in the army wrote home January 13th: "I see that the papers represent that there is difficulty between Gen. Burnside and his officers about another advance; but this is not true, for the trouble is with the soldiers, thousands of whom openly swear that they will not be led into another slaughter pen for the glory of negroes. The whole truth is that the President's emancipation message has driven the conviction into a large portion of the army that henceforth we are fighting only for negroes. Unless there is some change for the better this army is pretty near done fighting. It is impossible to say what they would do if they were actually

in an engagement, but with the temper that at this moment prevails it will be difficult to get them into one. The newspaper correspondents who write that, "the army is impatient to advance" know that they lie like the devil, unless they mean that it is impatient to advance home. There is a man of company B in this regiment now in the lock-up for saying that he wished he could get South and do a little fighting against the abolitionists and negroes, for he was tired of fighting for them."

A soldier in Gen. Grant's division writes to his sister in Williamsburg that: "God knows I am sick and ashamed of this army, if any such a mob of thieving marauding vagabonds ought to be called an army. You would blush for human nature if I could with decency tell you things which I have seen. I want you to see — and get him to use his influence with — to procure me a furlough to go home long enough to recruit my health, for if I do not I shall die. If I was a negro I could go wherever I asked; but I am a white man and must be left to die without pity. It serves me right, for a white man has no business here, stealing, burning houses and fighting for niggers."

A correspondent of the Daily Times, writing from the Army of the Potomac, gives the following bad account:

"General feeling of despondency, resulting from mismanagement and our want of military success. Soldiers are severe critics, and are not to be bamboozled. You may marshal your array of victories in glittering editorials—they

smile sarcastically at them. You see men who tell you that they have been in a dozen battles and were licked and chased every time—they would like to chase once to see how it “feels.” This begins to tell painfully on them. Their splendid qualities—their patience, faith, hope, courage, are gradually oozing out. Certainly never were a graver, gloomier, more sober, sombre, serious and unmusical body of men than the Army of the Potomac at the present time. It is a saddening contrast with a year ago.”

The same correspondent tells us that the “Administration looks with distrust on the Army of the Potomac,” and that the army “looks with distrust on the Administration.” He affirms that Gen. Halleck has declared that the army is “disaffected and dangerous,” and that “the army of the Potomac has ceased to exist.” And again: “the animosity in Washington towards the army is amply repaid by the bitterness of the army towards the Cabinet.”

This letter in the Times fully confirms

a remark made by a United States officer of high grade that, “since the abolition proclamation Washington is quite as much in danger as Richmond from our own army.”

Now why do we publish these alarming evidences of the disgust, discontent, and demoralization that prevail in the army? Because it is time we ceased to delude ourselves with fabricated good news. It is time to stop lying. It is time to look the real condition of things in the face, and confront the stern facts which, sooner or later, must be met and dealt with fairly and truly. We do not deceive the South by our falsehoods, we only deceive and delude ourselves. The South knows our condition better, a good deal, than we are permitted to know it ourselves. Mr. Lincoln has demoralized the very best portion of the army with his tender concern for negroes, and his unnatural indifference to the rights and dignity of white soldiers.

THE CRIME OF WAR.

IF but some few life-drops
 Blush on the ground, for him whose impious hand
 The scanty purple sprinkled, a keen search
 Commences straight: but if a sea be spilt—
 But if a deluge spread its boundless stain,
 And fields be flooded from the veins of man—
 O'er the red plain no solemn coroner
 His inquisition holds. If but one corse,
 With murder'd sign upon it, meets the eye
 Of pale discovery in the lone recess,
 Justice begins the chase: when high are piled
 Mountains of slain, the large, enormous guilt,
 Safe in its size, too vast for laws to whip,
 Trembles before no bar.

BEECHER BLASPHEMY AND NEGRO PATRIOTISM.

HENRY WARD BEECHER utters himself after the following characteristic fashion in the columns of the *Independent*:

“The interval between the destruction and the salvation of the Republic is measured by two steps: one is Emancipation; the other Military Success. The first is taken; the other delays. How is it to be achieved? There is but one answer: by the Negro!

“They (the negroes) are the forlorn hope of the Republic. They are the last safe-keepers of the good cause. *We must make alliance with them, or our final success is imperiled.*

Congress is in a dispute over a bill to arm and equip 150,000 negroes, to serve in the war. Let it stop the debate! The case is settled; the problem is solved; the argument is done. Let the recruiting sergeants beat their drums! The next Levy of Troops must not be made in the North, but on the Plantations. Marshal them into line by regiments and brigades! The men that have picked cotton must now pick flints! Gather the great Third Army! For two years the Government has been searching in an enemy's country for a path to victory: only the Negro can find it! Give him gun and bayonet, and let him point the way! The future is fair: *God and the Negro are to save the Republic!*”

This indecent *amalgam* of stupidity and blasphemy is entirely characteristic of the abolition party. Its leaders never let an opportunity pass to show their contempt for white men in contrast with their admiration of negroes. In this particular Mr. Beecher fairly represents his class. The President's emancipation proclamation is proof that he has no hope of military success except through the negroes. We confess that

his attempts to subjugate the South by an army of white men has proved a failure. He now implores the negroes to come to his rescue. He abandons the hope of success for legitimate warfare, and tries—thank God in vain—to stir the negroes up to insurrection and murder. The negroes as a class appear to have more sense or more humanity than their bloody and brutal allies, the abolitionists. The position at last assumed by the President and his party is one of hostility to every wish of restoring the Union under the Constitution as it is. The plan of *subjugation* means the destruction not only of the Union, but of the present constitutional form of our government. While we are willing to risk all for the salvation of our country—for the restoration of the Union—for the preservation of constitutional liberty—we pray God that this abolition scheme of subjugating the South, and holding them as a conquered people, may never succeed. We never wish to see one half of these States subjugated by the other half—held down as their vassals beneath the hand of despotic power! We shall never relinquish the hope of bringing the revolted States back into the Union—back on the same principles and grounds of equality, on which they came in when the Union was formed—we want to see them back on no other terms. We never wish the involuntary system of Government, the despotism of the old world transplanted to the shores of new. We have not failed to denounce *secession* as an unjust and unauthorized remedy for the evils

which the abolitionists sought to inflict upon the southern people; but, bad as it is, it is infinitely to be preferred to the Lincoln-Sumner plan of reducing one half of the States to the condition of conquered colonies, and holding them down by the power of standing armies. Perish the very name of Union rather than see it prostituted to the purposes of such a damnable despotism! However criminal secessionism was in the beginning, abolitionism has eclipsed it by the blaze of its own crimes. Under this abolition rule the war is no longer for the enforcement of the laws of the Union, and therefore we are all absolved from any further support of it—until the President returns to those objects for which the Constitution permits him to call upon the States for their troops. Lincoln and his fellow traitors are striving to make the war a conflict between the white and black race. He may succeed sooner than he expects, for the way he and his Sumners and Beechers are going on, a storm may be awakened which will end in the extermination of the poor blacks on this continent. When once the hitherto peaceable and harmless negroes shall be so far deluded by Lincoln and his fellow assassins, as to begin the business of murdering white men and women, the work of their own extermination will be quick and terrible. The Beechers and Cheevers are preparing the way for a visitation of wrath and misery upon the unfortunate blacks, which they would never experience in this country if the abolition assassins had never been born. How long will white men

sit still and hear these mad-men proclaim that “the negroes are the forlorn hope of the Republic!” How long will the caucasian man allow this blasphemy to go out to the nations that “God and the negro are to save the Republic!” Already have these ravings produced their effect upon the colored people here in the North. At a late gathering in Jersey city, one of the black Beechers boastingly declared that, “as the right General had not yet been found among the white folks, a black man may be selected to lead the army.” Another ebony Reverend let forth a storm of abuse and threats against the State and people of New Jersey. All the fruits of Lincoln’s and Beecher’s sowing. This gathering of Mr. Lincoln’s black patriots wound up by proposing “three cheers for God!” which was following Beecher pretty literally. We wish that we might hope that the deluded blacks could escape the consequences of the delusions into which they are being driven by the abolitionists. We wish our unhappy country were safe from the revolution and violence which these desperate fanatics are urging forward. We wish an entreaty could prevail with the men of the South to return to the Union that their fathers and our fathers made, and help us to rescue our beloved country from the doom into which these blaspheming traitors are fast plunging it. We shall not cease to use every lawful, every honorable means to bring them back—to restore our country to what it was before the Lincoln and Beecher worms had bored into its heart.

THE HORRORS OF THE ABOLITION BASTILES.

[WE give below Dr. Olds' statement of his arrest and incarceration in Fort Lafayette, as a fair and unexaggerated picture of the Bastiles into which American freeman, charged with no crime, have been plunged by the party now in power at Washington. Future generations of our children will read these things with amazement and shame. Dr. Olds is an ex-member of Congress from Ohio, and is at the present time a member of the Legislature of that State, a post to which he was elected by his fellow-citizens while he was locked up in Lincoln's dungeons. He is a gentleman of estimable character, who will be respected by his countrymen when the name of Abraham Lincoln will be despised and laughed at as a weak imitation of the besotted tyrant Nero.]

"On the 12th of August last, after 10 o'clock at night, my house was forcibly entered by three government ruffians, who with violence seized my person, and holding a revolver at my head, demanded my surrender.

When, after my capture, I demanded to know by what authority they had thus rudely broken into my room, and by what authority they had thus seized my person, they very grumblingly informed me that they were acting under authority of the War Department. I then demanded to be shown their warrant. They informed me that I had no right to make any such demand—that the order which they held was for their protection, and not for my gratification. They, however, permitted me to see it. The document was signed by the Assistant Secretary of War—was dated at Washington city, August 2, 1862. It was directed to W. H. Scott, and commissioned him to take with him one as-

sistant, and to proceed to Lancaster, Ohio, and arrest Edson B. Olds, and to convey him to New York, and deliver him to the commanding officer of Fort Lafayette; and that if he was resisted in the execution of the order, he was directed to call upon Governor Tod, of Ohio, for such assistance as might be necessary. The order contained no intimation of the "nature and cause" of the accusation against me; indeed, it charged me with the commission of no offence whatever; and when I demanded of my captors to know what were the charges against me, they replied that they "did not know." Thus, my friends, was I dragged from a sick bed—for I was, at that time, and for many long and weary days and nights afterward, seriously afflicted with an attack of the bloody flux. In this condition I was hurried into a carriage, and during the remainder of the night driven to Columbus, and just at daylight placed upon the cars, and taken, in my sick and exhausted condition, without a moment's delay, to Fort Lafayette. After this degrading operation had been performed, and before conducting me from the commandant's room to my dungeon, all the other prisoners about the Fort were locked into their rooms, that I might not be seen and recognized, lest, peradventure, information might be given to the world and my friends of my whereabouts, and the cruelties about to be practiced upon me. One of the prisoners having learned a few days afterwards, through the medium of the newspapers, who the mysterious stranger was, wrote to a friend of his "that Dr. Olds, of Ohio, had been brought to Fort Lafayette, and placed in solitary confinement." His letter was returned to him by the commandant, requiring him to strike out so much of it as referred to the case of Dr. Olds. Mydungeon was on the ground, with a brick

pavement or floor over about the one-half of it; and so great was the dampness, that in a very short time a mould would gather upon any article left upon the floor. My bed was an iron stretcher, with a very thin husk mattress upon it—so thin, indeed, that you could feel every iron slat in it the moment you lay down upon it. The brick floor, with all its dampness, would have been far more comfortable than this iron and husk bed, had it not been for the rats and the vermin that infested the room. I had also in my room a broken table and a chair; a chunk of government bread, with an old, stinking, rusty tin of Lincoln coffee, with a slice of boiled salted pork, was my fare. My only drink, other than their nasty coffee, was rain-water. I was furnished with no towel, neither could any entreaty procure one for me. Neither could I induce my jailers to let me have a candle during my long, tedious sick nights. No entreaty could procure for me the return of the medicine which had been taken from me when I was searched. Again and again I begged for the little bit of opium to relieve my suffering, which had been taken out of my pocket with my other medicine, but all in vain. After ten days of such treatment and such suffering, late one night the serjeant of the guard brought me some medicine which, he informed me, the surgeon at Fort Hamilton had sent me. This surgeon knew nothing about my case, having never seen me, or been informed by me of my condition. With no light in my cell, with no one to give me even a drink of my rain-water, you can well imagine that I would not take the medicine. I did not know but that my jailers designed to poison me. Their previous treatment justified such an opinion. I made up my mind that if I died in Fort Lafayette, I would die a natural death, unless, indeed, Lincoln ordered me to be tried by a drum-head court-martial and shot, which I felt he had as much right to do, as he had to arrest and imprison me in the manner he had done.

Under such treatment, and by this time, you may well imagine that I had got a "big mad" on me; and this, I think, helped to save my life, for the truth is I had got to be too mad to die, and no thanks to Lincoln; but, under a kind Providence, I began to get better from that time on. If anything could add to the cruelty inflicted upon me, during these long days and nights of my sickness and suffering, it was the refusal of the commandant to allow me the use of a Bible. Day after day I begged the serjeant to procure one for me. His constant answer was, "the commanding officer says you shan't have one." I begged him to remind the commanding officer that we lived in a Christian, and not a heathen land—that I was an American citizen, and not a condemned felon. Still the answer was, "the commanding officer says you shan't have one, and you need not ask any more;" and it was not until after sixteen days of such more than heathenish treatment that Col. Burke, of Fort Hamilton, upon the importunity of my son, sent an order to the commandant of Fort Lafayette to let me have a Bible. It was upon the sixteenth day of my lonely imprisonment, that my son, upon an order from the Secretary of War, was permitted to see me, not in my lonely cell, but in the commandant's room and presence. It was with much difficulty that, even at that time, I was able to walk from my cell to the commandant's room. This was the first time during my imprisonment that I was able to obtain an interview with the commandant. In his weekly inspection of the prisoners he had carefully avoided my dungeon. No kindly message of inquiry as to my wants and condition had ever reached me from him. I seized upon this opportunity to let him know that I was a human being, and, as such, entitled to humane treatment; that such a thing as refusing a prisoner a Bible was unknown in any civilized community. His answer was, that he was not permitted, under his orders, to let me have one.—

I had great reason to be thankful that my son's visit gave me an opportunity to see the commandant, for from that time, although kept in solitary confinement, my condition was made more comfortable. A better mattress was put upon my bed, occasionally a raw onion or a tomatoe was added to my dinner, and twice, I believe, some pickled beets were sent me from the cook room. My son was compelled to visit Washington city, and obtain from the Secretary of War an order to that effect, before he could see me. As soon as he learned how I had been treated, he returned immediately to Washington, and with the assistance of a very kind friend, procured an order from Secretary Stanton for my release from solitary confinement, and that I should have all the privileges accorded to the other prisoners. And thus, after twenty-two days of this loathsome and worse than heathenish treatment, my dungeon door was unlocked, and I was permitted to hold intercourse with my fellow-prisoners. Such, my friends, is a plain statement of the manner of my arrest, and the treatment I received during the twenty-two days of my solitary confinement. If it affords any gratification to those Republicans who caused my arrest, they are welcome to it. Their time will come some day. "*The end is not yet.*" After my release from solitary confinement, I was put into a casemate with eleven others, making twelve of us in a room measuring fifteen by twenty-five feet. In this room we slept, cooked and eat. In it were our beds, chairs, tables, trunks, cooking utensils, table furniture, &c. We were locked into our room at sundown, and unlocked again at sunrise. Through the day we were permitted to stand or sit in front of our cell inside the fort. We had, morning and evening, what was called a "walking hour." This hour was sometimes ten, and sometimes thirty minutes long, just as suited the caprice or whim of the serjeant. Our walking ground was inside the fort. We were

permitted to walk backwards and forwards across the area of the fort, which was perhaps a little larger than your City Hall. We were permitted, through the commanding officer, to supply and cook our own food. We were compelled to use rain water for all purposes—cooking, washing and drinking. Each and every time that we drew any from the cistern, we were required to first obtain permission from the serjeant of the guard. This, like all cistern water, was sometimes quite usable and sometimes quite offensive. Mr. Childs, one of my mess, informed me that at one time during the latter part of last winter, in consequence of the accumulation of ice in the gutters, all the washings and scourings from the soldiers' quarters run into the cistern out of which the prisoners were compelled to draw the water which they used—that the water became so filthy that they had to boil it and skim off the filth before using it; and that notwithstanding they had three other cisterns inside the fort, full of comparatively clean water, yet the commanding officer compelled them to use this filthy washings from the soldiers' quarters. I will, with your permission, my friends, relate another incident connected with Fort Lafayette, so monstrous, so heathenish as almost to challenge belief—giving the incident as related to me by an eye-witness, himself one of the prisoners referred to. There were at one time confined in one of the rooms of what is called the Battery, so accurately described in Governor Morehead's narrative, some thirty prisoners. One of these poor fellows was prostrated with sickness, and near unto death.—Night came on, and it was thought that the poor fellow could not live until morning. The prisoners confined in the room with the dying man, begged that for that one night, at least, they might be permitted to have a light in their prison; and, monstrous as it may seem, this request was refused; and in this boasted land of liberty, civilization and Christianity, these prisoners were locked

up in their dark prison-house with the dying man. During that long, dark night, they could hear his dying moans; deeper and still deeper grew the death-rattles until near morning, when all became still and hushed; and when morning broke in upon that loathsome dungeon, death had done his work. This poor victim of Lincoln's despotism had ceased to live; his released spirit had gone to that world where the "weary are at rest, and the wicked cease from troubling." There is to-day confined in one of the cells of Fort Lafayette a poor prisoner, said to be partially deraanged; since last February he has been in solitary confinement. His cell is darkened; a sentry marches night and day before his prison door; he is permitted no intercourse—not even to see the other prisoners. You can well imagine how strict his confinement is, when I tell you that his aged and widowed mother, who for months has been seeking to obtain an interview with her son, at last having obtained the long sought-for permit, came one Sabbath day to visit him. Before this prisoner was taken from his dungeon to the commandant's room, in which his mother was permitted to see him, the other prisoners—myself among them—were all locked into their rooms; a file of soldiers was detailed to guard

him from his cell—a double guard placed in the sally-port. And what suppose you was this man's offence, that for so many months he had been thus inhumanly treated? Why simply this—on one dark, stormy night, with a life-preserver made out of oyster cans, he jumped into the sea and attempted to escape.

And in conclusion, my friends, permit me to say, that although I would not "take the oath," attempted again and again to be forced upon me by Mr. Lincoln, as a condition to my release, yet, when in two weeks from this time, I take my seat as your representative in the Legislature, I shall most cheerfully take the oath of allegiance to both the Constitution of the United States and the Constitution of the State of Ohio. That oath, notwithstanding the examples of both Lincoln and Tod to the contrary, I shall maintain inviolate.—All those sacred guarantees which both these constitutions throw around you, to protect you in your inalienable rights, I will endeavor to enforce to the utmost of my poor ability, in defiance of the despotism of both the President and the Governor, although by so doing I may be again returned to my lonely cell in Fort Lafayette."

HON. C. L. VALLANDIGHAM.

THE fine engraving of Mr. Vallandigham which accompanies this number of THE OLD GUARD, will, we have no doubt, be gratifying to our readers. O'Conner once said he had the honor of being the best abused person in the kingdom of Great Britain. That honor is perhaps Mr. Vallandigham's in America. But the abuse is of a character and proceeds

from a source which renders it the highest compliment to his character and patriotism. None but a man of intellect, character and patriotism, could have drawn upon himself such a bitter and persistent abuse from the disunion abolition traitors and fanatics as has been showered upon the head of Mr. Vallandigham. The blows he has dealt against

their constitution-despising, and law-defying schemes, must have hit home, to have aroused the whole pack to such a universal *howl*. The hatred of such men is a just measure of the virtue and power of a man. Publius Cyrus said: "The opposition of bad men is the highest praise."

Clement Laird Vallandigham was born in New Lisbon, Columbiana County, Ohio, July 24th 1820. His father was a Presbyterian clergyman, a native of Virginia. His grandfather was also a Virginian, and was born near the now classic fields of "Bull Run." The name was originally Van Landegham, the family coming from French Flanders.

Mr. Vallandigham, we believe, completed his education at Jefferson College, Pa. He was for some time Principal of an Academy on the Eastern Shore of Maryland. He finally studied law and was admitted to the bar in his native county, in December 1842. He was elected to represent that county in the Legislature of Ohio, in 1845, 1846-7. In that body he distinguished himself by his opposition to the measures of the Wilmot proviso, and to all the schemes of the abolitionists and semi-abolitionists, who were then beginning to lift their hydra head throughout the country. The last year he was in the Ohio Legislature, a petition was introduced, asking that body to *declare the Union dissolved, and to withdraw our Senators and Representatives in Congress*. Mr. Vallandigham of course, denounced the petition and those who supported it. Those very traitors are now denouncing him for his faithful adherence to the Constitution and laws of our country. He is still standing where he then did, contending for the Union of our fathers,

and they are still battling to destroy it. In that same winter of 1847, Massachusetts passed a secession resolution, which to this day, remains unrescinded upon its official records.

At the conclusion of his term in the Legislature of Ohio, Mr. Vallandigham removed to Dayton, and became the editor of the Dayton *Empire*, in which position he distinguished himself as a vigorous and able journalist, and as a patriot, who sought to preserve the principles of constitutional liberty which were born of our Revolution. He took a prominent part among the friends of the Union in Ohio, in favor of the compromise measures of 1850, the work of Clay and Webster, and other true men and patriots, who then saved the ship of state from splitting on the rock of abolitionism. In 1852, he was nominated by the democrats as the compromise candidate for Congress in the third district of Ohio, in opposition to Lewis D. Cambell, the candidate of the anti-compromise or abolition party. Cambell was elected, which so rejoiced the old "liberty party" of Ohio, which run John P. Hale for President, that their state committee issued a circular, in which they said of Mr. Vallandigham—"In opposition to Mr. Cambell, the democratic party had nominated C. L. Vallandigham, a lawyer of high standing, an eloquent and ready debater, of gentlemanly deportment and unblemished character, and untiring industry and energy. But he was known to all to be an ultra pro-slavery man, and he undertook with a relish to carry the load of the compromise measures, the fugitive slave law included, and he broke down under the burden."

In 1856, Mr. Vallandigham was again nominated by the democratic party for Congress, and was triumphantly elected. His friends went into the campaign with the motto of "Vall and the Union" inscribed on their banner. The opposition denounced and sneered at him as a Union-saver—the same pack of howlers that now call him a "secessionist," because he wants the Union as it was and the Constitution as it is, while his opponents were parading up and down with only sixteen stars on their flags, as the ensign of their principles, to drive all but the free States out of the Union. Mr. Vallandigham has now served six years in Congress. His whole course there has been distinguished by the conduct and manners of a patriot, a statesman and a gentleman. The cry of "traitor" which has been howled by the whole pack of abolition wolves from one end of the land to the other is, as we have already intimated, the very highest proof of his integrity, courage, and patriotism. We venture to affirm that one may look in vain in all his speeches in or out of Congress, for a single sentence or word which does not breathe an affectionate love of his country, and a lofty determination to stand by all the laws and institutions of the Union. He is one of the few men who have not deviated for a moment, from the principles which the democratic party has adhered to ever since its foundation. If his doctrines are treasonous,

then the platform of every democratic national convention has been treasonous. If he is a traitor, then every democratic President, from Jefferson to Jackson, and from Jackson to Buchanan, was a traitor. The difference between him and some others, who call themselves democrats, is, that he has stood firm and undaunted on the time-honored platform of democracy, while some others have jumped off and have been drawn away by the prevailing madness of the hour. They now see their fatal mistake in giving aid and encouragement to an administration which has utterly ruined the country. The administration has landed just where Mr. Vallandigham, and those who have stood with him, fore-warned the people it would. He said that war would not save the Union. He declared, with the lamented Douglas, that "war is final and eternal separation." It was an unconstitutional remedy for an unconstitutional deed. It was as great a heresy as secession. Had Lincoln confined his acts within constitutional limits, and attempted no deed not authorized by that sacred instrument, not only should we have been spared all this blood-shed and debt, but the Union would have been saved. The people are now getting their eyes open to this fact, and their second sober thought acknowledges the wisdom and patriotism of the party that has stood with Mr. Vallandigham through all this reign of terror and folly.

GOVERNOR PARKER'S INAUGURAL ADDRESS.

THE Inaugural Address of Governor Parker, of New Jersey, is received throughout the country with the strongest expressions of approval by all true friends of the constitution and laws. The abuse it receives from the abolition papers is another evidence that it is a statesman-like and patriotic document. In some respects it is a bolder and an abler paper than the message of Gov. Seymour, and places Gov. Parker in the front ranks of the strong, true men who are to stay the destructive sweep of revolution, and restore to the people the reign of constitutional and statute laws. We have seen no public document that goes more thoroughly to the root of the Executive usurpation and tyranny that have disgraced and justly alarmed the nation for the last two years. It is almost the first full and clear announcement of the time-honored principles of State-rights, which have been held as the palladium of liberty from the foundation of our government, that we have listened to since the dark hour that placed this abolition federal administration in power. Gov. Olden, although not the most rabid type of abolitionist, has permitted the Federal Government to override the Constitution and laws of the State of New Jersey. And even men who were elected to the last legislature as Democrats, officially reported that there was "no cause for action" in cases where the State laws had been stricken down, and the most sacred rights of our citizens trampled upon by the heel of federal power. Gov. Parker's address sets the seal of con-

demnation upon these dangerous and insulting wrongs. Under his administration New Jersey is to be a State again—it is to have rights, and her people are to enjoy the security and protection which the laws and the Constitution throw around every citizen. With this return of law and order Gov. Parker will identify his name. His position as Governor of the only Northern State that did not cast its electoral vote for Lincoln will draw the attention of the nation to his administration, and will enable him to bear a leading part in the grand work of snatching the nation from the consuming fires of anarchy and revolution, in which Lincoln and his party are engulfing it. If his courage and firmness are equal to the great work before him, and which he has so happily begun, he will leave a name which will occupy one of the brightest pages in American history. The fame of saving one's country in the time of peril is often greater than the glory of establishing it. The deeds of Washington and the heroes of the Revolution will slip into comparative oblivion, unless the ship of State can be safely guided out of this all-devouring maelstrom of abolitionism. If this lawless and destructive spirit is not arrested, we shall break, not into one, but a dozen governments. No nation can long hold together with a dominant party teaching that there is a higher law than the constitution, and that compacts and laws are to be disregarded when they come in the way of their fancies and prejudices.

O M N I U M .

Did Lincoln steal the sense of Congress. ?

The President says he "has *taken the sense* of the loyal members of Congress on all important questions.† We knew that those rascals had been utterly without *sense*, but we did not know before, that Lincoln was the robber who had *taken it*. Since this confession of the President, we fancy we hear that notorious plagiarist and imitator of the style of great men addressing Lincoln thus :

"He that steals my purse steals trash;
But he who filches from me my *good sense*,
Robs me of that which I never had,
And makes him poor indeed."

We wish that Mr. Sumner had always been as fortunate in his plagiarisms from the orations of Demosthenes, as he is in his quotations of Shakspeare.

Green-backs and yellow-bellies.

A scandalous "traitor" of an editor—democrat of course—calls attention to the fact that Mr. Lincoln draws his salary, not in good legal tender *green-backs*, but in hard *yellow-bellies*. Prudent man! For the *yellow-bellies* will be worth their full face next year, whereas the Lord only knoweth what the *green-backs* will be worth then. Besides, at the present rates, the President's salary of \$25,000 per annum, is worth ten thousand dollars (\$10,000) more in Uncle Sam's old *yellow-bellies* than in Lincoln's *green-backs*. That would buy one of the best farms in Illinois. We heard a few weeks ago that Mrs. Lincoln had deposited \$100,000 in *green-backs* with a banker in Washington for safe keeping. We suggest to the good lady, that the *yellow-bellies*, even less the 50 per cent. are a much safer keeping.

How Jack and Jake went up the lake.

New Jersey, gallant, glorious New Jersey, is still not without its "this world's cares," which too frequently, alas, she experiences from the bargains and intrigues of politicians. It turns out that a certain candidate for Congress had to purchase the support (which by the way he did not need) of a certain black republican democrat, a regular war-howler, by promising to make him U. S. Senator. This bargain reminds us of one which we all read about in our childhood's days, in the following lines slightly altered to suit "the terrible necessities of the hour," as Mr. Lincoln says :

"*Jack and Jake*
Went up the lake,
To get a pail of water;
Jake fell down,
And broke his crown,
And *Jack* came tumbling after."

The words are awfully prophetic, as well as historical. But it is, nevertheless, a victory for the Chris-

tian virtue of forgiveness, to see these two gentlemen who so thoroughly hated each other, and whose political principles are as wide apart as the poles, dwelling together in brotherly unity. British history alone furnishes us another such example, and that was the making up of the celebrated quarrel, and the establishment of a coalition between Mr. Fox and Mr. Adam. The wits of that time have left us the following poetical record of the event :

"Once Adam indignant, with valorous mind,
To send Mr. Fox to the devil designed;
Now Adam and Fox, like birds of a feather,
Most cordially go to the devil together."

McClellan disobeying the orders of Lincoln.

General Hitchcock has consented to aid the abolitionists a little, and stepped forward with a letter accusing Gen. McClellan with disobedience to the President's order last Spring. If he did so disobey, we venture to say that he saved the army from some crushing defeat by it. If Gen. McDowell had disobeyed Mr. Lincoln's orders when he ordered him not to re-inforce McClellan, according to his plan, we should probably be in possession of Richmond to-day, and many thousands of brave men's lives would have been spared. We have great confidence in Mr. Lincoln as a good story-teller, an excellent joker, and a first class buffoon; but no confidence in him whatever, as a military strategist. He will pardon us for this opinion we trust, since we so much admire his genius in that line in which he is evidently most ambitious to shine.

A General with good legs.

General B——d has made a speech to some lucky soldiers under his command, in which he wisely talked entirely of himself, to give his men confidence in their leader. He thanked heaven for "a firm will to serve his country, and a vigorous constitution to endure fatigue." But he neglected to return thanks for what may prove the greatest blessing of all—a good pair of *legs*.

A new senatorial head for Seward's shoulders.

Mr. Seward's friends boast that the efforts of the "radicals" to drive him out of the cabinet, do not produce the slightest impression on the imperturbable Secretary. Of course nothing can drive him out of office in Washington, unless he can jump into the vacant U. S. Senatorship in New York. He is as tenacious of official life, as Charles II. was in the quarrel between him and parliament, when he said: "I swear

to God, they may knock out my brains, but they shall never cut off my head." The radicals will find it much easier to knock out Seward's brains than to cut off his official head, unless they could have tempted him to voluntarily lay his neck upon the block, for the purpose of getting in exchange the Senatorial head now worn by that harmless fat boy, Preston King.

Plan to assassinate Jeff Davis.

The President's bull against the Comet not having the expected effect of arousing universal niggerdom to "strike down the rebellion with a single blow," the abolitionists have now another project, quite as worthy of their genius and christianity as their scheme of setting the negroes to exterminate the white race in the South with fire and sword. They now propose to kill Jeff Davis, and so cut off the head of the rebellion. The highly civilized and truly pious plan is, for some philanthropic abolitionist, to get to Richmond as a deserter from our lines, obtain an audience with Jeff Davis, under the pretence of having important secrets to divulge, and to stab him to the heart. This noble undertaking probably originated with those worthy divines, Beecher, Cheever, Tyng and Bellows. It is fully up to the standard of their Sabbath ministrations. They and their whole pack of kindred philanthropists will pursue it with as much intelligence and enthusiasm, as is possessed by those wild Indians, who believe that they inherit, not only the spoils, but the ability of any great enemy they have the luck to kill. If these sanctimonious assassins succeed in getting Davis' head, couldnt they contrive to stick it on Lincoln's shoulders.

The Church of the Holy Cannibals.

The Rev. Mr. Bellows, a Unitarian minister of New York city, recently delivered himself of the following bit of religio-politico treason, to the great delight of the savages who rejoice to sit under the *drippings* of such profane altars:

"It is no longer a war in defence of the Union, the Constitution and in maintainence of the laws. It is a war to be carried on no longer with the aim of re-establishing the Union and the Constitution with all their old compromises. God means not to let us off with any half way work. I am now convinced, and I consider it the most humane, the most economical, and the most statesman-like policy, now to take the most radical policy, now to take the most radical ground possible; to assume that this is a war for the subjugation, or the extermination, of all persons who wish to maintain the slave power—a war to get rid of slavery and of slaveholders, whether it be constitutional or not."

This Reverend gentleman would have made a brave leader of the black savages of San Domingo, when their victorious banner was the body of a white infant, impaled on a pole. He feeds his worse than cannibal appetite on propositions to *exterminate all*

who seek to preserve the Constitution and laws of their country. From the speckled outside of Bellows' church, it has been nick-named the "church of the holy zebra"—let it be re-christened the "church of the holy cannibals."

Lincoln's last great national question.

At a late Cabinet meeting, when there was a rather prolonged silence for the want of any new subject of debate, the President said, "Gentlemen, I have an important question for you to decide, which is, why is a tailor's iron called a goose?" At last accounts the wisdom of the Cabinet was employed on this great and appropriate question—appropriate, because the attention of the Cabinet is well changed from negroes to geese, inasmuch as their gatherings for two years have more resembled a barn-yard convention of geese, than the deliberative councils of statesmen. Besides, they have picked the wool pretty well off of the poor negroes, and now by all means let them employ their wisdom on feathers—the contractors and the abolition members of Congress have well feathered their nests—let the Cabinet have a turn.

THE NATIONAL CARD-PLAYERS.

England.

I wish I had not played that double game; I have not got a *trump* now, yet I *shuffled* well. I hope I shall not be forced to *play*.

France.

I can play, for I am strong in every *suit*; besides, I know how to *finess* the cards, and value myself upon playing *all the games*.

Russia.

Some advise me to *play*, others to let it alone. What shall I do? I'll e'en stand by 'till I see time to *cut in*. But I would like to take a game of *cribbage* with somebody to try if I can *lurch* him.

Austria.

I have no luck lately—would like to try a new *pack*, to see what that would do. This won't do, for I have nothing but a *knave*, without a single *suit*.

Prussia.

Oh, I pass.

Spain.

I have nothing but a *Queen* in my *hand*, so I will *pass* too; or I will *play* any gentleman a quiet game of *three up*.

Holland.

It is no use, I shan't get a *trick*.

United States.

I believe I shall lose the game; no, I will call a negro and let him take my hand—negroes, I am told, are great fellows at cards.

Confederate States.

I think I will play now, for I believe I have got the game in my *hand*—Lincoln, I see, throws up his *hand*, and lets a negro take it.



Eng^d by W. G. Jackman, N.Y.

Wm. Parker

"All legitimate power is subordinate to the Constitution.
Any other doctrine would give to one man in time of war,
power Co-Extensive with his will or in other words, despotic
power."

Engraved expressly for The 'Old Guard.

THE OLD GUARD,

A MONTHLY JOURNAL DEVOTED TO THE PRINCIPLES OF
1776 AND 1787.

VOLUME I.—MARCH, 1863.—No. III.

THE RIGHT AND THE WRONG OF SECESSION.

Now LISTEN to what is to be said on this subject! To listen, to reason, to read impartially and candidly is the habit of wise and honest men. To denounce without reason, without investigation, without knowledge, is the way of the foolish and the dishonest. It is easy enough to threaten a man with the bastile when his arguments and his truth cannot be otherwise answered. If his *facts* cannot be disposed of, then dispose of the man himself—that is the way knaves and tyrants have behaved in all ages. But there is a power in man which knows not how to cower and give way before the mandates of despotism—which defies and despises the threats of tyranny—the power of virtue, and patriotism, and religion. It is the power of the soul over the body, of mind over the weaker elements of man's material nature. With this courage of our souls, which cannot be shut within prison walls, let us sit patiently and bravely down to tell some truths which used to be familiar to all in this land, but which men have not

dared to speak of—nor even listen to—for a long time now! It is said that there is a right and a wrong side to everything. Who dare go out to see if there is a right as well as a wrong side to this ugly devil of secession? We dare. If we have not a right to look this question as well as all others fairly in the face, then the noble revolutionary struggle of our fathers was in vain! If we may not speak and write what seemeth to us to be good and true, then I am heartily sick and ashamed of this empty, swaggering America. But if we have the sacred right made fast in our Constitution and laws, then let us stand by it, even though it must be with such hard, iron blows as our fathers had to deal at the hoary head of despotism to achieve the right in the first place. What they fought to establish, we must, if it come to that, fight to defend and preserve. Is the race of men who once said, *Give us liberty or give us death*, extinct on this Continent? Are courage and manhood dead? Are we all slaves to a power which no man

of honor can respect, and which every virtuous man must despise? If we do not plead guilty to such humiliation and meanness, let us come directly to this question of the right and the wrong of secession? Or at least let us see if there is any where to be found one extenuating word which can be spoken for those who were but now our fellow-citizens, our kinsmen and friends. Many of us have fathers, and brothers, and sisters, and all have friends there—shall we believe that all these have suddenly become totally depraved?—Does not reason rather tell us that they are men like ourselves, and that it is only a difference of locality, and the natural attachment to the scenes and institutions of home which have separated us? Why are we fighting our brother in Virginia? Why do we send soldiers to destroy his property, to burn his buildings, to drive his family out from their hearths and their altars, and to kill those who are bone of our bone, and flesh of our flesh? Why have we made his beautiful fields a Golgotha? Why have we filled all his blooming valleys with blood? What is his crime? Why he resolved that it was no longer pleasant and profitable for him to abide in the same political family with us. True, the family relations were established by our fathers, and were made sacred by a thousand glorious memories. But they had become disturbed and uncomfortable. Whose fault was that? He said it was our fault. He said that we had persuaded ourselves and taught our children to hate him and his institutions. He accused us of carrying this hatred to such a pitch that it was no longer possible for us to

live peaceably and happily together. He accused us of publishing books to dishonor him—of forming associations to persecute him—and of sending forth lecturers, agents and missionaries to render his property and his life insecure—of even stealing his property, and then refusing to give it up according to the constitutional compact. Suppose that we—forgetting there is a God of truth and justice—put on a bold front and deny this! We cannot deny that he believed it all! We cannot deny that when John Brown went down into the bosom of his territory with pikes and gunpowder to arm the slaves to murder their masters, a thousand pulpits of the North belched forth his praise in prayer and hallelujahs. He honestly believed that this John Brown *raid* was only the beginning of what was to follow. Were there no grounds for such a belief? Ask the Northern clergy what they have to say about it. Ask the hundreds of thousands of Northern men and women who flocked to prayer-meetings to invoke the blessing of Almighty God upon old John Brown's murderous plans what they have to say about it. Ask nearly all the leaders of the Republican party who subscribed their share to circulate a hundred thousand copies of the *Helper Book* gratuitously what they have to say about it. That book abounded in such declarations of war upon the South as these: "Against slaveholders we wage an exterminating war."—(page 120.) "We will abolish slavery in the South or die attempt."—(page 27.) "If the negroes had a chance, they would be delighted to cut their masters' throats."—(page 148.) Slaveholders must emancipate



their negroes, or "we will emancipate them for you."—(page 109.) This murderous book was circulated as the principal campaign document in the Lincoln canvass. Had the South no reason to be alarmed? Had she no reason to feel herself insulted and wronged?—Whatever we may say about it, still it is certain that the people of the South did honestly believe that their rights were outraged, and their peace and property rendered insecure, after the general government had fallen into the hands of a party which had gained power on a platform of avowed hostility to them. Let us not forget that this kind of warfare had been waged against them by this party in the North for nearly a third of a century. Here then is one consideration which should mitigate our anger, and cause us to inquire how much of the responsibility of these unhappy divisions is on our own shoulders. But it will be answered that their wrongs, great as they are, were not sufficient to justify them in breaking up the Union.* We think so too. But there is no doubt that the majority of the people of the South honestly thought otherwise. They *believed* that they had a right to separate. However mistaken they may have been, it cannot be doubted that their convictions were as honest as their resolutions were excited and determined. Nearly all the leading statesmen and a very large majority of the people of the South have always contended for this right. To believe in it was certainly never held to be a crime until after the commencement of the present war. The rights of the States, under some circumstances, to resume the powers they had delegated to the

federal government was expressly declared by several of the State conventions when they ratified the federal constitution. President Madison, who was really the father of the Constitution, taught that—

"A compact between independent sovereigns, founded on acts of legislative authority, can pretend to no higher validity than a league or treaty between the parties. It is an established doctrine on the subject of treaties, that all the articles are mutually conditions of each other; that a breach of any one article is a breach of the whole treaty; and that a breach committed by either of the parties absolves the others, and authorizes them, if they please, to pronounce the compact violated and void. . . . Where resort can be had to no tribunal superior to the authority of the parties, the parties themselves must be the judges, in the last resort, whether the bargain made has been pursued or violated. The Constitution of the United States was formed by the sanction of the States, given by each in its sovereign capacity. It adds to its stability and dignity, as well as to the authority of the Constitution, that it rests on this legitimate and solid foundation. The States, then, being the parties to the constitutional compact, and in their sovereign capacity, it follows of necessity that there can be no tribunal above their authority to decide, in the last resort, whether the compact made by them be violated, and consequently that, as the parties to it, they must themselves decide, in the last resort, such questions as may be of sufficient magnitude to require their interposition."

In the convention of Virginia, called to ratify or reject the Federal Constitution, Madison, Lee and Innis, in defending the Constitution from the powerful assaults of Patrick Henry, contended that, in ratifying the Constitution, the

States would not absolutely surrender any power whatever—that to *delegate* powers was not to *surrender* them, and that they would have a right to renounce them whenever, in their opinion, the federal government should become destructive of the ends for which it was established. “States,” said Jefferson, “can wholly withdraw their delegated powers.” This doctrine was no accidental or careless idea with Jefferson, for in a letter to Dr. Priestely in 1804 he wrote:

“If they (the States west of the Allegany) *declare themselves a separate people, we are incapable of a single effort to retain them.* OUR CITIZENS CAN NEVER BE INDUCED, EITHER AS MILITIA OR AS SOLDIERS, TO GO THERE TO CUT THE THROATS OF THEIR OWN BROTHERS AND SONS, *or to be themselves the subjects, instead of the perpetrators of the parricide.* Nor would that country quit the cost of being retained against the will of its inhabitants, could it be done. BUT IT CANNOT BE DONE.”

This doctrine of the possible right of a State to resume its delegated powers was distinctly announced in the Kentucky resolutions of 1798, which were drawn by Mr. Jefferson, and in Madison’s resolutions passed by the legislature of Virginia the same year. And what is remarkable these resolutions of 1798 have been repeatedly reaffirmed by the democratic party North and South. In 1821 the following resolution was passed by the legislature of Ohio almost without opposition, only seven votes being recorded against it:

“*Resolved,* That in respect to the powers of the governments of the several States that compose the American Union, and the powers of the federal

government, this general assembly do recognize and approve the doctrines asserted by the legislatures of Virginia and Kentucky in their resolutions of November and December, 1798, and January, 1800, and do consider that their principles have been recognized and adopted by a majority of the American people.”

Judge Rawle, who was offered the attorney-generalship of the United States by Washington, in his commentaries on the Constitution says:

“It depends on the State itself to *retain* or *abolish* the principle of representation, because it *depends on itself whether it will continue a member of the Union.* To deny this right would be inconsistent with the principle on which all our political systems are founded, which is that *the people have in all cases a right to determine how they will be governed.*

“*The States, then, may wholly withdraw from the Union, but while they continue they must retain the character of representative republics.*”

Judge Rawle was a Pennsylvanian, and was regarded as one of the most profound students and lawyers of his day. His sentiments on this subject of the right of the States to withdraw from the Union whenever they should feel it was for their interest to do so, appear to have been entertained by Gouverneur Morris and a large number of the statesmen of the North. So strong was the idea that the New England States *would* secede that John Adams refused the Rev. Mr. Coffin a subscription to build a college in Tennessee, on the ground that Tennessee would soon be a foreign country to New England. He said he saw “no possibility of continuing the Union of the

States ; their dissolution must necessarily take place ; and he therefore saw no propriety in recommending to New England men to promote an institution in the South." A similar statement was made by Hamilton when the question of the adoption of the Constitution was before the people of the State of New York. Said he : "This (the dissolution of the Union) after all seems to be the most likely result." New England, especially Massachusetts, has always held that it was her right to withdraw whenever she pleased. Massachusetts distinctly asserted this right. When the question of the purchase of Louisiana was before Congress in 1811, Mr. Quincy, of Massachusetts, said :

"If this bill passes, it is my deliberate opinion that it is virtually a dissolution of the Union ; that it will free the States from their moral obligation ; and as it will be *the right of all*, so it will be the duty of some to prepare for separation, amicably if they can, violently if they must."

A committee of the legislature of Massachusetts reported a resolution to the same effect. This same doctrine of the right of secession was reaffirmed by the New England States in 1812, and the famous Hartford Convention was called for the purpose of effecting that object. Massachusetts again asserted the right of secession on the admission of Texas in 1843, when its legislature passed the following resolutions which have not been rescinded to this day :

"*Resolved*, That the annexation of Texas is, *ipso facto*, a dissolution of the Union.

"*Resolved*, That Texas being annexed Massachusetts is out of the Union."

In 1857 a disunion convention assembled at Worcester, Massachusetts, at which the following resolutions were passed :

"*Resolved*, That the meeting of a State disunion convention, attended by men of various parties and affinities, gives occasion for a new statement of principles and a new platform of action.

"*Resolved*, That this movement does not seek merely disunion, but the more perfect union of the free States by the expulsion of the slave States from the confederation, in which they have been an element of discord, danger and disgrace.

"*Resolved*, That henceforward, instead of regarding it as an objection to any system of policy, that it will lead to the separation of the States, we will proclaim that to be the highest of all recommendations, and the grateful proof of statesmanship, and will support, politically or otherwise, such men and measures as appear to tend most to this result.

"*Resolved*, That the sooner the separation takes place the more peaceful it will be ; but that peace or war is a *secondary consideration* in view of our present perils. Slavery must be conquered, 'peaceably if we can, forcibly if we must.'"

Such were the sentiments of the men who procured Mr. Lincoln's nomination and caused his election.

In 1850 Mr. Hale, of New Hampshire, presented in the United States Senate petitions from various parts of the North for "the immediate peaceful dissolution of the American Union." Two of the members of Mr. Lincoln's cabinet, Messrs. Seward and Chase, voted to receive these resolutions. If we had space we could quote almost without limit to show that this doctrine of right of disunion has been entertained by a

vast and noisy number of the people of the North. Judge Spaulding, speaking in the convention which nominated Fremont for President, said :

“In the case of the alternatives being presented—of the continuance of slavery or a dissolution of the Union—*I am for dissolution*, and I care not how quick it comes.”

The doctrine of the right of secession was proclaimed by John Quincy Adams in an oration at Boston in 1833, when he said :

“To the people alone is thus reserved as well the *dissolving* as the constituent power. With these qualifications we may admit the same rights vested in *the people of every State* in the Union with reference to the general government.”

It is a remarkable fact that distinguished foreigners, who have carefully studied and written upon our system of government, have arrived at a similar conclusion in relation to the right of secession. De Tocqueville, in his work entitled “*Democracy in America*,” says :

“The Union was formed by the voluntary agreement of the States, and in uniting together they have not forfeited their nationality, nor have they been reduced to the condition of one and the same people. If one of the States chose to withdraw its name from the contract, it would be difficult to disapprove its right of doing so.”

Another eminent foreign author, Thos. Colley Grattan, in a work entitled “*Civilized America*,” says :

“Any State may at any time constitutionally withdraw from the Union, and thus virtually dissolve it. It was not

certainly created with the idea that the States, or several of them, would desire a separation. But whenever they choose to do it they have no obstacle in the way.”

We must agree that an intelligent and an observing foreigner could not very well come to any other conclusion, in reading the works of our leading statesmen of the early days of the Republic, and especially in tracing the political history of the Northern States. For here in the North this doctrine has been affirmed and reaffirmed in every shape which political partizanship and hatred of the South could give it.

Now, if this doctrine of the right of States to withdraw from the Union has never been regarded as a crime by the North—if the Northern States have repeatedly affirmed this right, as we have shown—if our senators have presented petitions for the dissolution of the Union, and received the applause of a numerous and now dominant party for so doing; and if the leading statesmen of the South have always asserted the right, how are we to imagine that the Southern people supposed that they were committing the most horrible crime by withdrawing? The whole truth is that they did not imagine that they were committing a crime at all. They certainly could not have supposed that the party which elected Mr. Lincoln so regarded it, for its leading spirits had preached dissolution as a right and necessity, in order to get rid of contact with slavery, for a third of a century. Certainly these men could have had no idea that they were to be murdered for doing what Northern States had so often threatened to do

The leaders of Mr. Lincoln's party had repeatedly declared that they "could not be kicked out of the Union," and they, therefore, could little imagine that they were all to have their throats cut for going voluntarily, and thereby saving us the trouble of kicking them out! And it is evident that through all this terrible struggle they have believed themselves in the *right* and us in the *wrong*. Can we with honor say that they have had no excuse for such a belief? We may say that they are mistaken—we may and we must deplore secession; but can we say that they are not terribly sincere in the conviction that right is on their side? Have they not behaved like men who appeal to God and to mankind with the strong faith that sooner or later their prayers will be heard? Is it not natural that they should come to entertain the most intense hatred of us for waging a desolating and an exterminating war upon them, for taking a step which we have long dared them to take, and which they had been taught could be rightfully assumed?

Now why do we say all these things? Why partly because they are true, but chiefly because we must first be made to comprehend their view of this war before we shall take any rational step to bring it to a happy or an honorable termination. Do we not perceive that we are now only increasing their hatred of us, and deepening their convictions that they are in the right? Do we not see that they believe that they are fighting for the right of self-government—for liberty—as their fathers fought before them, and that we are fighting to subjugate them and to de-

stroy their institutions? If we are trying to do that then we ought not to succeed. Then I pray Almighty God we never may succeed! And if we are not doing it, then let us first perform some act to undeceive them—to convince them that we are yet capable of living peaceably with them, and of carrying out all the constitutional guarantees entered into between their fathers and ours. If we cannot do this, or if we will not do it, we may be sure the judgment of mankind, as well as of future generations of our children will be against us.

For recording these truths we know that we shall be denounced as secessionists, and that too by the very renegades and traitors who boldly declare that "*the Union shall never be restored under the Constitution as it is.*"

But no matter what they say. We neither write nor speak to convince them, because we know that they are lost to reason and to truth. We present these facts for the consideration of the Northern people, the majority of whom are sincerely desirous of saving the Union, and thereby preserving constitutional liberty on this continent. To accomplish this patriotic aim we must first learn and realize that the South is not alone to blame for this heresy of secession. We must feel that a portion of the guilt is upon our own shoulders, before we shall know how to take the first effective step for reconciliation and peace. In his inaugural address, Mr. Lincoln declared that fighting could never terminate our difficulties. That was a wise saying, and it seems to have exhausted him, for he has hardly uttered a sensible word

since. We have yet to discover the first act of his administration which was wisely directed for the restoration of the Union. Everything has been done to drive apart and destroy, and nothing to bring together and preserve. Not the *enforcement of the laws*—not the *restoration of the Union*—but *subjugation* and *extermination* have been the barbarian cry of the party in power. If the word *Union* has been heard in the horrible din, it has only been pronounced to delude the people into the support of measures which were meant to produce results antagonistic to every wish of their hearts. This

line of Horace has been literally fulfilled:

Decipimur specie rebus.

That is :

By show of right deluded to a fault

When these abolition tyrants came into power, the doors of the temple of death were opened never to be shut again until the negroes were set free or the Union destroyed. That was, as we have seen, their terrible oath. On that tide of despotism, anarchy and blood they sailed into power. See ~~how~~ they are executing the Satanic plot!

CIVILIZED WAR

CIVILIZED WAR ! in every shifting view
 Ill suits thee, fiend accursed, so fair a name ;
 Though in the field a smoother form thou wear
 Than thy wild sister, hag of scraggier shape,
 A feller fury thou ! for on thee wait
 Intenser sufferings ; and a wider scene,
 With varied woes, thine ample mischief fills.
 Barbarian thou, tho' civilized in name !
 A curse, a shame, a most inhuman vice
 Hid in magnificence and drowned in state,
 Looses the fiend ; receives the sounding name
 Of glorious War. But angels call thee *fiend*,
 And God ordains thee and thy minions all
 To burning pains of hell !

HYMN FOR THE NATION.

WRITTEN IN ONE OF LINCOLN'S BASTILES, MAY, 1862.

God of mercy, watch above us,
God of mercy, guard and love us
 And keep the Union strong,
Midst the dangers that surround us,
Mend the *band* that firmly bound us,
 And bound us for so long.

Not as bands of iron bind us ;
As by force they had confined us,
 But as with silken chain,
Light of weight, and fair to see
Firm of hold, but always free ;
 Oh make it strong again.

Not with blood, to blur and stain it ;
Not by war, can we maintain it,
 But thine Almighty hand
Yet may save, when mortals falter ;
Should we bend us at thine altar,
 O Wilt *Thou* mend the band ?

Guide us Thou, who first did guide *them*,
Guide us Thou, who stood beside *them*,
 Those *heroes* brave and free !
Let bonds fraternal yet unite us,
And Peace, with blessings, yet delight us
 O God we trust in Thee.

J. G. B.

THE PURITAN WAR.

It is a mistake to say that the terrible war now raging in this country is between the North and South as a *people*. There is no reason why there should be a war between the people of the two sections. We are one people. There is hardly a family in the one division that has not its branches stretching into the other. The unnatural conflict, which is hurling father against son, brother against brother, friend against friend, is not a war of *persons*, but of *ideas*—not, in its origin at least, a conflict of *individuals*, but of *opinions*. It is Roundheadism against liberty of conscience and speech. It is centralizing Normanism against decentralizing Saxonism. In one word, it is Puritanism against Liberalism. The same thing gave England several hundred years of furious war, and has left its bloody foot-prints all the way from the sixteenth to the nineteenth century.—Its meddlesome, domineering and intolerant spirit has broken the peace of every country it has touched. It has ever claimed the right to manage the affairs of both Church and State according to its own *dictum*, or to wage war and revolution to carry its ends. Cartwright, one of the great leaders of English Puritanism, said: “Princes should submit to the Church of God, lay at its feet their sceptres and their crowns, and lick the dust of its footsteps.” Did Gregory VII. ever speak more arrogant words? The learned and impartial Grosley says: “The Puritans, at the first appearance of persecution, proved from God’s own Word that revolt became a necessary remedy to subjects

whose consciences were forced;” and then again, whenever it suited their convenience, they would prove from the same Word that revolt is a most damnable sin and a crime. The real quarrel between the Puritans and the Church of England was about the degree of severity which should enter into ecclesiastical discipline. The Church of England was for less—the Puritans for more. In the violent disruption from Catholicism, Episcopacy was content to bleed a little—Puritanism wanted to bleed much. A great and shining light of the Puritans of Elizabeth’s time said: “If ministers will witness for the truth, and against error, they must set themselves against *toleration* as the principal inlet to all error and heresy; for if *toleration* be granted, all preaching will not keep them out. If toleration be granted, the devil will be too hard for us. A toleration will end all. Oh! let ministers, therefore, oppose all toleration as that by which the devil would at once lay a foundation for his kingdom.”* This is the temper of Puritanism, as shown by one of the greatest of its fathers. When the Puritans obtained the control of Parliament, almost the first act they passed was one which doomed to death every man and woman who dared to oppose their opinions.—Wherever it obtained power it inaugurated a reign of terror. At the same time, it cut off the heads of those who disputed it in Holland, burnt them alive at Geneva, drowned them in Zurich, and hanged them in England and Scotland. And all the time that they were

committing these crimes against freedom, they took to themselves the title of "Friends of civil and religious liberty." This was the high title they assumed when they came to these shores and established themselves in New England. There is the accursed record of "civil and religious liberty!" They bored holes through Quakers tongues with red hot irons at Boston, drowned the Baptists at Salem, stripped women and tied them to cart tails, and whipped them from Boston to Dedham. Governor John Endicott said to some harmless Quaker women who came from England to Boston: "Take heed that ye break not our ecclesiastical laws, for then ye are sure to stretch by the halter." Some of the laws of those early days of New England "civil and religious liberty," remind us of scenes that are passing now in our midst. One act prohibited all masters of ships from bringing any Quakers into Boston. Nicholas Upsal, a respectable member of the church, for speaking against these proceedings, was fined twenty-three pounds, and afterwards imprisoned for not coming to church, and finally banished from the colony. Though a feeble old man, he was driven out in mid-winter, and, but for the kindness of the Indians—always less savage than the Puritans—he must have perished. "What kind of a God," exclaimed an Indian Prince, "have these English!"

December 22d, 1662, Ann Coleman, Mary Tomkins, and Alice Ambrose, for being Quakers, were sentenced to be tied to the cart-tail, and whipped on their naked backs, through eleven towns, a distance of nearly eighty miles. Whatever disagreed with the opinions of the Puritans, was held as a crime to

be punished with imprisonment and death. That is the moral temper of Puritanism still. It never relents, never forgives, never loses its dictatorial and intolerant spirit. It has always been an element of discord and persecution on this Continent. It was Puritanism that broke up the first Confederacy found on these shores. In 1643, the New England colonies associated together under the title of "The United Colonies of New England." It is remarkable that the colony of Rhode Island was kept out of this colonial union, chiefly by the management of Massachusetts, because its religion was not Puritanism. This Union was declared to be a "*perpetual* league of friendship and amity." It was broken up by Massachusetts, in thirty years. This domineering animosity of Puritanism, made burning lines of jealousy between the colonies on this continent, and for a long time, kept back the natural progress towards the Union which was ultimately formed. And after the Union was established, that same restless and tyrannical spirit of Puritanism kept it in an unsettled and feverish condition, by perpetually threatening to break it up, whenever a check was imposed upon its imperious demands. The nature of Puritanism is to tolerate nothing that it dislikes, and to fight every thing that dislikes it. It burned down a Catholic Convent near Boston a few years ago. Again, it adopted the total abstinence theory, and forthwith started its propagandism of the "Maine Law," and sent forth its lecturers and colporteurs all over the land, to make every man hated and despised, who did not instantly adopt its notions about *drinking*. It taught young women that they must, under no consideration, allow

themselves to be courted by any young gentleman who had not signed the pledge. It procured laws to be passed in several of the States, making it a misdemeanor, punishable with fine or imprisonment, for a man to keep liquor in his house for his own use—and even a lady's bed chamber might be entered and searched, to see if some nook or corner did not hide some devilish bottle of wine. It puts its nose into every thing. Nothing escapes it. About a third of a century ago it drove at slavery—swore that it would either break up slavery, or break up the Union. At Boston it closed the doors of Faneuil Hall against Daniel Webster, because he would not yield to the pressure of its fanaticism. For the same reason, it threw rotten eggs at Senator Douglas in Chicago. It organized, sent forth agents and lecturers, printed tracts and newspapers, to fill the Northern mind full of its own fanaticism, and to teach the slaves how to poison or murder their masters. At the corner of every street, in every school house, bar room, almost in every Church, the people of the South were held up as “thieves,” “knaves,” “cowards,” “barbarians,” “tyrants,” “assassins;” and every northern man who did not assent to these impudent lies, was denounced as a “dough-face,” “lick-spittle” and “scoundrel.” On, on, this implacable Puritanism drove, destroying social unity, and sowing the seeds of anarchy, despotism and war, until its harvest of death was ready to be gathered. It started out to destroy slavery or the Union. Slavery was the least object of its intense hatred. But it did not hate slavery more than it had hated the Quakers, the Bap-
tists, the Methodists, the Masons and the Catho-

lics, each in their turn. It did not persecute the South with greater violence than it had persecuted all these before. Its nature is to wage war upon every thing which does not bow to its domineering temper.

When this intolerant Puritanism obtained control of the Federal Government, it was certain that a fierce conflict was at hand. It had threatened it. Seward had declared that the election of Lincoln would be “the beginning of the end of slavery.” All the political clubs of the Lincoln campaign, were military organizations—bands of uniformed, drilled and training wide-awakes. Every act of the political Puritans betokened a war. A war against the constitution and laws of the country, because they blocked the way of emancipation. A war not alone upon slaveholders in the South, but upon every man and woman in the North also, who stands for the compact entered into by our fathers. A war of Puritanism against every body who opposes its tyrannical sway. It was a great error for the Southern people to suppose that they were alone interested in resisting this march of Puritanism. It concerned the whole country, and every part alike. The question involved in the conflict was, whether the constitution established by our fathers, guaranteeing the rights and perfect equality of the States, should be preserved or not. It concerned the North as much as the South. The fatal mistake of the South was, that she undertook to fight her share of the battle by herself alone. For what she has suffered, and must still suffer, she must blame herself. The number of men in the North who were willing and ready to resist the further march of Pu-

ritanism, was greater than the entire white population of the South. How have the late elections given the lie to those leaders of secession who made their people believe that the North was all abolitionized! It was a great falsehood, a great fraud upon the Southern people, and a great wrong to our common country. Do not the Southern people now see that the friends of the constitution and of liberty in the North, have only suffered less than they in this terrible Puritan war! If there has been no blood shed in the North, it is because Puritanism could here carry its points without it. Mobs, bastiles, suspensions of the Courts, arbitrary arrests, destruction of democratic newspapers, and all the old fashioned machinery of despotism, have sufficiently attested that this is a war of Puritanism against the free institutions established by our Revolutionary fathers—against universal liberty on this continent. One step more; and the world will stand aghast to see this implacable devil of Puritanism deluging the whole North with blood. If it does not recede, the terrible conflict is inevitable. If it attempts to go ahead with its programme to annihilate the States, by seizing their militia, and placing every Congressional district under the control of a Provost marshal, with power to drag the people from their homes, in violation of the constitution and laws of the States, the war will be transferred from the South to the North. If the final battle for constitutional law and liberty on this continent was not fought by our fathers, it must be fought by us. None but cowards will shrink from the conflict, if it must come. And if it come, our sons, and brothers, and kindred in

the army, who are not Puritans, will help make the bloody struggle a short one. The thing is horrible to contemplate, but not so horrible as the loss of liberty—not so horrible as the thought of submitting, without a struggle, to a power that silences press and speech, and throws men into the loathsome dungeons without law and without hope of trial.

When the masses of the hitherto deluded people of the South, come to see that the struggle of liberty is the same here as there—that the real aim of Puritanism is to destroy the States and to establish upon their ruins a consolidated and centralized despotism, they will awake to a realising sense of the enormity of their folly in dividing the anti-Puritan force of the country. They will pretty soon open their eyes to understand that, if Puritanism should succeed in crushing the State governments of the North, they have nothing to hope for, but an almost endless war of rapine and murder—and if they ever obtain peace, they would be compelled to support a standing army for self defence, which would not only be incompatible with a republican form of Government, but would perpetually exhaust their resources, and impoverish their people. This must at last convince them that the wisest thing for them to do is to return to the Union, and thereby re-unite the whole state rights force of the land against the consolidationists, who are determined to crush the States and liberty together. At a public dinner in Washington at the commencement of the war, a member of the Cabinet declared that, “when the conflict is over, there will be no more Pennsylvanians, New Yorkers, or Virginians,

but we shall all be *Americans*." That is, we shall all be Puritans, or under the rule of Puritanism. God Almighty forbid! Sooner welcome a thirty years war. Nay, let it be a hundred years, rather than see liberty fall forever on this continent. The arbitrary arrests, imprisonment without trial, the suppression of newspapers, and the seizure of private papers and property contrary to law, show us what kind of a government the Puritans mean to set up on the ruins of the States. The cause of liberty is now one and the same all over the country. It is Northern and Southern together. It is Puritanism, consolidation, centralism, against localism and the eternal right of self-government. Pray heaven the Southern people may no longer be deceived by this mischievous falsehood that the whole North is set upon the destruction of her institutions. Our institutions and our liberty are in greater danger than their own. The danger is one to all. Now, that the eyes of the northern masses are fairly open to the real dangers of Puritanism, the South must perceive that there is no

way in which she can so soon find peace and safety, as by a return to the Union. Never will she find peace and safety in a separate government. Let her come back, and the northern people will gladly meet her people in a national convention, which shall be constitutionally convened, to adjust all difficulties, and give her whatever guarantees may be necessary to protect her rights and institutions from the designs of the abolitionists in all time to come. The conservative people of the North, now in the majority, are prepared to do this—but they will never consent to a permanent division of the Republic. Reconstruction, on some basis, is sure to take place, sooner or later. There will be no permanent peace, no lasting security to property and liberty in either section, until it is accomplished. The masses, North and South, have no quarrel with each other. It is Puritanism which is the common foe of all. Let the people of every section make common cause against this great enemy of liberty and self-government.

MORNING.

I sit at my window, the river below,
 The soft bending sky of a morning in June,
 Above me—and there where, the birds carol low,
 "The Island" with wild flowers thickly is strewn;
 The oak, and the maple, the elm, and the pine,
 Are swaying to breezes as gentle as play
 With the locks these pale fingers delighted to twine,—
 Ah! can it be morning when thou art away!

MRS. HELEN RICH.

THE HAPPY MAN.

I ASKED a youth to tell me where
The "Happy Man" is found ;
He paused and said, " You'll find him there,
On fame's enchanted ground."

I sought the spot so steep and dread,
And asked a pilgrim near ;
He sternly answered me, and said,
" The bauble is not here."

And next the man of toil I asked,
Who wearied by the way ;
He said, " My life is sorely tasked,
Not work, not work—but play."

Far on the road I looked and sought
The man of leisure then ;
He said, " My fruitless life is nought—
I'm weariest of men."

I plunged into the swelling crowd
To find the HAPPY MAN ;
Questioned the rich, the low, the proud—
" Pray tell me if you can."

All pointed into space and said,
" We have not seen him here—
But all who came this way have fled
Down yonder pathway drear."

That was the silent road of death ;
An old man near the gate
Sat tremblingly, and short of breath,
And said, " Too late ! too late !"

I asked the dying pilgrim where
The Happy Man was seen ;
He paused and slowly answered, " There,
Upon yon village-green ;

" I saw him once, long time ago,—
I think I passed him by,
Some eight-and-sixty years or so,
That boy and butterfly."

O. A. BROWNSON, LL.D.

SIR: Your letter in the *Herald* of Sept. 1st, 1862, on drafting and volunteering, as appears to me, contains the shadow of a principle which would finally put out the light of the Republic and establish a massive consolidated despotism in its place. You will pardon me for saying that an opinion extensively prevails that your views on the subject of government are not only peculiar, but incompatible with the theory of government adopted by our forefathers. I by no means say this reproachfully. They are your views, and you have an undoubted right to hold and to utter them. I have, sir, for many years watched with admiration the tenacity, the ingenuity, and the great ability with which you have at all times promulgated your peculiar sentiments. I have admired your genius none the less because, on questions of speculative philosophy, we may have been as wide apart as the poles. But, at the present time, there is a nervous, almost an irritable sensibility in the public mind on the subject embraced in your letter, which may fearfully hazard the last hope of overcoming this gigantic rebellion, if the administration suffers itself to be led off into the ambitious displays of mere federal domination for the objects which you recommend. Your grand reason for preferring drafting to volunteering is, that "*The nationality of Government has not as yet been asserted, and in the contest will not be asserted, except by a draft.*" Sir, has the federal government any right to draft for the mere assertion of its nationality? Is it not barred by the Constitution? The power of the general government over the militia is carefully limited by the

Constitution, and the purposes for which it may be called out are minutely specified. Among these I do not find yours, viz: the assertion of federal *nationality*. The only purpose for which the Constitution allows the federal government to call forth the militia is, "To execute the laws of the Union, suppress insurrections, and repel invasions." Beyond this limit the general government cannot lawfully go. And in order that even this limited power shall not, in the hands of a corrupt or designing President, be made to trench upon the sovereignty of the States, the appointment of the officers and the authority of training the militia is reserved to the States. On this subject Chief Justice Story says: "As a complete control of the militia by the general government would deprive the States of their natural means of defence, even upon the most urgent occasions, and would leave them absolutely dependent upon the general government, the power of the latter is carefully limited to a few cases; and the former retain the appointment of all the officers, and also the authority to train the militia."

The militia is a State institution—is, indeed, a high assertion of State sovereignty. But under certain definite constitutional limits, it may be called into the service of the Union; but not, surely, for the idle purpose of asserting *federal nationality*. The drafting of the militia for such a purpose would be a direct violation of the supreme law of the land, while it would darkly foreshadow crime and usurpation in the designs of the federal government. The President has no command of the militia, except *pro tempore*, "when called into the actual service of the United States."

In case the militia, when drafted for the U. S. service, refuse to obey, they are still pronounced by the Supreme Court and by the laws of Congress to be within the jurisdiction of the State, to be held there for trial and punishment by State courts martial. Even after the process of drafting is finished, the militia remains under the State jurisdiction until actually mustered into the U. S. service at the place of rendezvous (Moore v. Houston, 3 Serg. and Rawl, 169). Chancellor Kent says: "If the militia, when called into the service of the United States, refuse to obey the order, they remain within the military jurisdiction of the State, and it is competent for the State to provide for trying and punishing them by a State court martial." It would certainly be an exhibition of peculiar madness on the part of the general government to follow your advice, and draft this *State militia* merely for the purpose of asserting *federal nationality*. What a wretched, what a disgusting sight it would be to see the federal government strutting about in such borrowed plumage! The right of the general government to call upon the militia to "execute the laws, suppress insurrection, and repel invasions, is unquestioned. In this grand object the States and the federal government have a common interest; and it must have struck the despots of the old world with surprise and admiration, to witness the *voluntary* outpourings of the people for the suppression of this rebellion. Not less than a million and a half of soldiers have volunteered in this great cause already. What a disgusting spectacle! And what a miserable *finale* to the whole thing it would be, for the administration to insist upon drafting, even while all its demands are voluntarily met, merely to make an exhibition of federal ma-

gesty! The next thing we should expect of a President who should take and follow such advice, would be to see him with a peacock's tail somehow stuck to his nether extremity, strutting about to make an exhibition of his own personal beauty.

It is, sir, a remarkable fact, that the clause of the Constitution, which imparts to the federal government even the limited control of the militia, was strenuously opposed by some of the ablest and most patriotic members of the convention which framed that immortal instrument. Luther Martin threw the whole of his great intellectual and personal weight against it, contending that the federal government ought not to be allowed, for any purpose whatever, to call into its service more than a portion of the militia of the State at a time, without the consent of the State legislature. What a sensation, what a thrill of horror it would have sent through that august assembly of the revolutionary patriots, had one of its members purposed to allow the federal government to draft the State militia for the mere purpose of displaying *its* nationality! So jealous were the founders of this Republic of somehow involving State sovereignty in a doubt, that they would not permit the word *national government* to appear in the Constitution. On the 30th of May, 1787, just five days after the assembling of the Constitutional Convention, Gov. Randolph submitted the outlines of a Constitution, which began with a resolution, that "A national government ought to be established." When this resolution came up on the 20th of June, Judge Ellsworth, of Connecticut, offered the following resolution: "I propose, and therefore move, to expunge the word *national*, in the first resolution, and to place in the room

of it, *Government of the United States* ;” which was agreed to, *nem. con.* The general government, which these great and wise men formed, is *federal* rather than *national* in its character—*i. e.* it is a government of States, and not of a consolidated people. In explaining the federal constitution to the Convention of Virginia, Mr. Madison asked: “Who are the parties to the government? The people; but not the people as composing *one great body*; but the people as composing *thirteen sovereignties.*” The word *nationality*, as used by you, appears to be without any warrant whatever from the Constitution of the United States. There is a nationality, there is a national unity; but it is a nationality, and a unity, which secures and preserves, rather than destroys the individuality and sovereignty of the States. The general government is supreme in its prescribed orbit, as the States are supreme in theirs. While the general government keeps in its own constitutional orbit, and the States keep within theirs, there can be no more collision between the federal and state sovereignties, than there is between the revolving planets in the heavens. The system was framed with surprising wisdom by our fathers. The objection that there cannot be two sovereignties in the same system—or that the federal and state governments cannot each be sovereign, arises from a mistaken view of the principle on which the Republic was formed. The federal government is sovereign in all matters that were surrendered to it by the States which formed it. The States are sovereign in all matters which they reserved to themselves in the Constitution, or which were not surrendered to the general government. Then there are some matters in which the federal and state

governments have concurrent jurisdiction.

However complex it may appear to a careless view, the system is, nevertheless, simple, and capable of lasting to the end of time, if the federal and state governments were always administered with a strict regard to the letter and spirit of the Constitution. It is a departure from the Constitution, that has led us down into this dreadful abyss, where the national soul lies weltering and tumbling, and doubtfully feeling its way back to its lost peace and prosperity. Sir, it is not a time when the few great men, the men of genius, who are left in the country, should counsel a still further departure from the constitutional stepplings of our fathers. It is not a time when the men whose intellect lifts them into watch-towers far above the low level on which delirious fanatics, and selfish party-politicians hatch their schemes of gain and power, should throw down fresh fuel to the fire that is consuming the nation’s heart; and start still other issues into the confusion that is already confounded. Let it rather be the business of philosophers to speak peace to the angry elements that are whirling about in this vast depth of shallowness. If the philosophers fail our country, who shall stand by it now? The politicians seem wholly given up to the delusions of lust and power. The clergy have, almost all, gone howling and ranting into the most profane and beggarly elements of the world. They are mad. Everybody is mad. The angel of peace seems to have fled forever.—Neither in the sanctuary of home, the place of prayer, the councils of the nation, the public press, nor in the haunts of philosophy, is there any voice of salvation going forth. The Republic is

dying, because its soul, the Constitution, is torn out. It is treason to plead for the Constitution—treason to believe that Washington and Liberty were not a myth, and Jefferson not a fool. Rebellion toils and struggles and suffers and fights for life at one end of the Republic, while despotism, anarchy—black anarchy—and despair splutter and flounder and fight for negroes at the

other. Believe me, it is not a time when men of genius should cease to be teachers and leaders, and consent to follow on in the popular wake, behind the demerit and madness of the hour.

I am, Sir, with great respect,

Your obedient servant,

C. CHAUNCEY BURR.

NOTE. The conscription bill which has passed the Senate, and, before the publication of this March number of *THE OLD GUARD*, may pass the lower house of Congress, at once sweeps out of existence the State militia, and clothes the President with unlimited and unchecked military powers. It makes him, at one bound, as absolute a monarch as the Autocrat of all the Russias. It sweeps down the constitutions and laws of the States, and virtually obliterates State boundaries by mapping out the whole country into military districts, corresponding with the Congressional districts, over which the President sets his Provost-marshals, whose powers are absolute and to be exercised in defiance of the State Executives, and of all State laws. If this atrocious bill were really law, and if the Governors, legislatures, and people of the States submitted to it, there would be an end of State Governments, and a vast consolidated military despotism would be established without a struggle. The wrongs and tyrannies endured by our fathers before the revolution, were light and unworthy of notice, compared with the abominations to which we should submit. The crushed and long humiliated Poles are at this moment nobly resisting a Russian conscription, not more insulting to the liberty and dignity of man, than this one proposed for the free people of these States. They who by long

suffering, have grown habituated to tyranny, and whose once proud spirit, had, as we supposed, become almost extinct, under the weight of wrongs, suddenly start up with throws of muscular life, to resist a conscription which seizes men like sheep, and forces them from their homes into the army, to be made the unwilling tools of despotic power. Is there a man in all America who does not applaud this struggle at the Poles against the cruel conscription which would force them into a war for objects which their souls abhor! What then may we suppose will be the fate of Wilson's unconstitutional bill, which places the life and limbs of every man at the disposal of such a deluded and almost delirious fanatic as Abraham Lincoln! But thank God, it can never be executed. The people have not yet made up their minds to yield the *voluntary principle*, which distinguishes our government from the massive despotisms of the old world. By the constitution and laws, the Governors of the States are commanders-in-chief of the militia of the States, and there is no way by which Mr. Lincoln can reach and draft that militia, except through the constitutional authorities of the States. What a fight that would be, to see the State Executives forced out of their official seats by Mr. Lincoln's Provost marshals! O heavens!

GOVERNOR PARKER.

THE excellent likeness of Gov. PARKER, of New Jersey, which we publish in this number of THE OLD GUARD, will, we are sure, be gladly received by our subscribers and the public. Gov. Parker's Inaugural address had the ring of real statesmanship and true patriotism,—and drew towards him the attention and the hope of the American people. If he stands as firmly by the Constitution and laws of his State, as his Inaugural promised, he will save his country from falling under the stupendous revolution hatched at Washington. If the Executive and people of a single Northern State, stand resolutely and defiantly by the Constitution and laws, that alone will break the column of usurpation, and cause the conspirators to be engulfed in the ruin they have treasonously plotted for their country.

We shall continue to publish the likenesses of the most prominent of the Statesmen, to whom the public expectation seems directed in this trying hour. But the reader should be reminded that we by no means admit ourselves to be

the organ of the gentlemen whom we thus honor. We are not responsible for any course they may take, nor are they, in any degree, responsible for the opinions of this Journal. We profess to be the organ of certain principles which the true Democracy have held from the foundation of our Government. Principles, indeed, which caused the American Revolution, and guided our fathers in every step which led to the establishment of free institution on this continent. The men whom we praise to-day for their fidelity to law and constitutional liberty, we shall denounce to-morrow, if we see them cower before the storm of usurpation and despotism which rages through the land.

The unprecedented increase of the subscription to this work, from every part of the country, is proof that its doctrines strike the popular heart. We shall not falter in the duty of adhering firmly to *principles* and to *truth*, whatever may be the course of individuals or of parties.

OMNIUM.

THE LINCOLN CATECHISM.

Question. What is the Constitution?

Answer. A compact, with hell—new obsolete.

Ques. What is the Government?

Ans. Abraham Lincoln, Charles Sumner, and Owen Lovejoy.

Ques. What is a President?

Ans. A general agent for negroes.

Ques. What is Congress?

Ans. A body organized for the purpose of appropriating funds to buy Africans, and to make laws to protect the President from being punished for any violations of law he may be guilty of.

Ques. What is an army?

Ans. A provost guard to arrest white men and set negroes free.

Ques. Whom are members of Congress supposed to represent?

Ans. The President and his Cabinet.

Ques. What is understood by "coining money?"

Ans. Printing green paper.

Ques. What does the Constitution mean by "freedom of the press?"

Ans. The suppression of democratic newspapers.

Ques. What is the meaning of the word "liberty?"

Ans. Incarceration in a bastille.

Ques. What is a Secretary of War?

Ans. A man who arrests people by telegraph.

Ques. What are the duties of a Secretary of the Navy?

Ans. To build and sink gunboats.

Ques. What is the business of a Secretary of Treasury?

Ans. To destroy the State banks, and fill the pockets of the people with irredeemable U. S. shinplasters.

Ques. What is the meaning of the word "patriot?"

Ans. A man who loves his country less and the negro more.

Ques. What is the meaning of the word "traitor?"

Ans. One who is a stickler for the Constitution and the laws.

Ques. What are the particular duties of a Commander-in-Chief?

Ans. To disgrace any General who does not believe that the negro is better than a white man.

Ques. What is the meaning of the word "law?"

Ans. The will of the President.

Ques. How were the States formed?

Ans. By the United States.

Ques. Is the United States Government older than the States which made it?

Ans. It is.

Ques. Have the States any rights?

Ans. None whatever, except what the general government bestows.

Ques. Have the people any rights?

Ans. None, except what the President gives.

Ques. What is the *habeas corpus*?

Ans. It is the power of the President to imprison whom he pleases as long as he pleases.

Ques. Who is the greatest martyr of history?

Ans. John Brown.

Ques. Who is the wisest man?

Ans. Abraham Lincoln.

Ques. Who is Jeff. Davis?

Ans. The Devil.

Usurpation and Ignorance.

A leading republican member of Congress says, a good reason why the duty on foreign paper should not be taken off is, that the higher the price of paper the fewer newspapers we shall have. The violent suppression of democratic papers by the administration, is proof that it is one of its plots to keep from the people all knowledge of its doings. It was always the way with usurpers and tyrants to strip the people of the means of reading. The people in England did not read and reason in the time of the wars between the Red and White Roses.

If they had they would not have slaughtered each other merely to gratify the ambition of two rival Houses. In the war that brought Charles I. to the scaffold there was not much reading among the people—nor in the horrors of the *Armagnacs* and *Bourguignons*. The people, kept ignorant and ferocious, were spirited on by a few fanatic politicians, who cried out, Kill all in the name of the Lord. In this day of universal reading in England, Cromwell would strive in vain to turn the kingdom upside down with his jargon of an *Energumen*. No John of Leyden could make himself King of Munster in this day of newspapers. No Cardinal de Retz could form the barricades of Paris now. It is an up-hill business for tyrannical usurpers where all the people read. Therefore Mr. Lincoln and his party do well to get rid of newspapers as fast as possible. Post up the price of paper! If that does not make newspapers scarce enough suppress them! But take note, O most puissant dolts! that a day of reckoning—a terrible day—will come, and that quickly.

Daniel the Prophet.

Daniel Webster, in a speech in Faneuil Hall, March 7th, 1850, thus opened his mouth and prophesied: "If the fanatics and abolitionists ever get power in their hands they will override the Constitution, set the Supreme Court at defiance, change and make laws to suit themselves, lay violent hands on those who differ with them in their opinions, or dare question their infallibility, and finally bankrupt the country and deluge it with blood." For such sagacious utterings as these the great statesman was persecuted to the last hour of his life, and then maligned in his grave by the intolerant fanatics of New England. But there stand his prophetic words, high above this terrible hour of their sad fulfilment. And there they will stand when the names of his defamers shall be used only to define an era of crime and blood.

The People called a Herd of Cattle.

Secretary Stanton, that weak dilution of the hypocritical tyrant Nero, is reported as saying: "It begins to look as though all was lost; the people are acting like a herd of cattle." No,

Sir, all is not lost; for the moment the people open their eyes to see what you are doing they are saved. When *they* are saved you are lost. Dare to treat the people like a *herd of cattle*, and sooner or later they will butt you with their horns. That is the eternal justice of God, showing itself in the pages of all history. *As ye do unto others, so also will they do unto you.* Divine and profane history attest it!

The Fecundity of Devils.

A cotemporary warns us to beware of the fate of those, in all ages, who have opposed the "mighty march of progress," and entreats us not to forget that history ever repeats itself. Yes, Sir, so do devils repeat themselves. Astonishing fecundity! If Jesus Christ were on earth now, the foaming and bloody-mouthed abolitionists would be looked upon as being *possessed* with legions of those destructive spirits which drove the herd of swine down the steep places into the Sea of Galilee. They are now here, reproducing themselves in our times, hurrying you down the steep places of sedition and revolution into a sea of blood. If you did not drag your country along with you, we should, unconcerned, allow you to pursue the footsteps of your illustrious predecessors, the Galilean swine. But call not this *progression*! It is *retrogression*. It is going back to brute ages—to savagery and blood! It is *uncivilization*, which uses the sword for reason, and ordains torture and murder in the seat of Justice. It is such kind of *progress* as flourishes in the savage wilds of Africa, where men eat up their enemies, and use the well-picked skulls to thatch the roofs of their mud palaces.

Alliance between the Geese and Black-birds.

Mr. Sedgwick, member of Congress from the State of New York, reminded that body, in a speech the other day, that "Rome was once saved by the cackling of geese." This may account for the *intolerable* cackling and *hissing* which these abolition "birds of a feather" have long kept up to the infinite astonishment of mankind. If they are really *cackling* to save their country, it is a proof of patriotism which we did not expect from such a source. Public opinion has supposed that all this *cackling* was

intended simply to win the confidence of a certain flock of *blackbirds*, with which it is known the geese have long been desirous of forming an alliance. A scheming old *gender* has issued proposals to the *blackbirds* for a perpetual alliance between all the *geese and blackbirds* on this Continent, for the purpose of more effectually combating the progress of certain monsters, known in natural history as *Caucasians*. Since this happy proclamation was sent forth, the cackling of the geese has been truly wonderful and intolerable.

Liberty for Negroes, or Death to the Union.

In a late speech in New York, Wendel Phillips said: "*The motto is liberty to the slave, or death to the Union.*" Well, Sir, you need not say it again. You have been howling that kind of treason for twenty years. Mr. Lincoln and his party, in Congress and out of it, have adopted it. The people are to be taxed, taxed, taxed to give "death to the Union!" Our sons are to shed their blood on the tented field not to save but to give "death to the Union." You have it all your own way now; why need you go howling in public about it, mortifying our ears and our love of country with the clangor of our misfortunes and our woes? Is it not enough, Sir, that our Union, the sacred work of our fathers, must suffer death to give freedom to negroes? Must we be forever reminded of our loss? Like a cruel highwayman who returns to surviving friends, and says to a despairing wife: "It was I who killed your husband;" or to a weeping son or daughter: "It was I who murdered your father," you force your detested visage before us to constantly remind us that you have destroyed our country. We know what you have done; but get out of our sight! Away with your piratical banner inscribed with those words of delusion and crime: "*Liberty to the slave, or death to the Union!*"

Epitaph on Owen Lovejoy.

The Hon. Owen Lovejoy, the fat and spungy abolitionist from Illinois, in a late speech on the floor of Congress, alluded scornfully to the small stature of a member from Ohio. The

gentleman retorted by applying the following epitaph to his ponderous antagonist:

Beneath this stone good Owen Lovejoy lies,
Little in everything except in size;
What though his burly body fills this hole,
Yet through hell's key-hole crept his little soul.

The following historical lines will solve the mystery of Lovejoy's reappearance in his seat in Congress:

The Devil finding Owen there,
Began to flout and rave—and sware
That hell should ne'er endure the stain,
And kicked him back to earth again.

Lincoln's War Donkey.

We still read of the sayings and doings of the "old war-horse of the democracy of New York city." Now it is but a little while ago that this *old war-horse* was a sad enough *jackass*, harnessed in one of Lincoln's dirt-carts. We shall never forget the resolution he introduced in the Board of Supervisors, requiring all the clerks, door-keepers and porters connected with the department to *take the oath of allegiance* not to annihilate the land of their birth. Whoa!—not a *war-horse of democracy*—but one of *Lincoln's war donkeys*, a regular dirt drawer!

Lincoln-liberty and Law.

This is the kind of liberty and law which Mr. Lincoln proclaims through the most debased and pliant of all his tools, the editor of the *Philadelphia Press*:

"It makes no difference whether the person or citizen has been charged with crime, or even committed crime, if he is regarded as an enemy of the country; if his being at large at all affects the public peace or safety, he may be taken into custody until the danger is over."

But how, Sir, if the man whom you attempt to drag away to a dungeon sees fit to send you to the *custody* of Satan? How then? It is plainly his right; it is more—it is his *duty*; because the liberty of every other man is endangered by his refusal to stand out in just and manly defence of his rights. To a brave and virtuous man life is less dear than liberty and honor.

Hunting for Arms.

An anxious correspondent writes us to know what we "should do if some Provost Marshal, in violation of the Constitution and the laws, should come poking his nose into our premises, hunting for arms?" Why, we should very politely tell him to *go off*, and if he did not the *arms* would.

The Reserved Muscle of the States.

A cotemporary says, "There is nothing left now but the *reserved rights* of the States to check the fearful march of usurped despotic power." Yes, sir, there is left the *reserved muscle* of the States—a power older than all others, lying behind all others, above, beyond, and more sacred than all others—a last resort when the liberty of the people is assailed by usurpation and despotism: a power arising, not out of diplomacy, legislation, or international law, but based at once in the eternal justice of heaven.

Links of the same Sausage.

Hon. S. S. Cox says, he "*can see no difference between Republican emancipation and Congo abolition—they are separate links of the same sausage, made out of the same dog.*"

Venom Spitters.

A cotemporary is in great straits to find some single word which will fully express the character of the *Daily Times* and *Evening Post*. Unless he consents to hunt beyond the confines of earth, he will have to be content with the name which M. de Voltaire gave to the clan of literary assassins led by the ex-Abbe Desfontaines, viz., *les folliculaires*—venom spitters.

"Beware of the 15th of March!"

A wide-mouthed and narrow-brained abolition editor reminds us that we have prophesied that the people will yet rise up against the usurpation and crimes of the radical traitors, and says, "We notice they have not yet risen up." Not exactly; but believe not, O dupe of a thousand delusions, that the time is yet passed when they may do so. They have not *risen*, but they are *rising* fast enough for sure victory over the anarchy and despotism you would inaugurate. Be sure your sins will find you out, and, be sure the day of reckoning will come. Justice may be slow of pace, but it never sleeps. When Spurius warned Cæsar to beware of the 15th of March, the confident usurper laughed at the prophet; and when he was on his way to the capitol, on the morning of the 15th of that month, he happened to see Spurius, and said, in a jesting way, "Now, Spurius, the 15th of March is come!" "Yes," replied the other, "but it is not yet past." That day the tyrant fell in the senate-chamber of the capitol, pierced by *twenty-three* wounds inflicted by the virtuous Brutus, and

six other patriots of Rome. Now it is not to be imagined that anybody would soil their hands with the blood of the abolition traitors. There is no need of it for they are fast doing the work for themselves. They are like *swine* swimming in thin ice, which cut their own throats as they go. Happily, the faster they go, the more they destroy themselves!

Juvenal and the Administration.

A cotemporary says he has hunted through Juvenal in vain for some sentence that fully expresses the character of the abolition cabal at Washington. Why, sir, in turning to the pages of the great satirist the first words we saw are the following:

*"Hic vivimus ambitiosa,
Rauupertate omnes,"*

Which may be thus freely rendered in our language

Here we all live, both small and great,
And strut, and lie, and stink in state.

A Love Feast of Whites and Blacks.

The Rev. E. S. Best, of Milford, Mass., who is supposed to be one of the *best* of the New England type of clerical philosophers, in a recent sermon which has been published for the instruction of mankind, makes the following proclamation of the good time coming, in which a superior race of Americans is to spring from the indiscriminate intercourse between blacks and whites, when the approaching abolition millennium is fully realized:

"Every one who has given the least attention to this subject sees that great climatic changes take place in the affairs of every nationality who settle on these shores. The African becomes bleached, the casian gets browned. The time will yet come when the difference in color will be difficult to trace. This blending of the two races is just what is needed for the perfecting of both. Give the Anglo-American, with his lofty genius, his tireless energy and indomitable perseverance, the warm heart, the gushing sensibilities and the firm religious faith of the African American, and you have the highest, no lest, and most godlike specimen of humanity. Such a race will yet constitute the real people of America. Here the human race will reach its loftiest destiny, and this nation become the glory of all lands—the place which above all others shall most resemble heaven, and be the nearest to it."

What a pity that neither Lord Monbodo nor Baron Humboldt could have lived to witness this superior living production of the religious, the philosophical, and intensely sweet embraces of the abolitionists and the negroes!

We have a word of advice for the Rev. Mr. Best, and for all his brother reverend abolitionists, which is, if you find your millennium too long delayed for the comfort of your throbbing, emotional natures, by all means go to the native jungles of these sweet Africans, and there slake the burning thirst of your impatient hearts. Better go at once, for if you delay too long, there may arrive a race of men here, who will *skin you alive*!



Eng^d by W G Jackman, N.Y. from a Photograph by A.A. Turner

H. W. Woodhull

OF INDIANA.

"The Constitution is my Country and I have
no Country outside of its provisions."

Emerald Express - The Old Guard

THE OLD GUARD,

A MONTHLY JOURNAL DEVOTED TO THE PRINCIPLES OF
1776 AND 1787.

VOLUME I.—APRIL, 1863.—No. IV.

MILITARY COERCION.

Respectfully Addressed to the President,
ABRAHAM LINCOLN:

SEVERAL abolition editors have addressed letters to you, containing severe and, as I think, sometimes unjust criticisms upon your administration, and they were neither locked up in prison nor molested in their business. I speak of this, not with complaint, but with pleasure. Though I hold no sympathy with the disorganizing and destructive opinions of the abolitionists, yet for their sake, for my country's sake, and for your sake, I am glad that they have been allowed the right of criticising and censuring your public acts to their hearts' content. Only weak or bad men shrink from a full and free discussion of their acts. You have been called "honest." If you are so, you will thank me for calling your attention to certain fundamental principles of government held sacred by our fathers, which a large portion of the American people lost sight of at the beginning of your administration. I shall be able to show that the wise and patriotic founders of

our Government meant to establish a system in which a collision of arms could never occur between the Federal and State authorities. The proposition to use Federal force against a delinquent State came twice, and but twice, before the Constitutional Convention of 1787, and each time it was promptly and decidedly negatived. On the 29th of May, 1787, soon after the assembling of the wise and patriotic body which formed our Federal Constitution, Gov. Randolph presented a series of resolutions intended to be the basis of the Constitution. The sixth resolution of this series authorized the General Government "to call forth the force of the Union against any member of the Union failing to fulfil its duty under the articles thereof." This proposition was dismissed from the consideration of the delegates *sine die*, there not being found a single voice nor a single vote in its favor in the Convention. In justice to Gov. Randolph, I will quote a passage from his letter to the Constitutional Convention of Virginia, dated

Oct. 10th, 1787, four months after he had offered his draft of a Constitution in the Federal Convention :

"But although coercion is an indispensable ingredient, it ought not to be directed against a State as a State; it being impossible to attempt it, except by blockading the trade of the delinquent, or carrying war into its bowels. But how shall we speak of the intrusion of troops? Shall we arm citizens against citizens, and habituate them to shed kindred blood? Shall we risk the infliction of wounds which will generate a rancour never to be subdued? Would there be no room to fear that an army, accustomed to fight for the establishment of authority, would salute an emperor of their own? Let us not bring these things into jeopardy. Let us rather substitute the same powers by which individuals are compelled to contribute to the government of their own States."

From this it would seem that, in his resolution in the Constitutional Convention, Gov. Randolph meant a coercion of *law* rather than of *arms*, when he spoke of "*the force of the Union.*" And it is a remarkable fact, that during the whole session of the Constitutional Convention, the idea of using Federal force against a State, in any event, was never but once more raised, and that was in the draft of a Constitution offered by Mr. Patterson, of New Jersey, in the following words :

"And if any State, or body of men in any State, shall oppose or prevent the carrying into execution such acts, the Federal Executive shall be authorized to call forth the powers of the confederated States, or as much thereof as shall be necessary to enforce and compel an obedience to such acts."

In this instance the whole matter was referred to a committee, which rejected the proposition, and the subject was never brought before the Convention again. Thus it is certain that the great and good men who formed our Constitution, refused to give the Federal Government power to use force against a State under any circumstances. They

gave reasons for this refusal. Mr. Madison said :

"The more he reflected on the use of force, the more he doubted the practicability, justice and the efficacy of it, when applied to people collectively and not individually. A Union of States containing such an ingredient seemed to provide for its own destruction. The use of force against a State would look more like a declaration of war than an infliction of punishment, and would probably be considered, by the party attacked, as a dissolution of all previous compacts by which it might be bound. He hoped that such a system might be framed as might render this resource unnecessary, and moved that the clause be postponed. This motion was agreed to *nem. con.*"

Alexander Hamilton said :

"But how can this force be exerted on the States collectively against State authority? It is impossible. It amounts to a war between the parties. Foreign powers, also, will not be idle spectators. They will interpose, the confusion will increase, and a dissolution of the Union will ensue"

On another occasion, Mr. Hamilton used the following emphatic words against the idea of giving the Federal Government power to use force against the legislative action of a State :

"To coerce the States is one of the maddest projects that was ever devised. A failure of compliance will never be confined to a single State. This being the case, can we suppose it wise to hazard a civil war? It would be a nation at war with itself. Can any reasonable man be well disposed towards a Government which makes war and carnage the only means of supporting itself?—a Government that can exist only by the sword? Every such war must involve the innocent with the guilty. This single consideration should be sufficient to dispose every peaceable citizen against such a Government."

Mr. Madison used the following still more decided words in the Convention :

"Any government for the United States, formed on the supposed practicability of using force against even the unconstitutional proceedings of the States, would prove visionary and fallacious."

Mr. Mason, one of the ablest members of the Convention, put his protest on

record, against the idea of Federal coercion, in these words :

"What! would you use military force to compel the observance of a social compact? It is destructive to the rights of the people. Do you expect the militia will do it, or do you mean a standing army?"

Luther Martin, in urging the dangers of allowing the Federal Government the right to use a military force against States, said :

"When a Government wishes to deprive its citizens of freedom and reduce them to slavery, it generally makes use of an army for that purpose, and leaves the militia in a situation as contemptible as possible, lest they might oppose its arbitrary designs. In this system, we give the General Government every provision it could wish for, and even invite it to subvert the liberties of the States and their citizens."

Such were the sentiments of the patriotic founders of this Government and the authors of our Constitution. It is certain that they refused to give the Federal Government any constitutional power to use an army against States under any plea whatever. Whatever force was allowed to the General Government was intended not to operate against States as such, but only against individuals. The record is clear on this point. These were the doctrines not merely of individual members of the Convention—they were the sentiments of an overwhelming majority of the Convention, and every proposition to coerce States with military power was, as I have shown, promptly voted down. Judge Elsworth, member of the Convention from Connecticut, while explaining the nature of the Federal Constitution he had helped to form, to the Convention of his own State, said :

"We see how necessary for a Union is a coercive principle. No man pretends the contrary; we all see and feel this necessity. The only question is, shall it

be a coercion of law or a coercion of arms? There is no other possible alternative. Where will those who oppose a coercion of law come out? Where will they end? A necessary consequence of their principles is a war of the States, one against the other. I am for a coercion by law—that coercion which acts only upon delinquent individuals. This Constitution does not attempt to coerce sovereign bodies—States in their political capacities; no coercion is applicable to such bodies, but that of an unarmed force; if we should attempt to execute the laws of the Union by sending an armed force against a delinquent State, it would involve the good and the bad, the innocent and guilty, in the same calamity."

Against this idea it was urged, by a party largely in the minority, that without power to use arms against a delinquent State, the Federal Government would be too weak for the purposes of government. To this the majority replied, that the Union, being a voluntary act on the part of the States which formed it, did not admit of the involuntary principle of government without a violation of its very nature and objects. It was furthermore truly said, that, if the Constitution gave the General Government power to use arms against the States in any event, it would be indignantly rejected by every State, and thus there would be an end of the Union at once. In fact it was seen that the coercive principle, as applied to States, would about totally change the very nature of the Government on which the Union was established. Gen. Washington, in a letter to Mr. Hamilton, dated August 26, 1792, said: "Without mutual forbearance and yielding on all sides, I do not see how the reins of Government are to be managed, or how the Union of the States can much longer be preserved." And, in his farewell address, President Jackson said :

"But the Constitution cannot be maintained nor the Union preserved, in opposition to public feeling,

by the mere exertion of the coercive powers of the Government. The foundations must be laid in the affections of the people—in the security it gives to life, liberty and property in every quarter of the country—and in the fraternal attachments which the citizens of the several States bear to one another, as members of one political family.”

Such is the nature of our Government that it does not admit of the coercive principle against States as such. The Federal force may march to assist a State in quelling a rebellion or an insurrection within its borders, whenever the State authorities make the demand for assistance. In this case, the United States force is sent not to *oppose*, but to *assist* the State authorities. This was the case when the United States force assisted in putting down the Shay rebellion in Massachusetts, the Whiskey rebellion in Pennsylvania, and the Dorr rebellion in Rhode Island. While the framers of the Constitution refused to clothe the Federal Government with any power to make war upon a State, they were careful to make it its duty to assist the State authorities in suppressing insurrections within their jurisdiction, if duly called upon. Beyond this the General Government cannot go without violating the Constitution. In 1833, while discussing the proposition to march a military force against the State of South Carolina, Daniel Webster said :

“Sir, for one I protest in advance against such remedies as I have heard hinted. The administration itself keeps a profound silence, but its friends have spoken for it. We are told, sir, that the President will immediately employ the military force, and at once blockade Charleston! A military remedy—a remedy by direct military operation, has thus been suggested, and nothing else has been suggested, as the intended means of preserving the Union. Sir, there is no little reason to think that this suggestion is true. We cannot be altogether unminful of the past, and therefore we cannot be altogether unappre-

hensive for the future. For one, I raise my voice beforehand against the unauthorized employment of military power—against superseding the authority of the laws by an armed force, under pretence of putting down nullification. The President has no authority to blockade Charleston. The President has no authority to employ military force, till he shall be duly required so to do by law, and by the civil authorities. His duty is to cause the laws to be executed. His duty is to support the civil authority. His duty is, if the laws be resisted, to employ the military force of the country, if necessary, for their support and execution; but to do this only in compliance with law, and with decisions of the tribunals. With a constitutional and efficient head of the Government—with an administration really and truly in favor of the Constitution, the country can grapple with nullification. By the force of reason; by the progress of enlightened opinion; by the natural, genuine patriotism of the country, and by the steady and well-sustained operations of law, the progress of disorganization may be successfully checked, and the Union maintained.”

Opinions even stronger in opposition to the right of Federal coercion against the legislative acts of States, were expressed by Mr. Seward at the beginning of the present administration. In an official letter of instruction addressed to Mr. Judd, Minister to Prussia, dated Washington, March 22d, 1861, he says :

“You are well aware of what you will find Europeans unable to understand, namely: that owing to the very peculiar structure of our Government, and the equally singular character and habits of the American people, this Government not only *wisely* but necessarily hesitates to resort to coercion and compulsion to secure a return of the disaffected portion of the people to their customary allegiance. *The Union was formed upon popular consent, and must always practically stand on the same basis.*”

Yes, sir, “must always practically stand upon the same basis.” When you attempted to change this voluntary basis for one of coercion and war, *you* began a revolution more fatal to both the spirit and form of our Government than mere secessionism—bad as it is—could ever be. In his official letter to

Mr Adams, our Minister to England, dated at Washington, April 10th, 1861, Mr. Seward said

“He (the President) believes, nevertheless, that the citizens of those States, as well as the citizens of the other States, are too intelligent, considerate and wise to follow the leaders to that disastrous end (secession). For these reasons, he would not be disposed to reject a cardinal dogma of theirs, namely, that the Federal Government could not reduce the seceding States to obedience by conquest, even though he were disposed to question that proposition. But, in fact, the President willingly accepts it as true. Only an imperial or despotic Government could subjugate thoroughly disaffected and insurrectionary members of the State. This Federal Republic system of ours is, of all forms of Government, the very one which is most unfitted for such a labor. Happily, however, this is only an imaginary defect. The system has within itself adequate peaceful, conservative and recuperative forces. Firmness on the part of the Government in maintaining and preserving the public institutions and property, and in executing the laws, where authority can be exercised without waging war, combined with such measures of justice, moderation and forbearance as will disarm reasoning opposition, will be sufficient to secure the public safety, until returning reflection, concurring with the fearful experience of social evils, the inevitable fruits of faction, shall bring the reculant members cheerfully back into the family which, after all, must prove their best and happiest, as it undeniably is their most natural home. The Constitution of the United States provides for that return by authorizing Congress, on application to be made by a certain majority of the States, to assemble a national convention, in which the organic law can, if it be needful, be revised, so as to remove all real obstacles to a reunion, so suitable to the habits of the people, and so eminently conducive to the common safety and welfare.

Keeping that remedy steadily in view, the President, on the one hand, will not suffer the Federal authority to fall into abeyance, nor will he, on the other, aggravate existing evils by attempts at coercion, which must assume the form of direct war against any of the revolutionary States.”

Sir, had your administration patiently adhered to the wise doctrines announced in the above words of your Secretary, you would not only have stood by the Constitution which you took an oath to defend, but you would have saved your

country from an inundation of blood which has made it the horror of mankind. Oh! that you had listened to the warning words of the lamented Douglas, when he thundered into the ears of that besotted Senate—“War is disunion—final and eternal separation!” Was it not more than disunion? Was it not an overthrowing of the constitutional foundations of our Government? Which State would have ratified the Constitution, could it have entered into the imagination of any one to believe that the Federal Government could ever be guilty of such monstrous assumptions of power, as to wage a war of “conquest,” “subjugation,” and “extermination” upon the States. A war which the Secretary of State, in 1861, affirmed the President admitted he had no right to make, and which he then declared would be a violation of the fundamental principles of our Government. The Constitution makes it the duty of the President “to take care that the laws be faithfully executed.”—On this Chief Justice Story says:

“But we are not to understand that this clause confers on the President any new and substantial power to cause the laws to be faithfully executed, by means which he shall see fit to adopt, although not prescribed by the Constitution or by the acts of Congress. That would be to clothe him with an absolute, despotic power over the lives, the property and the rights of the whole people. A tyrannical President might, under a pretence of this sort, punish for a crime, without any trial by jury, or usurp the functions of other departments of the Government. The true interpretation of the clause is, that the President is to use all such means as the Constitution and laws have placed at his disposal to enforce the due execution of the laws. As, for example, if crimes are committed, he is to direct a prosecution by the proper public officers . . . but he cannot employ the public force, or make war, to accomplish the purpose.”

It is proper to remark, that the great Judge who wrote the above comments was himself a Federalist of the strictest sort, and never had any affiliation with the Democratic party. His words simply amount to this: That the President has no right to punish crimes, or to attempt to enforce the laws, by unconstitutional or illegal means. No right even to attempt to suppress a rebellion against the laws by breaking the laws himself. A President has no more right to go beyond the laws in punishing criminals, than the criminals have to do the same thing in committing their wrongs. Whatever a man's wrong deed may be, he must be punished according to law, and only according to law. The Constitution must be the President's guide in dealing with rebellion; if he allows himself to be pushed outside of that, does he not become a rebel too? There is no *necessity* binding him but the Constitution and the laws. If he attempts more he is an *unnecessary* usurper and tyrant. This fact was well stated in the Senate of the United States, about two years ago, by Mr. Trumbull, in the following words:

"Necessity is the plea of tyrants, and if our Constitution ceases to operate the moment a person charged with its observance thinks there is a necessity to violate it, it is of little value. . . We are fighting to maintain the Constitution, and it especially becomes us, in appealing to the people to come to its rescue, not to violate it ourselves. How are we better than the rebels, if both alike set at nought the Constitution?"

At about the same time, Senator Hale said:

"I declare upon my responsibility as a Senator, that the liberties of this country are in greater danger to-day from the corruptions, and from the profligacy practiced in the various departments of the Government, than they are from the enemy in the open field."

gacy practiced in the various departments of the Government, than they are from the enemy in the open field."

Sir, what Senator Hale then said, a majority of the people of the Northern States believe to-day. They believe that the men whose counsels are guiding you are not saving the Union, and that they do not wish to save it. They believe that when the Chairman of your Committee of Ways and Means (Mr. Stevens) said, "The Union never shall, with my consent, be restored under the Constitution as it is," he spoke for your administration. They believe that in suspending the Constitution, and in transcending the laws of your country, you have broken your oath of office.—They believe that there is a fixed plan and determination at Washington to destroy the very form of our Government, and to substitute a centralized despotism in its place. They believe this as honestly and as firmly as they believe that God is the Author of their existence. Sir, this belief is a far more dangerous thing to you than all the machinations and soldiers of Jeff. Davis. If you are not utterly lost in foolishness—buried out of sight and hearing of reason in the mountains of delusion with which they have surrounded you—you will immediately take some course to correct this belief. Imprisoning men for honestly discussing your public acts will not do it. That only confirms the public mind in the bad opinion it has formed of your administration. That only convinces them that you are ready to trample the laws and the rights of the citizens together under your feet. If you are conscious, sir, of being in the right, you need not im-

prison those who criticise you—you can answer them. This was the way of the great usurper of Rome, even after he had established the Empire upon the ruins of the Republic. Cæsar was too wise a man to strike down the personal liberty of the Roman people in the very beginning of his dictatorial reign.—With so great a mind as Cæsar possessed usurpation was a science. He knew that to strike at the personal liberty of the people would arouse their fears, and cause them to strike back. Hence he allowed the largest liberty of speaking and writing. Instead of imprisoning those who assailed his deeds, he replied to them. Thus, when Cicero published his Cato, which was meant to disparage Cæsar, he met it with the Anti-Cato. But you, sir, have imprisoned men for being suspected of *thinking*, or having *sympathies* adverse to your administration! It betrays an ignorance of history and of human nature to suppose that such deeds should not fill the public mind full of a pervading distrust and hatred of the administration. To detest and denounce such violations of the constitutional and statute laws of the confederation implies no sympathy with rebellion or secession. It is rather an evidence of patriotism, and of virtuous respect for the laws of the land. This people have been taught to regard with suspicion and alarm all such acts as the leading measures of your administration. The following words of John Adams, uttered in 1775, express the general habit and feeling of the American people :

“‘Nip the shoots of arbitrary power in the bud’ is the only maxim which can ever preserve the liberties of any people. When the people give way, their de-

ceivers, betrayers and destroyers press upon them so fast that there is no resisting afterwards. The nature of the encroachment is to grow every day more encroaching; like a cancer, it eats faster and faster every hour”

This sentiment sits in every good man’s heart in our country. It occupies him as the mind does his body. It is the political soul of the Republic. Sir, believe not that you can, with safety, run counter to this sentiment a single hour after the people discover the danger that threatens them. If once they are aroused, they will sweep you away like chaff before a whirlwind. Be not deluded any further by the iniquitous instructions of the last Congress. You must know that its acts are not laws, because they violate the Constitution and the organic law of the land. That Congress has attempted to subvert the Republic, by clothing the executive with dictatorial and despotic powers. If their acts were law, there is an end of the Republic—an end a thousand times more destructive to liberty on this continent than successful secession would be. For secession would merely despoil us of a portion of territory, while the other would strike down the whole temple of constitution and laws with a single blow. Be warned that these bad men are leading you to destruction. They have caused you to lose the confidence of the people. Even the army, as you must know, doubts your patriotism. If you do not know it, the people do. The whole land is full of letters from soldiers in the field, which, if you could only read them, would show you that—should you be mad enough to attempt to exercise all the illegal powers with which a Congress of traitors would

clothe you—you are lost. The sons, and brothers, and kindred, and friends of those who are determined that the State governments shall not be annihilated by act of Congress or by Federal despotism, are in the army, and be assured that all will have but one heart and one hand, if the crusade against white men and against constitutional liberty and law is any further pushed. If, disregarding the counsels of the fanatical traitors, you fall back within the limits of the Constitution and the laws, there is no doubt that you may yet receive the hearty co-operation and support of the people, in every measure which the Constitution allows you to employ. The Government belongs to the people of the States, and it will be their pleasure, as it is their duty, to support it in every just and legal claim. But a majority of the loyal people of the country now believe that you are seeking to destroy that Government, and to fix one of despotic power in its place. If they misjudge you, it is the easiest thing to undeceive them. But if they do not misjudge you, it were better for you that you had never been born. Sir, the States are not to be swallowed up in a centralized despotism. They are not to be swept away—their constitutions, their judiciary and institutions annihilated by act of Congress or by executive usurpation! Be sure they *will not be!* The people are just as much bound to stand by their own State Governments as they are to support the Federal Government, and more, because the States are the original source of all the powers conferred on the Federal Government, and should that fail, through weakness or through despotic and trai-

torous design, the State governments are the only protection to the lives, liberty and property of the people. The foundations of social order would survive even if the Federal Government fall, but not if the State governments fall. Crush them, and the whole internal machinery of social order perishes. In the Constitutional Convention, Luther Martin said.

“What is the Government now forming—over States or over persons? As to the latter, their rights cannot be the object of a General Government. These are already secured by their guardians, the State governments. The General Government is therefore intended only to protect and guard the rights of the States, as States. The basis of all ancient and modern confederacies is the freedom and the independency of the States composing it.”

Even Mr. Wilson, of Pennsylvania, one of the strongest advocates of a strong National Government, said:

“No liberty can be obtained without the State governments. On this question depends the essential rights of the General Government and of the people.”

So Judge Ellsworth, of Connecticut, speaking in the Constitutional Convention on the same subject, said:

“I may be asked by my honorable friend from Massachusetts, (Mr. King,) whether, by entering into a National Government, I will not equally participate in national security? I confess I should; but I want domestic happiness, as well as general security. A General Government will never grant me this, as it cannot know my wants or relieve my distress. My State is only as one out of thirteen. Can they, the General Government, gratify my wishes? My happiness depends as much on my State government, as a new born infant depends upon its mother for nourishment.”

This scheme of the abolition traitors of Congress to override and destroy the States, will surely end in the ruin and destruction of all who attempt to execute their revolutionary acts. The State executives, by their very oath of office,

are bound to resist them. Should they, through weakness or perjury, fail, the people will not fail. Woe to the Governor who suffers the Constitution and laws of his State to be violated by the edicts of a revolutionary Federal Congress! Every citizen whose liberty and rights are assailed, may appeal for protection to the courts of his own State. The courts are bound to grant him the protection of the laws, which pledge him exemption from unlawful seizures and searches, and a speedy trial by jury. To execute the orders of the courts, the executive is bound, if necessary, to furnish a *posse comitatus*, even to the whole force of the State. With this process the Federal Government cannot interfere, without violating the Constitution and making war upon the State. To execute what you know to be an unlawful act of Congress, will you do that? If you do, my honest and earnest advice is that you look two ways at the same time, for our brave sons in the army were not enlisted to help an abolition Congress crush the laws of their own States, and murder their kindred at home!

Ask you what you shall do: Why, sir, stand by the Constitution, and we will all stand by you. Whatever that allows the people will help you to maintain. But you have signified that the Constitution is not equal to the crisis. Well, sir, even if that were so, it is not your business to mend or to transcend it. You have sworn to obey the Constitution as it is. You must—you will be held to that oath. But your abolition advisers say that the Constitution, as it is, makes the Federal Government a rope of sand, because it gives it no adequate power to deal with rebellion. The Constitution gives the Federal Gov-

ernment power to deal with rebellion according to law, and the laws are meant to be in harmony with the principles on which a confederation of co-equal States was founded—but they are not, and cannot be, such powers as monarchy or despotism claims to exercise over its subjects. We have seen that the Constitutional Convention refused to clothe the Federal Government with authority to use the army against the government of a State, because it held:

1st. That such powers were incompatible with the nature of the Government which they were forming.

2d. It was seen that the attempt to exercise such powers would, in the language of Alexander Hamilton, bring “a nation at war with itself, and would end in the destruction of the Union.”

3d. It was known that, if the Federal Government were clothed with such powers, the Constitution would not be adopted by a single State.

Instead of the withholding of these powers from the Federal Government being an element of weakness, it was really an element of strength. To attempt to mix the despotic with the voluntary system of government would have brought the whole fabric to an end, even before it was fully organized. The system that was established proved to be strong and perfect, as long as one section respected the rights and institutions of the other. It was not a rope of sand, while all the parties to it faithfully adhered to the principles on which it was founded. Any Government will prove a rope of sand if its constitutional foundations are knocked away. As long as the Federal Government keeps within its constitutional limits, there is hope that wandering States may be brought back to own their allegiance;

but the Federal Government, once cut loose from its constitutional moorings, ceases to be a legal power at all, and there is no longer anything left for wandering States to return to. Nothing, but a boiling, seething pit of blood, anarchy and despotism!

No man can read the debates of the Constitutional Convention, in connection with the other eminent authorities quoted in this article, without feeling that this war is alike violative of the Constitution and of the fundamental principles of the Government. But who is to blame for this terrible, this bloody crime? Not you alone, sir—perhaps not you chiefly—for the letter of Mr. Seward to Mr. Adams, quoted in this article, is proof that when you came to Washington, you admitted that the federal executive had no power to make such a war—but the people themselves, deluded, bewildered, hounded on by corrupt leaders, demanded it. They were mad. Reason was lost in a cannibal cry for blood. You were borne away on the whirling tide, when you should have firmly adhered to the policy enunciated in your inaugural.—When the people, maddened by fanatical and traitorous leaders, demanded war, you should have held up the Constitution to their notice, and thereby saved them from the madness of the demagogues and fanatics who were abusing their credulity. Had you done so, you would have saved your country. But, unfortunately, now, when the people have come to their senses, and are no longer under the spell and delusion that enveloped them two years ago, you appear to be freshly possessed by the radical fiend, which threatens to devote all the people to the jaws of death.—There is not a man nor a woman—not a

heart nor a home in all the land, left untouched by the general calamity which threatens to sweep all down into the gulf of ruin. The programme marked out for you by the late abominable Congress will, if carried out, send the angel of death into every home in this land, and will hurl your name down to posterity execrated and covered all over with blood. No, sir, you will not escape history. Would to God that you could impress this terrible truth upon the traitor congressmen who are urging you on in the paths of despotism and war. They will not escape history. And if they succeed in carrying the horrors of civil war over the Northern States, they will not escape the vengeance that belongs to the history of traitors and tyrants. When Danton was dragged off to the Bastille and the guillotine, he snarled back at Robespierre that he should follow him. So he did, and that speedily. The heads of all who inaugurated that reign of terror rolled under the axe at last. That is the way of history. Will, then, our conspirators and mobocrats be warned in time? No, they will not. They are mad. The crust between their feet and a volcano is not thicker than a man's finger-nail, and yet they march and strut about over the rolling fires beneath, madly driving on a catastrophe which, if it do come, will engulf them among the first victims of the slaughter. That is history. History, all the way down from that of Haman, who was hanged on the gallows he prepared for another, to these deluded wretches, who are setting on mobs to commit violence upon the persons and property of those who are patriotically striving to rescue the Constitution from beneath their bloody feet.

And now, sir, I have addressed these considerations to you, not because I am your enemy, but because I am a lover of my country, and would do all in my power to save it and you from dangers which are inevitable, unless wiser counsels prevail. I know that for daring to say these things my liberty will be threatened; but that will only add to the publicity and effect of what is here written. No man who knows me will doubt that the good of my country occupies a first place in my heart. To a man of honor, no threats or imprisonment have such terrors as the thought of abandoning the cause of truth and patriotism in the hour of trial and dan-

ger. To be threatened, to be restrained of one's liberty is mortifying enough, but not so mortifying as to know one's self to be a coward. That is a shame which burns into a man's very soul, and eats into his heart like a cancer. The land is full of cowards, and hypocrites, and sycophants, who say you one thing when they mean another. The words I address to you are plain, but your own perception will tell you that they are honest. You will find in them no sympathy with rebellion, against the Constitution and laws of our country, wherever it may make its appearance—whether in the South or in the North.

A NEW TRANSLATION OF THE XITH ODE OF ANACREON

THE women often tell me now,
 "Alas! Anacreon, on thy brow
 Old age has set its mark of care.
 Look in the glass—thy pate is bare!"
 Oh, no! my heart not old is grown;
 I feel not that my locks are flown;
 But this I know, if as you say,
 My youth has fallen quite away,
 No time is left to mourn life's pains—
 I'll make the most of what remains.

FINANCIAL BREAKERS AHEAD.

THE financial situation of the federal government is such as to inspire every patriot with gloom, and every holder of property with despair. The expenditures of the government have reached a scale which, it has become apparent, is very far in advance of the ability of the country to meet. The fact that these expenditures, being based not on the value of productive labor as measured in the common standard of civilized nations, but on a variable paper medium—which is insidiously mortgaging every man's house or farm for five dollars, where the value of one only is obtained, by the government—ensures, past any hope of escape, national bankruptcy and individual ruin. It is to be understood that the sums appropriated by Congress, without providing any means to meet them, are very far in advance of the whole amount of federal expenditures from the formation of the government. A few figures will show this. In 1790, when the government was formed, the population was 3,929,327 of all the then thirteen States. In 1860 the number was 31,628,000 in thirty-four States—average number for the whole time, 7,700,000. The revenue and expenditure in that time, 1789 to 1861, were as follows, per Mr. Chace's official report:

Customs revenue.....	\$1,575,152,579.92
Land, &c. "	271,123,283.56
Total revenue.....	\$1,846,275,863.48
Expenses 1789 to 1861, 71 years.....	1,453,790,786.00

The excess of revenue, \$392,485,077.48, was applied to debt, interest and

principal. This was the whole expenditure in seventy-one years of the most enterprising people in the world. Let us now see the appropriations of the XXXVIIth Congress:

At extra session, July, 1861.....	\$264,000,000
At long " to July, 1862.....	913,000,000
At short " to March 4, 1863.....	1,100,000,000
Total for 3 years.....	\$2,277,000,000
" " for 71 " including four wars,	1,453,790,786
Excess of three years.....	\$823,209,214

The existing debt is \$1,000,000,000, and will be increased \$1,000,000,000 more to meet these appropriations, which must, in their turn, be increased to meet the depreciation of the currency. To meet these proposed expenditures Congress has provided no means whatever. The customs revenues are indeed in operation, but at a rate far short of the estimates of the Secretary. The internal taxes, with all their expensive machinery and vexatious interference with the individual occupations, are unproductive. The Commissioner reported his receipts for five months, to Jan. 31, 1863, for all the States, at \$9,000,000, or three days' expenditure.—The whole revenue will not meet the ordinary expenses of the government, thus throwing the whole war expenditure of the government upon its ability to borrow, and the amounts authorized and partly issued are as follows:

Legal tender, two old emissions.....	\$300,000,000
" " Act of Feb.....	100,000,000
" " Act of March.....	50,000,000
" " bearing interest in paper..	400,000,000
* " " fractions.....	50,000,000
Total increase in paper money.....	\$900,000,000

Bank Act, paper money.....	\$300,000,000
* 1 year certificates, interest in gold,	
\$150,000,000	
30 days' " depos-	
ited in gold.....	100,000,000
20 year bonds, now out, in	
gold	575,000,000
30 year bonds, in gold.....	300,000,000
5-20 year bonds, in gold....	500,000,000
	1,325,000,000
 Total debt, issued and authorized...	 \$2,525,000,000

* These issues are unlimited by law—the amounts given are those outstanding.

This sum, to be obtained in three years, exceeds by ten per cent. all the money raised by the government, for all purposes, in the whole seventy-one years of its existence prior to the war, and equal to the whole available property of the country in the hands of the people. The authority to raise the sum is placed in the hands of the Secretary, Mr. Chase, a lawyer of Cincinnati, known locally mostly as a speculator in wild lands, tenement houses and mortgaged lots, to use and negotiate at his sole will and pleasure. He is not only under no restraint whatever in relation to the terms he may make, but is not required to give any account of his transactions. He may manufacture the paper, in his newly fitted up room for that purpose in the Treasury department, and emit it, without stint or control, for any purpose whatever. He may negotiate bonds to any extent, privately or publicly, at any price, rendering no account. The outgoing Congress have not required him to report to the new Congress any of his proceedings.— Thus, by means of legal tender payments, he may raise the paper value of all commodities to fabulous prices, or

he may, by the use of the bonds at unlimited rates, come into the market and sink values to a point which will ruin half the existing banks, capitalists and merchants. By means of the bank law, which enables him to authorize \$300,000,000 of national currency, and deposit the public money with the banks without security, he has a patronage which will draw to his support every unscrupulous adventurer in the country, in the hope of enjoying the government deposits. The responsible bankers and capitalists cannot accept the terms of the law, because they are not compatible with sound business principles.— They hold out inducements only to the irresponsible who have nothing to lose. All these measures were extorted from Congress under the full pressure of the government. Mr. Chase was present, day by day, in the legislative hall, using every means at the disposal of a despotic government to wring these enormous powers from a reluctant Congress, and the long list of names of outgoing members, rejected by the people, found in the list of new appointments, is an evidence of the rapidity with which power concentrates.

The means of the department are, then, customs, internal taxes and the banking law, all of which are comparative failures from the start. The Secretary has then his limitless and irresponsible borrowing to depend upon, with which to reach the substance of the people. There is the power to issue \$500,000,000 of six per cent. bonds, interest payable in gold, and to be redeemed after five and within twenty years. There is the power to issue \$300,000,000, six per cent. interest in

gold, redeemable in from ten to forty years, at the discretion of the Secretary. These may be sold at any price. The bonds outstanding were bought by holders, at par in gold, for a seven per cent. stock, to the extent of \$300,000,000.—The owners of that stock are now about to be undersold at any price. As soon as Mr. Chase's particular friends are informed that it is his intention to put bonds on the market, they will avail themselves of the early news to sell out first. Those that hold six per cent. twenty year bonds at 99, will not wait for Mr. Chase to offer them at 90, 80, 70 or 60, in order to get money, or take the chance of being undersold through the private negotiations of Mr. Chase, but sell while they can. The result will be a panic, making it utterly impossible for the department to negotiate any loan. With the failure of the loan, the government credit comes to an end, not only for stocks, but for paper money also, and to talk of subsequent loans will only be to excite derision. It is hardly to be supposed that the Secretary will enter upon a course so suicidal.—The banks of New York alone, including the savings' banks, hold \$125,000,000 of government bonds, which would be sacrificed, and they could not well extend their purchases to sustain the market. The remaining alternatives of the Secretary are the legal tender. These are as follows :

Legal tender issued.....	\$250,000,000
“ “ authorized.....	200,000,000
“ “ authorized 6 per cent....	400,000,000
“ “ fractions.....	50,000,000
<hr/>	
Total legal tender.....	\$900,000,000
1 year certificates, six per cent.....	150,000,000
30 day deposits, four per cent.....	100,000,000
<hr/>	
Debts due.....	\$250,000,000

Of the \$200,000,000 legal tender authorized, \$50,000,000 are held on hand to meet a demand for the \$100,000,000 four per cent. deposits—and the one-year certificates are fully due, payable in “greenbacks.” Let us now observe the working of this. The banks have outstanding \$200,000,000 of paper money redeemable in greenbacks. To meet them, the banks hold a large amount of the government paper. The banks of New York hold \$20,310,000 of greenbacks. They have deposited \$38,190,570 more at the ruling prices, and get four per cent. in gold interest, and payable in “greenbacks,” making together \$58,500,570 of greenbacks at the command of the New York banks. All the banks command nearly \$150,000,000, on which they draw interest in gold, but which are available at any moment as legal tender to redeem their own notes. Mr. Chase now holds \$400,000,000 of bonds, bearing six per cent. interest, in denominations as low as \$10, to be either a legal tender themselves, or convertible into legal tender. These bonds will, if issued, become at once the basis of all bank issues, since the bank holding them will be earning six per cent. interest, and be ready to meet its own notes at sight. There will be no longer any inducement to hold greenbacks, which will be pushed into circulation by the banks in favor of the interest-bearing notes, and by the government to pay its one-year certificates and its deposits, both of which draw interest in gold to the extent of \$13,000,000 per annum, or \$20,000,000 in legal tender. The whole amount of legal tender notes will then be \$900,000,000, and, adding the bank circulation, \$1,100,000,000. On this paper flood is about to float off the

possessions of all classes—the wages of laborers, the income of the capitalists, and the profits of the merchants. The amount of paper already out is \$200,000,000 bank paper and \$300,000,000 government paper, and this \$500,000,000 represents the same quantity that \$300,000,000 of specie and specie-paying bills represented one year ago; and when the whole \$1,100,000,000 shall have been issued, it will still represent the same quantity of industrial products, and be worth twenty cents on the dollar. In other words, before the three years are out for which the above mentioned \$2,277,000,000 were appropriated gold will have risen to five hundred per cent. premium, or, which is the same thing, paper will be twenty cents on the dollar. It follows that the appropriation of the last year will fall short \$2,000,000,000. Thus, if \$1,100,000,000 worth sixty cents per dollar is required, \$3,300,000,000 will be needed for the same object when it is worth but twenty cents on the dollar. In illustration: the average price of wheat, corn and oats last year was 78 cts.; it is to-day 118 cts., a rise of 40 cts. or 50 per cent., and the currency has depreciated 55 per cent. as compared with gold. Now, if the department had estimated for one million bushels of grain for the army at the price of last year, the estimate would have been \$780,000; it has been compelled to pay, however, \$1,180,000, or \$400,000 more than the estimates, and that comes in as an “extra allowance.” The estimates are now based on present prices, and with the outlay of the paper they will rise to 390 per cent. for grain—the estimate of \$1,180,000 will rise to \$3,000,000. The other

operations of the government are the same. Hence the expenditure will be nearer \$5,000,000,000 than \$2,277,000,000. The debt will be fully \$8,000,000,000, and payment will be out of the question. The whole operation represents a forced loan from producers, because capitalists will not lend the government. The government gets possession of industrial products and labor in return for paper, every issue of which depreciates in the hands of the holders, and the whole of which will ultimately come to nothing. There is no escaping the inevitable effect of inconvertibility. In the war of the revolution, \$200,000,000 were issued as a legal tender, and the refusal to receive them extinguished the debt. Washington was empowered to arrest and confine any person who refused to take continental money.—Those who did not take it at par in trade were denounced as public enemies, but these and all other regulations did not prevent the utter loss of the paper to the holders. Thus seamen, arrived from long voyages, were paid their hard earnings in the paper for which the labor of many months would not buy an apple. Some of these paraded the streets, plastered over with bills that represented thousands of dollars. In the last stages of paper, the depreciation is always rapid. A few months arrears of army pay involves confiscation of the sums due.

On the other hand, were it possible to fund this large amount of money in a stock, in the manner which the Secretary proposes, the result would be still more disastrous to the working many. Thus a debt accumulated to \$8,000,000,000, for which the government had re-

ceived in reality only \$2,000,000,000 worth of property, on being funded in a six per cent. stock at twenty and forty years, would bear \$180,000,000 and interest. The sum to be paid in twenty years would be:

Principal.....	\$2,000,000,000
Interest, twenty years.....	9,600,000,000
Total, in twenty years.....	\$17,600,000,000

or \$4,400 for every family in the whole country. The English people have paid in the last fifty years 7,000,000,000 interest on their public debt, which has not been materially diminished by the payment. The effect on the people has been to increase the proportion of paupers to the whole population at a fearful rate, and to amass immense wealth in the hands of the few. The American people, should the principal of the debt be permanent, would in the next fifty years be required to pay \$24,000,000,000, or fifty per cent. more than the whole existing real and personal property North and South. The payment of such sums, or any approximation to them, is out of the question—yet this or repudiation is the only alternative of the course which the government has adopted. The last Congress did not resort directly to forced loans, except in

the case of the Conscription Act, which compels military service, or the payment of \$300, on the part of all the males between the ages of twenty and thirty-five. This number, allowing for exempts, is not far from two millions; of these one-half may be able to pay—hence the forced loan thus exacted will reach \$300,000,000; but the payment of this sum will diminish the revenue from taxes, since it will enforce economies on the part of the persons assessed, and approach to a direct impoverishment of the people. Yet it will not in any permanent manner affect favorably the government finances. One million men, who have not the means of paying the sum required, but taken from productive industry, will be a more serious loss to the country, since production—already greatly reduced—will be brought down to a point that will approximate exhaustion very rapidly. The government will absorb with paper money the existing wealth, at the same moment that it stops further production. The candle thus burned at both ends will soon exhaust. The people, shorn of material wealth, may plaster their walls with the useless engravings that represent their once enviable prosperity.

THE MEDIATION OF FRANCE IN THE UNITED STATES.

Since the beginning of our unhappy strife, the European powers, justly alarmed at the deplorable consequences of our American civil war upon the interests, as well as upon the destinies of the United States, whose prosperity was closely bound to that of the world, took some steps tending to check the catastrophe they foresaw. Among those nations, France was the first to come forward. No sooner was the Fall of Fort Sumpter known than she sent a note to Russell inquiring if, by a combination of some kind, it would not be possible to prevent the bursting forth of a conflict between the two sections of the Union. The note was favorably received by the English cabinet, and, a few days after, instructions were sent to M. Mercier and Lord Lyons, to the effect of ascertaining the dispositions of the Cabinet on that subject. Mr. Seward, who never loses an opportunity to make a display of his rhetorical power, and to appear as the champion of American dignity and honor, wrote on that occasion to Mr. Adams and Mr. Dayton half a volume of endless instructions and commentaries, which, instead of elevating us in the esteem of European governments, and giving a noble idea of our cause, was turned into ridicule by every statesman, and caused us to sink in the estimation of European people. The summary of these instructions, which might have been expressed in a few lines, was, that the United States would consider as a declaration of war against the United

States, any attempt on the part of a foreign power to interfere in our affairs.

After a year of bloody fighting, in which, thanks to the blunders of our government, the fair fame of the American army and of American statesmanship, were seriously imperiled, the French government having arrived at the conclusion that the American war was without issue, made a new effort to stop it. On the 12th of June, 1862, Mr. Thouvenel writes a note to Mr. Mercier, stating that the hopelessness of the contest between the North and the South, makes it desirable that the American people should pursue a policy of conciliation. To this effect, he authorizes Mr. Mercier, the ambassador of France, to declare that if the administration deemed it desirable to accept the good offices of the French government, they would be eagerly and sincerely tendered, and with the conviction of serving all interests.

These friendly propositions having again been rejected, the imperial government, indefatigable in its efforts, imagining that the joint action of three great European powers would have a moral influence which would cause the administration to adopt a policy of conciliation and peace, invites Russia and England to come forward and to unite with her in a scheme of mediation. This project of mediation consisted simply in the proposition of a six months' armistice, during which, the belligerents would be left to them-

selves, with the privilege, if they chose, of calling on the mediating powers for the purpose of smoothing over difficulties and settling differences. Nothing more harmless than this proffered mediation; some English papers even said that it was because Louis Napoleon's offer did not go far enough, that it had been declined by England and Russia. Whatever may have been the secret motives of these two governments, they were both palliated and concealed by the declaration they made, that in their estimation the time had not yet come when such an offer might be successful; and thus ended the third attempt of France to restore peace in the United States.

Every succeeding attempt to bring back the South into the Union by the force of arms being attended with unsuccess and disgrace to our government, not to say with the ruin of our country's prosperity and honor, Louis Napoleon, undisturbed by his unfruitful attempts at conciliation, resolved once more to make a direct and formal proposition to Mr. Lincoln. But, desirous of avoiding anything which might look like an untimely intermeddling in our affairs, or to which the jealous susceptibilities of the American people might take exceptions, he takes good care to set aside any proposition which might be construed into an idea of mediation or intervention; he contents himself by simply suggesting to the Federal government the propriety of a mere conference, (*pour parler*) between Northern and Southern delegates, in which the basis of an agreement could be discussed. Besides, in order to secure the Federal government against the reproach of having yielded to ne-

cessity, the imperial suggestions stipulated that these conferences may be held without having any immediate influence upon the prosecution of the war, which will go on as usual. It is not useless to state here, that the propositions of France were based upon precedents taken from our own history, such as the negotiations of Paris during the war of Independence, and the conferences of Ghent in our war with England, in 1813 and 1814.

It was natural to suppose that propositions of this kind, professing the greatest regard for the interests and susceptibilities of both parties, would have been met by the Federal government with an adequate respect, and with as much solicitude for the sufferings of the old and new world, as were exhibited in the French communication itself. Unfortunately for the fame of the American name, and for the prosperity and greatness of the American nation, Mr. Seward saw in them only an opportunity for vindicating his past policy, a policy which had already brought shame and humiliation upon this country, and he did so in such a manner as to associate his name with that of the great deceivers and charlatans whose history is linked with the decline and fall of ancient and modern nations.

The policy of the French government was altogether humane and sincere. It could not deny the title of belligerents to a community which for the last eighteen months had victoriously maintained its right to it, and could not listen any longer to assertions of sovereignty, which have been contradicted, not only in the counsels of the Southern Confederacy, but on

more than twenty different battle-fields. The repeated assurances that this country was a one and undivided republic, and that the Federal government would not assent to a disruption of the Union, could then have no influence upon the French cabinet, which, judging as every other European power, of the political and military progress of the Southern Confederacy upon facts and not upon words, would have done injustice to its judgment had it placed any confidence whatever in the information and assertions given by Mr. Seward. On the other hand, the French cabinet thought that if there was any hope of reconciliation between the two disaffected sections of the country, the only means to realize it was by friendly conferences, if not by a suspension of hostility and that a reconstruction of the Union could never take place as long as the chances of a peace were left entirely to the arbitration of the sword.

Mr. Seward overlooked every consideration which had actuated the French government in its proffered advice. He starts upon the principle, that the North cannot entertain the idea of conference with the South, because it would be treating the rebellion as an established power and virtually recognize its existence. He declines, in

haughty and uncourteous language, the proposition of France. His reply contains two errors. In the first place, the Federal government has violated that principle more than one hundred times since the beginning of the rebellion, in the negotiation of cartels, in the exchange of prisoners, and in the decision of courts which assimilated privateers to prisoners of war; in the second place, it was not a virtual recognition of the South, since the hostilities were not suspended. But Mr. Seward is not a stickler in matters of veracity; he does not care much whether his political maxims are based upon truth or falsehood, or whether his assertions are truthful or truthless.—The political course of geography he decides in support of the imaginary advantages he supposes the North has won in its struggle against the South, as well as the proposal he makes to the rebels to come and settle their differences with the North in Congress, belongs to the same system. They are part and portion of the edifice of quackery and fraud which the present administration has substituted to the policy of Washington and Jefferson, and will leave to the coming generations an enduring legacy of shame, suffering and woe. C. L.

OMNIUM.

Great Lincoln Picture Gallery.

Through the politeness of several painters, men of remarkable genius, we have received a list of drawings and paintings, which are to be placed on exhibition at Washington immediately after the 4th of March, 1865. They are as follows:

No. 1. A view of the Cave of Famine; a lean, ghastly figure placed as sentinel at the entrance. A graveyard in the distance with 400,000 graves; at the right are 200,000 cripples, and on the left an uncountable throng of widows and orphans. A remarkable picture—dedicated to Abraham Lincoln.

No. 2. Judas Iscariot in the act of betraying. A charcoal sketch—dedicated to E. Stanton, Esq. Secretary of War.

No. 3. St. Dustan relating his interview with the devil. A copy—dedicated to Major General Benjamin F. Butler.

No. 4. A group of gamblers quarreling at all-fours. After the manner of Teniers—dedicated to the republican contractors.

No. 5. Tom Thumb speaking through a trumpet, with the intention to pass himself off for the Belgian Giant—dedicated to several Major Generals.

No. 6. A miser cutting up a naval flag, and converting it into money-bags—dedicated to Gideon G. Welles and his brother-in-law, Morgan.

No. 7. A rope-dancer balancing an empty pitcher on his chin—dedicated to William H. Seward.

No. 8. A man crushed to death under several tons of green paper, which fell from a scaffolding over his head. A frightful picture—dedicated to Salmon P. Chase.

No. 9. A white man embracing a negro wench. An immodest picture—dedicated to Charles Sumner.

No. 10. Forty thieves breaking into a government treasury—dedicated to the friends of the administration.

No. 11. Five satyrs teaching the devil how to lie—dedicated to the editors of the Albany *Evening Journal*.

No. 12. A crowd of negroes stripping the shirt off the body of a white man, and leaving him naked—dedicated to the last Congress.

No. 13. A throng of white men and negroes setting fire to the temple of Liberty. An immense picture; canvas 40 feet by 24—dedicated to the republican party.

No. 14. A drunken white man, with his face painted like a negro, holding a banjo in his hand, in the act of singing, "John Brown's soul is marching on,"—dedicated to John W. Forney.

No. 15. A picture of the infernal regions, with the devils all unchained. Labelled, "*The United States in the reign of Lincoln I.*"

No. 16. Haman hanging on the gallows which he prepared for Mordecai—dedicated to the editors of the *Evening Post*.

No. 17. "The Union League," being the picture of a mob of white men and negroes trying to split a rail labelled "*The Union.*"

No. 18. Diplomatic dinner at the White House. His Black Excellency the Minister from Hayti seated between Mrs. Lincoln and the charming Miss Chase. The seats of the rest of diplomatic corps all vacant. John W. Forney standing behind the chair of the Haytien Minister dressed as a waiter. A very spirited painting.

No. 19. Henry Ward Beecher, in the act of praying to the devil to send famine, pestilence and the sword upon a slavery-cursed Union.

No. 20. Reverend Doctors Cheever and Tyng, at a clandestine interview with Satan, in front of the pulpit in Cheever's church. Satan in the act of delivering an opinion in favor of a superior race of men, to spring from an amalgamation of whites and blacks—Cheever and Tyng appear delighted. A fine painting, and excellent likenesses of the three worthy friends.

No. 21. A copperhead chasing a huge black snake, which is running away with affrighted velocity.

These paintings will form one of the most remarkable picture galleries in the country, not only on account of their great merit as works of art, but as well for their historical and local

interest. It is hinted that the next Congress will purchase the whole gallery, and make it a permanent attraction to draw literary men and artists from all parts of the world to Washington.

MARCH 18th, 1863.

To the Editor of the Old Guard :

An allusion made in your *Omnium* of this month (March) to the imposition of the oath of allegiance, by the New York Board of Supervisors, upon all county officials, brings to mind some interesting facts, which ought to be mentioned in connection with this affair.

1. This unconstitutional oath (framed by the abolition federalists in Congress, for the express intent of *swearing down* the democratic party creed) was proposed in the Board by Supervisor Purdy, a "Democrat!"

2. Every so-called democratic member of the Board voted to impose it upon all the county officials!

3. In pursuance of the resolution of the Supervisors, blank forms of the oath were sent to every county office!

4. It was taken in some offices by all the employees; in others it was rejected by all. To recapitulate:

It was taken by the County Clerk, Register, District Attorney, Clerk of Superior Court, Clerk of Marine Court, and their underlings.

It was refused by the Surrogate and Sheriff and their employees.

The Judges were not asked to take it, I believe.

5. The Supervisors ordered in their resolution, that no county official refusing to take the oath should be paid his salary. Yet nobody's pay has been stopped, and "nobody is hurt!"

QUIZ.

No Hell for States.

Henry Ward Beecher says, in his *Independent*, "there is no hell for States." Alas! it would be a happy thing for Beecher if there were no hell for anything else.

Talking to our Teeth.

A very small specimen of an editor in New Jersey, who spends about eight hours in twenty-four abusing the editor of *THE OLD GUARD*, now

threatens that he will tell us some very hard things to our "*very teeth*." Well, let him talk to our *teeth* to his heart's content, so long as he does not exhibit the impudent vanity of supposing himself capable of talking to our *reason*.

Drinking in Small Measures.

An abolition editor, who seems ambitious to compliment John Van Buren for his late services in the Lincoln cause, says: "We rejoice to learn that Mr. Van Buren has given up drinking in a *great measure*." But we are not informed how often he drinks in a *small one*.

A Dog that Barks.

A cotemporary accuses us of being a "Sir Oracle, who says: 'When I speak, let no dog bark.'" But it seems that one dog, at least, does bark.

Gen. Butler and Juvenal.

Gen. Butler is reported as quoting Juvenal in a recent public speech. We affectionately advise him to heed well these lines of his favorite author:

"A tyrant seldom life doth end,
But by the sword, which God doth send."

Copperhead, Mulatto and Greenback Democrats.

There are now three kinds of democrats, according to the newspapers:

1st. The *Copperheads*—the original, simon pure kind—who are so called from the *copper head of liberty* on the old cent of the United States, which they have adopted as a fitting badge of their principles.

2d. *Mulatto democrats*, so called from the fact that they are a faded type of black republicans.

3d. *Greenback democrats*, a set of political camp-followers, who follow Lincoln for whatever spoils he may, from time to time, throw down to them.

A Voice of Peace from the Pulpit.

Bishop Clark, of Rhode Island, recently closed a sermon in the following words:

"Blow from the South, O winds of God, and bring us tidings of reconciliation and love!—Blow from the North, O winds of God, and carry back the message of fraternity and peace. Scat-

ter the darkness, roll away the clouds, and give unto us all once more the sunshine of tranquil rest! Under the shadow of thy wings we make our refuge; *O God, give us peace!*"

What a happy contrast to the bloody and brutal fulminations of nine-tenths of the pulpits at the present time! For every *one* such true minister of the gospel of Christ there are a *thousand* clerical war-howlers, who equally disgrace their sacred office and their humanity.

The Rebellion ending Lincoln.

A Rev. Mr. Rice, from New Hampshire, has visited Mr. Lincoln, and declares that "he says, if God spares his life, he will put an end to this rebellion." But, alas! the way he is going on, the rebellion will put an end to him.

A Shepherd who Slays his Sheep.

In a late prayer, Dr. Tyng compared the people of the United States to sheep, and the President to a shepherd. It may be so, in one sense, for shepherds sometimes both *shear* and *slay* their sheep.

Pigmies and Priests.

Over the name of "Cymon," a lady of New York has published a clever little poem, in a pamphlet, entitled: "THE PIGMIES AND THE PRIESTS: *Showing how some Dismal Pagans were Converted to a Lively Faith.*" The poem opens with this verse, evidently referring to Barnum:

There was a great Magician, Bamboozleem his name,
A quizzical old Wizard, and mighty was his fame;
With cabalistic spells he could fasten and release,
Turn black men into white ones, and wise men into geese.

Then the President is irreverently referred to in the following lines:

There was another old Enchanter in the land of which I
sing,
Was said to be an honest man, so the people made him
King.

But blood and tears deface the records of his reign—
His armies were defeated, his kingdom rent in twain,
A second-rate Magician was this feeble old Foo-foo,
For half his realm seceded to his rival, Bully-boo.

Then let us see how this wicked woman speaks of the Cabinet and the Generals-in-Chief:

Then all his wicked ministers they put their heads together,
And, being wily sorcerers, they made things worse than
ever;

They swindled, swaggered, bullied, surpassing all belief;
Set up enchanted crocodiles for Generals-in-Chief.

Mayor Opdyke and his associate contractors are next celebrated after the following fashion:

And ghouls there were, who preyed upon the soldiers
of the State;

Stripped off their hides, drank up their blood, their
hearts and livers ate;

With certain vile and ravenous beasts, with vultures'
claws and bodies,

By science yet unclassified, but people called them
Shoddies.

The reader is next treated to a description of Bamboozleem's Elfin Wedding, and finally the Wizard rises in the air on a flying hippopotamus, scattering handbills to the gaping multitude. The poem is a hit at the humbugs of the times, of which the powers at "Washytwad-dledom" are the chief. As we have said, the author is a lady, and a resident of New York city. Printed by Baker & Godwin, No. 1 Spruce street.

Copperheads and Black Snakes.

The republicans call democrats "*copperheads*"—the democrats retort by calling republicans "*black snakes.*" If the snake family ever get to fighting, save us from the fate of the black snakes, say we.

An Earnest Warning to Wealthy Republicans.

The wealthy republicans, in all our cities and towns, are encouraging the formation of incendiary mobs, called, in mockery Union Leagues the object of which is to threaten and intimidate democrats. Can these gentlemen be aware of what they are doing? Do they not know that, if they do provoke violence upon democrats, their own persons and property will be sure to fall victims to the fury which their threats are kindling in the bosoms of the masses? We entreat these fools and madmen to be warned in time; for if they provoke a civil strife, their property will be scattered among the mob as the very first fruits of their folly and crime. Seven-tenths of the fighting mus,

ele in all our cities are against them. For their own sakes we warn them beware

Government Thieves.

The thieving and frauds lately brought to light in the New York Custom House, and which exist in every corner where the fatal genius of the administration extends, reminds one of the following passage in Coleman's "Surrender of Calais:"

"I love my country, boy. Ungraced by fortune, I dare aspire to the proud name of patriot. If any bear that title to misuse it,—
Decking their devilships in angel seeming,
To glut their own particular appetites;—
If any, 'midst a people's misery,
Feed fit by filching from the public good,
Which they profess is nearest to their hearts
The curses of their country follow them."

Sumner on Obeying the Laws.

Senator Sumner in a late speech said: "the man who refuses to obey the laws ought to be hanged." In 1851 he counseled the people not to obey the law to render up fugitive slaves, as demanded by the constitution, in these words:

"I am bound to disobey this act. Sir, I will not dishonor this home of the Pilgrims and of the Revolution by admitting—nay, I cannot believe—that this bill will be executed here."

At the same time Phillips declared:

"We confess that we intend to trample under foot the Constitution of this country."

These be the sticklers for law.

A Model Military Despatch.

The following despatch of the eccentric Marshal Boufflers to the French King, after an unfortunate battle, reminds us of events that now sometimes transpire in this country:

Sire: This is to let your Majesty understand, that, to your immortal honor and the destruction of the Confederates, your troops have lost another battle. Artagan did wonders; Rohan performed miracles; Guiche did wonders; Gation performed miracles. The whole army distinguished themselves, and everybody did wonders. And to conclude the wonders of the day, I can assure your Majesty that, though you have lost the field of battle, you have not lost an inch of ground. The enemy marched behind us with respect, and we ran away from them as bold as lions."

Fallen Democrats.

A cotemporary thinks it strange that those democrats who have gone over to the Black Republicans should be among the most extreme abolitionists. The same thing was seen in the Angel of Light, who, after he fell, made an awful devil.

Great Purchase and Sale of Damaged Democrats.

James T. Brady, a criminal lawyer of considerable repute, has been professionally retained to plead the cause of the administration at the bar of public justice, before which it is now arraigned for high crimes and misdemeanors. Mr. Brady has before pleaded the cause of many a thief and murderer for a fee; but never did he receive a retainer which so taxes his ability and his self-respect as this one. It is all in the way of business; as much so, as if he had been employed to plead the cause of old John Brown, John Van Buren, a wandering minstrel of a good deal of fame for his joking propensities has also been retained in the same cause. It is the last joke of the Prince. He is a chronic bolter from the democratic party and is never happy unless he is either bolting, or working his way back far enough into the party to enable him to make a new bolt. Several other democrats of easy virtue have been drawn over to the abolition ranks by the powerful attractive force of *Greenbacks*, of which Mr. Lincoln has \$20,000,000 for his own "secret" use by the kindness of the late Congress. He can buy the hide and tallow of thousands of fishy politicians with this money. But the people know that they are bought, and listen to what they have to say with the same respect and confidence that they listen to a lawyer who is hired to plead the case of a thief in a court of justice. By these things the people see that they must look, not to the mere politicians, but to *themselves* for the virtue and courage to carry their country safely through the terrible crisis.

The Disunion League.

A political organization of all sizes and stripes of fanatics, contractors, abolitionists and fishy democrats has been effected under the title of the "Loyal National League." The following is their pledge of membership:

"We pledge ourselves to an unconditional

loyalty to the Government of the United States, to an unwavering support of its efforts to suppress the rebellion, and to spare no endeavor to maintain unimpaired the national unity." It will be noticed here is no pledge to support and defend the constitution and laws; no expressed desire to restore the Union. The "national unity" it means, is a consolidated national government, built on the ruins of the *Government of the States* established by our fathers. There is nothing in this pledge inconsistent with the declaration of the republican leader of the House of Congress, that: "with our consent the Union shall never be restored under the Constitution as it is." In one word, it is a new league of old-fashioned *federalism*, so long dead and buried in this country. It is really a disunion organization. Every man who joins it who is not a federalist and disunionist, is fooled and cheated. The national unity it talks about, means the destruction of the State Governments on which the present Union rests for support. It is a revolutionary and treasonous organization which ought to be met in every township by a CONSTITUTIONAL LEAGUE, to expose its revolutionary dangers.

Resisting the Laws.

The Republican papers while they are trying to stir up mobs to destroy the lives and property of democrats, and while they are calling upon the Administration to commit illegal violence upon the persons and property of all who are not abolition traitors, declare that these assailed and threatened democrats are preparing to resist the laws. But the calumniators know that democrats are preparing to do no such thing. Democrats will resist no law. That is just what we are trying to do; to cause the constitution and the laws to be respected and preserved. The Republicans are for destroying the constitution and the laws together; and for ruling the country with a despotism which is a violation of all law. Democrats will not resist even the illegal acts of the late traitor Congress, except by lawful means of the ballot and the courts. While these are left we will appeal to them alone for redress and protection. But, we do warn the madmen that, if they dare to sweep the courts and the ballot away, then muscle becomes the law; the great, the sacred, the eter-

nal law and right of the insulted majesty of the people. The hard hands and the iron hearts of the masses of the American people will beat and strike one way if the shallow despots shall dare to put in execution this programme of destroying liberty by breaking down the Governments of the States. No law will be resisted; but *lawless power* will be whenever the people find that the ballot and courts of justice are swept away. The truth of the matter is, that those who are seeking to *destroy* the laws, accuse us of a design to *resist* the laws. It is, over again, the old trick of burglars screaming "stop thief!"

The Difference.

There is not a democrat in one of the Northern States who is not with all the powers of his soul, devoted to the Constitution and the Union—not one who is not determined never to relinquish the hope and the effort to reestablish it on its old foundations of the rights and perfect equality of the States. On the other hand there is not a single supporter of this Administration who is not bent on the everlasting destruction of the Union in order to destroy the institutions of the southern half of it. That is the difference between Democrats and Republicans.

Hon. D. W. Voorhees of Indiana.

The engraving we publish in this number of one of the boldest and most effective defenders of the Constitution, is an excellent likeness. Mr. Voorhees is, we believe, about the youngest member of Congress, but he has proved himself to be a wise statesman, as well as an honest man. We know of no American who approaches so near to the energy and the classic style of Burke as this young son of Indiana.

A New Book.—A rare and thrilling book, of the following title, is in press:

"The Prisoner of State; or, Despotism revealed as it has been practiced in the United States by executive assumption and exercise of arbitrary power. By D. A. MAHONY, one of its victims. New-York: Carleton, Publisher, 413 Broadway."





Eng^d by W.G. Jackman, N.Y.

L. A. Bayard

"In my judgment the life of a people consists in the preservation of their liberties, not in the extent of their dominion."

Engraved expressly for The Old Guard.

THE OLD GUARD,

A MONTHLY JOURNAL DEVOTED TO THE PRINCIPLES OF
1776 AND 1787.

VOLUME I.—MAY, 1863.—No. V.

HOW TO TREAT UNCONSTITUTIONAL ACTS OF CONGRESS.

The Legislature of New Jersey, at the last hour of its session, passed the following resolution:

Resolved, That the people of New Jersey are law-abiding, Constitution-loving, and ardently devoted to a Union of all the states, and that while they condemn and protest against certain laws as unconstitutional and unjust, yet until they are repealed or declared by a competent tribunal to be unconstitutional, they will regard them as law, and will confidently look to the courts and to the ballot-box for redress.

This resolution has caused a good deal of rejoicing among the revolutionary abolition papers, and a good deal of grumbling among the people of New Jersey. The fact that the people of that state are law-abiding, is the very reason why they will not "regard as law" acts which are known to be unconstitutional. An unconstitutional act is not *law*, and can have no just binding effect whatever upon any body. To denounce, by resolution, certain Congressional acts, as unconstitutional, and then to say that they must be respected as law, even for an hour, is a strange and dishonoring inconsistency. The language of this resolution is, to say the least, unfortunate, from the fact that it may impart hope and courage to the revolutionists and usurpers who are working to over-

throw the free institutions of our country. When a free people submit to oppressive acts, passed in violation of their constitution, for a single day, they have thrown down the palladium of their liberty. Submit to despotism for an hour and you concede the principle. John Adams said, in 1775, "Nip the shoots of arbitrary power in the bud." It is the only thing a people determined to be free can do. Republics have often failed, and have been succeeded by the most revolting despotisms; and always it was the voice of timidity, cowardice, or false leaders counseling submission, that led to the final downfall of freedom. It was the cowardice and treachery of the Senate of Rome that allowed the usurper to gain power, inch by inch, to overthrow the Republic. The history of the downfall of Republics is the same in all ages. The first *inch* that is yielded to despotism—the first blow, dealt at the Constitution, that is not resisted—is the beginning of the end of the nation's ruin. The right thing for the Senate of New Jersey to have resolved, would have been, after denouncing acts of Congress as unconstitutional, to proceed forthwith to resist those acts (not

by physical violence, for that is not the remedy so long as the laws survive) by an immediate appeal to the courts. If Congress passed an unconstitutional act yesterday, and a citizen is oppressed by it to-day, he may resist it by an instant appeal to the courts of justice, which are bound to protect him from unconstitutional legislation. Not only the courts, but the Executive and the whole force of the State are bound to protect him against an unconstitutional and oppressive act of Congress. This is one of the very objects for which courts, executives and state forces exist—to protect the liberty and rights of every citizen. In this country an act of Congress is not necessarily *law*. It must conform to the constitution, and not transcend the powers delegated to the federal government by the states, or it is no law at all.

Chancellor Kent very clearly lays down the following principles on this important subject :

“The principle of the English Government, that parliament is omnipotent, does not prevail in the United States; though if there is no constitutional objection to a statute, it is with us as absolute and uncontrolable as a law flowing from the sovereign power, under any other form of government. But in this, and all other countries where there is a written constitution, designating the powers and duties of the legislative, as well as the other departments of the government, an act of the legislature may be void as being against the constitution.

* * * The constitution is the act of the people speaking in their original character, and there can be no doubt on the point with us, that every act of the legislative power, contrary to the true intent and meaning of the constitution, is absolutely null and void. To contend that the courts of justice must obey the requisitions of an act of the legislature when it appears to them to have been passed in violation of the constitution, and that the Judges had no right to look into it—it would be rendering the power of the agent greater than the principal.” Kent, part III, p. 448.

The principle here laid down by Chancellor Kent was very ably discuss-

ed in the *Federalist*, No. 78; an early as 1791 the Supreme Court of the United States for the district of New York (*Hayburn's case*) pronounced an act of Congress unconstitutional and void, and from that time to the present, cases may be cited without limit. Chancellor Kent says, (p. 453,) “This great question may be considered as now finally settled, and I consider it to be one of the most interesting points in favor of constitutional liberty.”

It is indeed the vital point in favor of constitutional liberty; for, if Congress may pass acts, involving the rights of the people, in violation of the constitution, then liberty has no guarantee against the encroachments of despotic power. The principle is this: that the powers of Congress are carefully limited by the constitution, and whenever it transcends those powers its acts are null and void.

Under a government voluntarily adopted by the people, and under laws passed for the protection of the rights of the citizens, enacted by legislators of their own choice, and executed by officers, whose offices either directly or indirectly depend also upon the choice of the people, and who, at any rate, are responsible to them for any neglect of duty, or other official malversation, it would be absurd to suppose that any of the civil or political rights of the citizens could be infringed without ample means of redress to the injured party. For this reason every officer of the government is personally responsible to the citizen for any violation of his rights by the execution of an unconstitutional act of legislation, or by carrying out the illegal orders of a superior officer. This principle applies equally to the highest

as well as to the lowest officers of the government. Within the limits of their respective powers, all officers, from the President downwards, ought to be submitted to and obeyed; but if they should overstep the limits of their official authority—if they should usurp powers not delegated to them by the constitution, or by some law made in harmony with it, they would cease to be under the protection of their offices, and would be recognized merely as private citizens; and for any act of injustice or oppression which they might commit, would be liable to a civil or criminal prosecution, in the same manner as private citizens—with this distinction, that if the wrong doer has availed himself of his official character, or of the opportunities which his office affords him to commit acts of injustice or oppression, it will be considered as a great aggravation of his guilt, in a criminal prosecution, and will be ground for a jury to find exemplary damages in a civil action; because private injury is here connected with an abuse of public confidence. Oliver, p. 318.

Even the late besotted Congress acknowledged the principles of law here laid down by the passage of an Indemnity Bill, to protect the President and the officials who have executed his lawless commands from being punished and imprisoned for their misdeeds. The bill is, however, *ex post facto*, and therefore violative of the constitution, as well as being null and void from other considerations touching the organic laws of the land. The President and every one of his officials who have helped him to commit such crimes as the arrests without due process of law may be themselves arrested and tried and punished, and no act of Congress can relieve them

from the liability. For violation of law the President is just as liable to be sent to prison as any other citizen. The eminent authority already alluded to in this article, says: "If an officer of the United States commits a crime against the laws of any state, he is amenable to the State court where the crime is committed, and the judgment of the State court will be final."

If military officers in the employ of the United States Government commit any trespass upon the citizens of a state they are amenable to the State courts and may be punished for any violation of the rights of civilians. If acts of oppression are committed upon citizens by court martial, as is sometimes the case, the order of such court is no protection to the officer who executes it, but the court and the officers will all be trespassers, and an action may be maintained against them as such. Cranch, 330. See also 10 Johns. R. 333, and Kent, *in loco*.

Hence even the Supreme Court of the United States has a limited jurisdiction over questions, touching the rights of States, which were not delegated to the Federal Government in the Constitution. If the Supreme Court decides an act to be constitutional or unconstitutional that decision binds Congress and the Federal Government, but it does not necessarily bind the States; for the question is still open as to whether it is a matter within the jurisdiction of the U. S. Court as limited by the Constitution. In order that the U. S. Courts should have jurisdiction in relation to a particular subject, it must either be conferred by the Constitution in express terms, or it must be necessary to the exercise of some authority expressly delegated in the Constitution. For

instance, if Congress passes an act regulating commerce, such as a tariff, and the Supreme Court of the United States pronounces it constitutional, the States are clearly bound by the decision, because the subject matter is delegated to the Federal Government by the Constitution. But if Congress should pass an act to abolish all laws for the collection of debts, or for the safe possession of property, in the States, and if the U. S. Court should pronounce such an act constitutional, still the States would not be bound by it, and it would be competent for the State courts to set it aside; because the States never delegated the subject matter to the Federal Government. This is the principle—the Federal Government is sovereign over all matters that were delegated to it by the States, and the States are sovereign over all matters which they did not delegate to the General Government in the constitution. The powers of Congress and the Supreme Court being limited by the constitution, no one can be absurd enough to imagine that those powers can be extended by the mere construction of the court itself. The constitution is the tribunal to which all questions, State and Federal, must be brought. If the subject matter has not been delegated to Congress and the Federal courts, the jurisdiction remains with the States and the decisions of their courts are final in all such matters. Suppose the conscription bill lately passed by Congress, giving the President unlimited control over the militia of the States, should be pronounced constitutional by the Federal courts, the State courts would not be bound by such a decision, because in the constitution the right of training and officering the militia, even when called

into service of the United States, is expressly reserved to the States. There are other considerations which clearly render that bill unconstitutional, but we are limiting our observations to the one point of Federal and State jurisdiction.

On all these questions so deeply affecting the vital interests of the people, we may safely adopt the following conclusions :

1. An unconstitutional act of Congress is not law.

2. The moment a man appeals to the courts against an unconstitutional act, he offers a lawful resistance to it; and this is the only resistance he can rightfully offer.

3. The State courts are not bound by an act of Congress or by any decision of the Supreme Court of the United States where the subject matter was not delegated to the Federal Government by the States.

But, it will be asked, what shall be done in case the State courts are bribed, or intimidated, or otherwise corrupted or suspended by a corrupt Administration? This raises an entirely new question. But it is to be presumed that the State courts will not allow themselves to be intimidated or corrupted until there is positive evidence to the contrary. No man can proceed on his own mere belief or suspicions; but the proof must be positive, and so public that it is evident to the whole community, before he will be justified in appealing to the last sacred resort of *personally* defending his violated rights. The compact between the individual and the Government is, that in consideration of Government protecting him in all his just rights of property, liberty and life, he shall render a cheerful and unhesitating support to the Government

It is a part of the bargain that he shall pay a tax to support courts of justice to decide questions arising between him and other men, or between him and the Government. While those courts are open to him he is to make no other appeals than to their decision. But if the courts are swept away or suspended, or otherwise rendered inoperative for justice, then all the laws that bound him are swept away too, and he is thrown back upon his original and imprescriptible right to defend himself by his individual prowess. Strike down the courts, as established by the constitution, and *muscle* becomes the supreme law of the land. Then every man's own right arm is not only the government *de facto*, but *jure divino*. But, dark and threatening as the hour is, we need apprehend no such terrible calamity as this, provided

the intelligent and patriotic masses virtuously and boldly stand by the constitution and the laws. In times like these boldness is caution, for it warns corrupt legislators and timid Judges not to venture too far in the paths of usurpation and despotism. A people as intelligent and as fond of liberty as the masses of this country are will not long submit to despotism. But for the corruption or cowardice of a few leaders the first step of usurpation would never have been ventured by Congress and the Administration. These would-be *leaders*—these greenback patriots—have betrayed their country and the people! For a consideration they have helped to trample the constitution under the bloody feet of usurped power! In the people, in the people is the last hope of our bleeding country!

AN ODE FROM SAPPHO.

[FROM THE GREEK.]

A god in happiness is he
 Whose mouth may banquet on thy lips—
 The youth who fondly sits by thee,
 And all thy balmy sweetness sips.

'Twas this that filled my soul with love,
 My breast with wildest tumults tost,
 In vain against the charms I strove;
 My breath was gone, my voice was lost.

My bosom glowed with subtle flame,
 Which ran like wine through all my veins;
 O'er my dim eyes a darkness came;
 I writhed with love's delicious pains.

Cold dampness came upon my brow,
 My fitful pulse forgot to play;
 I could not hear thy faithful vow,
 But, faint with bliss, I died away!

C. CHAUNCEY BURR.

THE ADMINISTRATION AS A GOLD GAMBLER.

The position of the gold market has been one of anxious interest to all classes of the people, and the more the public mind is directed to the subject, the more do the dangers and disasters with which the future is overhung suffice to unnerve the boldest. The experience of the past sixty days, disastrous as it has been, but affords a glimpse of the evils that are in store for a community whose material welfare is afloat upon the unstable element of paper promises. It is not alone a rise in prices, but the unlooked for disastrous fluctuations which place all property at hazard. Gold suddenly in the first month of the year rose in value from 31 to 71 premium as compared with paper money. The knowledge of that fact was fraught with few terrors to the inexperienced, but the people now know that it means an advance in the price of all food and necessities of life. Incomes, wages, daily earnings, before only sufficient for the urgent wants of a family, suddenly shrunk up 40 per cent., and privation and want flitted like spectres in the background. The same amount of money was indeed received for daily toil, but neither the inane countenance of Mr. Lincoln nor the placid egotism of Mr. Chase reflected from the deceitful paper, would draw from the butcher or the baker the accustomed quantity of food for helpless dependents. At each successive visit to the butcher the promises of the government were of less value as compared with the products of the farm. Mr. Chase had poured forth \$300,000,000 of the paper and \$1,000,000,000 more was authorized, for which Government wanted food and clothing,

and lumber, and ships, and munitions, and labor. Thousands of agents and contractors overrun the country insatiate in their demands for all those articles which are the support of the poor. Wherever a barrel of beef, a bushel of potatoes or a pound of bread was to be had there was an army agent monopolizing the supply, and handing out in payment the portraits of Mr. Chase and Mr. Lincoln, printed in the Treasury building, on green paper. There is no limit to the supply of this paper nor to the demands of the Government for food and material. The farmer may plough and harvest; the laborer may dig and the mechanic construct; all the proceeds of their labor is taken by the Government, and they get in return Government *cartes de visite*, when they see "something green." The vast flood of paper flows out of the Treasury building not only without limit but without responsibility or accountability. There is no power on earth that can require of Mr. Chase an account of his proceedings or expenditures. He has \$8,000,000 secret service money by law, but it is all secret service money since he is not required to account. When the paper thus profusely paid out comes into the hands of the poor man, he becomes a competitor with the Government in demanding food and clothes for it. Is it then any matter of surprise that he should get less than formerly for those nominal dollars? The government agents and parasites then raise a hue and cry against speculators in gold who they allege have made by their operations the prices of pork higher for greenbacks, and seek to befog the community

with the subterfuge. The price of Western and Canada flour to-day in New York is \$7.00; in Montreal, across the river, the same flour sells at \$4.50. This difference of \$2.50 in a barrel of flour is robbed from the daily wages of the poor by the government issues of paper, and not because Levi Moses in Wall street has got a golden eagle in his pocket. Nevertheless, the Government and its speculative organs raised antipathies against speculators, to divert the public mind.

While the great mass of the people thus have their lives ground out of them by the rise in prices, the merchants and holders of goods reaped large profits in paper. The government action in raising prices robbed the poor and robbed creditors to the profit of the debtors, holders of merchandise, but was itself suffering in the operation. Contractors could not keep their engagements, and remittances abroad on government account were becoming very expensive. This state of affairs suggested lucrative patriotism, which consisted in an attempt to force down the value of gold, or, in other words, to force up the value of paper. The department ceased to pay its creditors in order to check for the moment the supply of paper.

While the operations of the Government were taking money from the laboring and consuming many to put into the pockets of the capitalists, the result was a general desire to purchase goods to hold, and importers and storekeepers found an active demand for merchandise from people who sought any description of property to hold rather than the greenbacks, which were flowing into all channels of business and choking all avenues of circulation. At this juncture the Government, alarm-

ed at its own work, sought to counteract it by a violent and lawless course. Early in January the Secretary obtained from Congress power to raise \$100,000,000 more paper money to pay the large arrears then due to soldiers and other creditors. In the ninety days that subsequently elapsed, \$200,000,000 more became due and was not paid. The creditors crowded Wall street for loans, and bid high for money. The Government was afraid to pay out more paper, and could not borrow. Under the private assurance from the Secretary that the paper flood would be staid for a time, his speculative confidants amassed some \$20,000,000 of greenbacks, which when gold was \$1.72 were worth 58 cents on the dollar, or \$11,600,000 in coin. They then borrowed gold and sold it recklessly in the market, at the same time that an illegal bill passed Congress abridging the right of property in gold, and another of the same tenor was introduced into the New York Legislature. The withholding pay from soldiers and others, the buying up of a quantity of greenbacks, the legislative threats against buyers of gold, and the heavy sales of the metal forced the price down in a spasmodic manner to 44 premium, at which rate notes were 70 cents on the dollar, or the \$20,000,000 in notes were equal to \$14,000,000 in coin. Thus:

Prem. on gold, 172---58 cts. for notes,	
	\$20,000,000---\$11,600,000
Prem. on gold, 144---70 cts. for notes,	
	\$20,000,000---\$14,000,000
	<hr/>
Gain by rise in notes,	\$2,400,000

This was a handsome profit if the speculators could realize, and persevering endeavors were made to keep down the rate of gold for that purpose. The greatest efforts were also made to avail of this apparent rise in notes to revive

the credit of the Government so far as to enable it to procure a loan, and by so doing to stay the flood of paper for a short time longer. The most shameless tricks were practised by the department to induce the public to take loans. The \$500,000,000 of 5-20 stock authorized by the law of Congress were to be convertible at par, and not sold under "market value." The Secretary procured the repeal of these clauses for the avowed object of being able to give the stock to his friends at one price and to the public at another. No one but the parties interested know at what price the favored ones get the stock. The Secretary is authorized to issue \$2,000,000,000 of paper, and he must be a bold man who invests first in such a mass of debt.

The effect of this operation was to paralyse all business. The purchases of goods stopped. Importers and all others who bought at the high rates of exchange were saddled with apparent heavy losses, and no one would buy goods the value of which was measured in a medium which hung upon the whims of Treasury speculators.

The operation is now nearly spent and the Government has no alternative but to pay its creditors in paper, when the turn of holders of merchandise will again come to exult in profits, and the working many will again find their wages dwindling away under exorbitant prices. These fluctuations will ultimately ruin both rich and poor, paralyzing all business and destroying all industry, until the end of bankruptcy is reached in general ruin.

It is to be borne in mind that all the efforts of the government speculators

and legal enactments have been unable to force the price of gold permanently below 150 per cent., although the amount of government paper outstanding is but \$350,000,000, issued in the last eighteen months. It is also to be considered that the Secretary is authorized to spend in the next eighteen months 2,000 millions, or six fold as much as is now outstanding, and whatever may be the pretences of borrowing, there is no possible means of meeting these expenses but by paper issues. The amount issued in November was 2,000 millions, and gold was 30 premium; at the close of January the amount was 300 millions, and gold was 60 premium; at the close of February 350 millions were out, and gold was 71 premium. The amount in March was violently contracted by the speculators, and gold was 50 premium. Admitting that to be the true point of paper depreciation, then an emission of 150 millions paper sent gold up 20 per cent., when the 150 millions sent it up but 10 per cent. What then will be the rate when 1,500 millions shall have been issued? Certainly not less than \$10 of paper for \$1 of gold. The labor of a week will give food for a day. We may make a comparison:

	<i>Montreal.</i>	<i>New York.</i>	<i>Richmond.</i>
Paper emitted, cash	\$350,000,000	\$700,000,000	\$700,000,000
Price of gold, par	\$1.50	prem.	\$5.00 prem.
Flour p. bbl.,	\$4.50	\$7.00	\$25.00
do., in gold,	\$4.50	\$5.00	\$5.00

Thus in a common currency the price of flour is not widely different in the three cities, but the distress of the industrious many increases exactly in proportion to the issues of government paper, which robs them of their labor without feeding them.

MR. SEWARD ON FEDERAL USURPATIONS AND MILITARY DESPOTISM.

WE are now going to call the attention of the country to a speech of the Hon. William H. Seward, delivered in the U. S. Senate, August 7th, 1856, on a bill appropriating twelve millions of dollars to defray the military expenses of the government for the then ensuing fiscal year. Mr. Seward and his whole party, in and out of Congress, opposed the bill on the ground that President Buchanan intended to use the army of the United States to suppress the insurrection then raging in Kansas against the legislative acts of the territory. It is not our purpose to defend the Kansas policy of Mr. Buchanan's administration. We have never believed that that policy was founded either in wisdom or justice, nor have we ever doubted that the follies of that administration brought upon our country the abomination of the present administration. We are prepared to admit the truth of much that Mr. Seward said in the celebrated speech here referred to. Let him stand by the same doctrines now, and we shall not be arrayed in opposition to him. Whether or not we go the full length with him that Mr. Buchanan's proposition to use the army of the United States to enforce the laws of the territorial legislature of Kansas was violative of the Constitution, we do agree to every word he says about the lack of prudence and sagacity of such coercive measures. We agree with him, that "the President of the United States has no authority to decide these questions, because the decision involves an act of sovereign legislation." The eminent Senator proceeded to say:

"The idea has never before entered into the mind of an American statesman that citizens of one State could with

armed force enter any other State or Territory, and by fraud or force usurp its government, and establish a tyranny over its people, much less that a President of the United States would be found to sanction such a subversion of State authority or of Federal authority; and, still less, that a President thus sanctioning it would employ the standing army to maintain the odious usurpation and tyranny.

"Sir, the mere fact, in this case, that the army is required to be employed to execute alleged laws in Kansas, is enough to raise a presumption that those laws are either wrong in principle or destitute of constitutional authority, and ought not to be executed.

"The Territory of Kansas, although not a State, is or ought to be, nevertheless, a civil community, with a republican system of government. In other words, it is *de jure*, and ought to be *de facto*, a Republic—an American Republic, existing under and by virtue of the Constitution of the United States. If the laws which are to be executed there are really the statutes of such a republican government truly existing there, then those laws were made by the people of Kansas by their own voluntary act. According to the theory of our government, these laws will be acquiesced in by that people, and executed by their own consent against all offenders by means of merely civil police, without the aid of the army of the United States. The army of the United States is not an institution of domestic police; nor is it a true and proper function of the army to execute the domestic laws of the several States and Territories. *Its legitimate and proper functions are to repel foreign invasion, and suppress insurrections of the native Indian tribes.*"

* * * * *

"The time was, and that not long ago, when a proposition to employ the standing army of the United States as a domestic police would have been universally denounced as a premature revelation of a plot, darkly contrived in the

chambers of conspiracy, to subvert the liberties of the people, and to overthrow the Republic itself.

“The Republic stands upon a fundamental principle, that the people, in the exercise of equal rights, will establish only just and equal laws, and that their own free and enlightened public opinion is the only legitimate reliance for the maintenance and execution of such laws. This principle is not even peculiar to ourselves: it lies at the foundation of the government of every free people on earth. It is public opinion, not the Imperial army, that executes the laws of the realm in England, Scotland, and Ireland. Whenever France is free, it is public opinion that executes the laws of her republican legislature. It is public opinion that executes the laws in all the Cantons of Switzerland. The British constitution is quite as jealous of standing armies, as a police, as our own. Government there, indeed, maintains standing armies, as it does a great naval force, but it employs the one, as it does the other, exclusively for defense or for conquest against foreign States. Fearful lest the armed power of the State might be turned against the people to enforce obnoxious edicts or statutes, the British constitution forbids that any regular army whatever shall be tolerated, on any pretense. The considerable military force which is maintained in different and distant parts of the empire, only exists by a suspension of that part of the constitution, which suspension is renewed by Parliament from year to year, and never for more than one year at a time. Civil liberty, and a standing army for the purposes of civil police, have never yet stood together, and never can stand together. *If I am to choose, sir, between upholding laws, in any part of this Republic, which cannot be maintained without a standing army, or relinquishing the laws themselves, I give up the laws at once, by whomsoever they are made, and by whatever authority; for either our system of government is radically wrong, or such laws are unjust, unequal, and pernicious.*”

In this connection, Mr. Seward bore the following eloquent testimony to the

estimable blessings of free speech and a free press:

“Whatever other Senators may choose to do, I shall not direct the President of the United States to employ a standing army in destroying the fruits of freedom which spring from seeds I have conscientiously sown with my own free hand. This statute, sir, if so you insist on calling it, subverts the liberty of the press and the liberty of speech. Where on earth is there a free government where the press is shackled and speech is strangled? When the Republic of France was subverted by the First Consul, what else did he do but shackle the press and stifle speech? When the second Napoleon restored the Empire on the ruins of the later Republic of France, what else did he do than to shackle the press and strangle debate? When Santa Anna seized the government of Mexico, and converted it into a dictatorship, what more had he to do than shackle the press and stifle political debate?”

These words, burning with truth and eloquence, are as just now as they were six years ago, when Mr. Seward uttered them in the Senate of the United States. It is true now, as he then declared, that *none but tyrants and usurpers ever shackled the press and strangled debate.* It is an unchangeable and eternal truth, Mr. Seward. Hundreds of your suffering victims, who have been plunged into military bastiles—not for speaking or writing, or doing any thing in violation of law, but for being suspected of having sympathies—have pondered this great truth through weary days and nights of silent anguish, in which there was no relief to the aching heart, except the living, swelling spirit of revenge that sweetened the bitterness of life.

But let us hear further from the eminent Secretary on the subject of coercing States with the military power:

“Let Congress now effectually resign the Territories to military control by the

President, or by Generals appointed by him, and two more acts will bring this grand national drama of ours to its close. The first of those acts will be the subversion of liberty in the remaining Territories; and then, the Rubicon easily passed, the second will be the establishment of an Empire on the ruins of the whole Republic.

“But how is the Government to be arrested, even if this army bill should fail, through your persevering dissent from the House of Representatives? Is the army of the United States, indeed and essentially, a civil institution—a necessary and indispensable institution, in our republican system? On the contrary, it is an exception, an anomaly, an antagonistic institution, tolerated, but wisely and justly regarded with jealousy and apprehension. We maintain a standing army in time of war, to suppress Indian insurrections, or to repel foreign invasions; and we maintain the same standing army in time of peace, only because it is wise in peace to be prepared for war. But, whether in peace or war, we maintain it not without some measure of hazard to constitutional liberty.”

Then Mr. Seward and his party did not think that constitutional liberty would be safe in this country if TWELVE MILLIONS were voted to increase the power of the army; but now TWELVE HUNDRED MILLIONS do not frighten him! No, nor TWENTY-FOUR HUNDRED MILLIONS either! But let us hear him further:

“If the founders of the Constitution had been told that, within seventy years from the day on which they laid its solid foundations, and raised its majestic columns, a standing army would have been found necessary and indispensable to execute municipal laws, they would have turned shuddering away from the massive despotism which they had erected.”

So they would. And if those pure and earnest men could have looked forward far enough to see the degradation of the present hour, when the constitution and laws are washed out of sight by an ocean

of fraternal blood—in a word, if they could have seen the Republican party, now in power, crushing our own constitution and laws, leaving nothing but despotism and murder behind it, they would have fled from the very idea of such a ruin as from a burning hell.—Only six years ago Mr. Seward shuddered with horror at the thought of a despotism which was sweet liberty itself compared with the atrocity of the present hour. Listen to him:

“Answer me still further, what measure of anarchy could reconcile, or ought to reconcile, American citizens to a surrender of constitutional liberty in any part of the Republic?”

“Answer me further, what is that measure of tranquillity and quiet that a republican people ought to seek, or can wisely enjoy? It is not the dead quiet, the stagnant tranquillity of cowardly submission to usurpation and despotism, but it is just so much of peace, quiet, and tranquillity as is consistent with the preservation of constitutional liberty. It would be a hard alternative, but, if the Senate should insist on forcing on me, or on the people I represent, the choice between peace under despotism, or turbulence with freedom, then I must say, promptly and fearlessly, give me so much of safety as I can have, and yet remain a freeman, and keep all quiet and all safety beyond that for those who are willing to be slaves.”

These are brave words—glorious words—words worthy of the days when there were patriots and moral giants in this land. Within this year of abominations, many a brave and noble-minded man has been sent to a prison for uttering just such sentiments. The only wonder is, that the Seward of 1862 does not hunt up and incarcerate in some loathsome military dungeon the Seward of 1856! Plainly enough, if this latter-day Seward is a patriot, then that other one of 1856 was a rank revolutionizing traitor, who dared to tell the Federal ad-

ministration to its teeth, that if it presumed to override freedom of speech and of the press with the military power, and to crush the rights of States and Territories with the Federal army, he would fearlessly *resist the "massive despotism."* It was well said. On no lighter terms can a people either keep or deserve their liberties. Forget it not, O my countrymen!

The eminent Secretary, in this same speech, bore testimony to the sacredness of the writ of *habeas corpus*, which, if he had done nothing since to prove his insincerity in those eloquent professions, would have immortalized his name.—Hear him denounce a law of the Territory of Kansas, because it denied the *writ of liberty* to runaway negroes:

“Behold, Senators, another of these statutes. In the chapter which treats of the writ of *habeas corpus*, we have this limitation:

“‘No negro or mulatto held as a slave within this Territory, or lawfully arrested as a fugitive from service from another State or Territory, shall be discharged, nor shall his *right of freedom* be had, under the provisions of this act.’

“This is an edict which suspends the writ of *habeas corpus*. It relates indeed to a degraded class of society; but still, the writ which is taken away from that class is the writ of *habeas corpus*, and those who are to be deprived of it by the edict may be freemen. THE STATE THAT BEGINS WITH DENYING THE HABEAS CORPUS TO THE HUMBLEST AND MOST OBSCURE OF FREEMEN, WILL NOT BE LONG IN REACHING A MORE INDISCRIMINATE PROSCRIPTION.

“It ought to be sufficient objection here, against all these statutes, that they conflict with the Constitution of the United States, the highest law recognized in this place. I myself denounce them for that reason, as I denounce them also because they are repugnant to the laws of nature, as recognized by nearly all civilized States.”

We shall not deny that Mr. Seward was sound on the writ of *habeas corpus* in 1856, especially when negroes were in question. But how is it now, when the liberties of white men are concerned? Let the history of the bastilles of Lafayette and Warren answer that question. They will answer it. Many of the victims of these prisons have both *pens* and *tongues*, which will one day hit the cheeks of tyranny and lawless violence such blows as will ring again in the ears of the civilized world! Be sure that every one of the men who have been lawlessly stript of their liberty will one day return to the charge, with crowds of hundreds of thousands at their backs, shouting for justice and vengeance!—They will come—will surely come, after some fashion: if not by a public return of the laws to do every man justice, then like a thief in the night. For they will come! The days of liberty—of justice—of revenge, to the wronged people—will come! The history of usurpation had never yet but one end. Though the people may lose their liberty, yet woe to those by whom the offense comes! The voice of God and the voice of History proclaim it—Woe! woe!

THE STRENGTH OF ARMIES.

WE have the highest evidence, even divine authority, for believing that "the race is not always to the swift, nor the battle to the strong." But it is a truth hard to be realized by men who are swollen up with pride, and driven on by the blazing fires of revenge. The deluded despot who exclaimed, "Is not this great Babylon, that I have built by the might of my power and for the glory of my majesty?" was taught this lesson at last, when all his mightiness crumbled, and left him to share the fate of the beasts of the field. Babylon-builders, in all ages of the world, have seemed to be especially blind to this rule of Divine Providence, that "the battle is not always to the strong." The passion-blinded Nebuchadnezzars in the British House of Lords scorned the warning words of the great and sagacious Pitt, when he thundered into their ears, "My Lords, you cannot conquer America!" But time and the fate of battles settled the business quite another way than they would believe, until they had wasted millions of treasure, and many brave British lives to boot. Right boldly did many of the greatest men in England warn the government that the course it was pursuing would surely result in its own humiliation and shame.

Now, is it not time to think of these things a little, and, measuring the events of the past terrible year, take council of History and our own experience, to see whither we may be drifting on this tide of blood? May it not be possible that, in the end, we shall have nothing to show, for all we have suffered, but the blood we have shed and the debt we have amassed over our own heads? May

it not be possible that we shall come at last to acknowledge the wisdom and patriotism of the following words of President Lincoln in his inaugural address?—

"SUPPOSE YOU GO TO WAR, YOU CANNOT FIGHT ALWAYS; AND WHEN, AFTER MUCH LOSS ON BOTH SIDES, AND NO GAIN ON EITHER, YOU CEASE FIGHTING, THE IDENTICAL QUESTIONS, AS TO TERMS OF INTERCOURSE, ARE AGAIN UPON YOU."

Has not our experience satisfied us that, possibly, there may be something in these words worth our heeding? Have we forgotten how soon we were to end this horrible rebellion with the 75,000 men first called into the field? We were sure that it was to be all over in three months, and therefore our first army was only enlisted for that time. Then came the demand for 300,000 more! That was to do the business in no time. Soon the world was astounded to be told that we had an army of 750,000 brave men in the field. That, surely, would make short work with the accursed rebellion!—But no: we had soon to make another call; so that all the men we have had in arms since the beginning of our troubles cannot be less than 800,000. Alas, two years of battles and blood have passed, and we are soon to conscript 600,000 more! Where shall we be able to stop? When these 600,000 are raised, and properly trained for the service, will their addition to the army more than supply the loss we shall suffer between this time and that? Is it probable that, with this addition of 600,000 more, our effective force will be greater in four months from this time than it is at the present moment?

The way we are going on, we shall

need a new enlistment of 600,000 men every four months, to keep our army up to the standard of its present effective force. And even then, if the policy and spirit that now rule in Washington continue to the end of the present administration, we shall have sent two millions more of our brave men to die in battle in vain; for the Union will never be saved while this war upon the domestic institutions of the revolted States continues. Before Secession will be conquered in the South, Abolition must be conquered in the North. As long as we put our trust in nothing else but the might of the sword, we shall fail. God will surely teach us this hard lesson too, that "the battle is not always to the strong." God and our brave forefathers taught England that lesson so effectually, that neither the British nation nor the world has forgotten how. And that, somehow, seems to be the teaching of History—"THE BATTLE IS NOT ALWAYS TO THE STRONG." God is mightier than battles, and holds the fate of the weak and the strong alike in the hollow of his hand.

Sir William Temple, in his "*Essay on Heroic Virtue*," says:—"The second observation I shall make on the subject of victory and conquest is, that they have in general been made by the smaller numbers over the greater; against which I do not remember any exception in all the famous battles registered in story, excepting that of Tamerlane and Bajazet, whereof the first is said to have exceeded a fourth part in number, though they were so vast on both sides that they were not very easy to be well accounted."

This seemingly odd remark of Sir William Temple we believe to be verified by the records of history.

To commence pretty near the begin-

ning of historic battles, we may learn that the number of Persians under King Cyrus was but a handful of men, compared with the mighty hosts of Assyrians over which they were finally completely victorious. And then afterwards the Macedonians, who beat the Persians, were never over forty thousand strong, while their enemies were six hundred thousand.

The little Athenian army of ten thousand, fighting for their liberty and independence, drove back and overcame a hundred and twenty thousand Persians at Marathon.

In all the famous victories of the Lacedemonians, they had never over twelve thousand soldiers at any time, though their enemies often had twenty times that number.

Almost every one of the celebrated victories of the Romans were achieved over far greater numbers.

The great Cæsar's armies—whether in Pharsalia, Gaul, or Germany—were in no proportion to those he conquered.

The army of Marius was never above forty thousand, while that of the Cimbrians, which he conquered, was three hundred thousand.

The famous victories of Ætius and Belisarius over the barbarous Northern nations, were won with numbers astonishingly small.

The same is true of the first great victories of the Turks over the Persian kingdom, and of the Tartars over the Chinese.

In all the immortal victories the renowned Scanderbeg achieved over the Turks, he never brought together over sixteen thousand men, though his enemies often numbered over a hundred thousand.

To come down to later times, the English victories at Cressy and Argincourt,

so famous in history, were gained with incredible disadvantages of numbers.

The same must be said of the great victories of Charles VIII. in Italy; of Henry IV. in France; of Gustavus Adolphus in Germany; and of Charles XII. of Sweden in Denmark, Poland, and Muscovy. The King of Poland, who had an army of twenty-four thousand strong, he defeated and drove from his throne with a force of less than twelve thousand; and the Russian army of eighty thousand was beaten by him with a little army of only eight thousand.

Nor must we forget the fate of the great Napoleon in Russia. Napoleon invaded that country with an army of six hundred and thirty thousand soldiers, and was finally completely vanquished and driven out of the country, although the Russians had never over two hundred and fifty thousand men in the field at any one time.

So, we perceive that the page of history abundantly supports the Divine Word, that the battle shall not always be to the strong. Indeed, as Sir William Temple affirms, the reverse has oftener been true. This last year of our own horrible experience is another proof. If we may rely upon the word of the late Secretary of War, Mr. Cameron, we have enlisted, in all, 800,000 men; and yet, at the conclusion of the Richmond battles, it was said that we had, all counted, less than 300,000 soldiers left in the field. This would show a loss of 500,000 men in a little more than one year. Call it 400,000, to be within the mark, and then ponder upon the thing a little; and at the same time reflect that our gunboats alone have saved our armies from annihilation.

It is estimated that the South has lost 200,000 men in this war, which makes of white men lost on both sides 600,000.

Now, a Senator boasted, the other day, that "we have already liberated 50,000 negroes." Yes: we have shed the blood of twelve white men for every negro we have set free. Sit down, and ponder that awhile; and reverently ask Almighty God if there is no room left in HELL for the bloody villains who are striving to pervert an army raised for the ostensible purpose of *saving the Union* into a mere negro-liberating concern! The lives of a million of men would be a cheap price for the salvation of our country; but the life of a single white man, sacrificed for the inglorious purpose of liberating even four millions of negroes, would be a thousand times worse than thrown away. Here is the cause of our failure and disappointment—the whole legislative and executive ability of the Government has been directed to negro-liberating schemes, instead of the one holy purpose of *saving the Union*. The President's abolition message, and his signing the bill for the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia, was as good for the cause of the rebellion as 200,000 men added to the ranks of its soldiery. The whole business of Congress for a twelvemonth has been designed to drive the South onward to its most desperate extremes, in order that such a chasm of blood might be opened as could never be bridged by a reconstructed Union. These murderous traitors well know that if the Union is saved and the Constitution preserved, the social and political status of the negro will remain just where it was placed by our patriotic forefathers. This is the reason they have put forth such masterly efforts to pervert the object for which our brave army was called to the field. That croud of men assembled in "Congress" at Richmond, has been impotent for harm, compared with the pestilent

nest of fanatics and revolutionists at Washington. To these men we owe the ruin of our country. To them must be charged the disgrace which has been brought upon our once fair name. And what now is the prospect for the future? Nothing but disaster and ruin. The programme is to exterminate the white race in the South, to plunder and burn their towns and cities. Before Lincoln's term of office is up, he will sacrifice the lives of a million more of the citizens of the North in pushing on this atrocious work; and even then he will only have stepped knee-deep into the fathomless ocean of blood which must be shed before the horrid crime could be accomplished. There are not men enough in the North to carry out the Lincoln-Butler scheme. Let those who

believe in it show their faith by their works, and pour out their own blood in the horrid strife. Let them not meanly hide behind the three-hundred-dollar-clause, and force the virtuous and peaceable poor to sacrifice themselves for an object which every patriot must hold in eternal abhorrence. If the conflict were to restore the Union or to preserve constitutional freedom, a man might feel some impulses of honor and glory in going out to die. But to know that one must offer up his life to free negroes and enslave the white race, must fill a proud man's soul full of unquenchable indignation and horror. It is possible that you may force such men into the army; but can you make them fight? What would be the reliable force of a million of such men in arms?

 ACROSTIC.

TRIUMPHANT flag, whose prestige gave
 Heaven-born hopes to good and brave,
 Exultingly thy glories wave.

Secession's hands thy folds would stain,
 Terror and strife breed civil war,
 Anarchy and crimes profane.
 Respect the compact, and maintain
 Sacred every stripe and star.

Are we no longer Union's band?
 No longer in her ranks to stand?
 Discord's arm would wield the brand!

Saving banner! still thou'lt shine,
 To lead thy sons through battle fires;
 Remembrance of the souls divine
 In hero days, thy name inspires.
 Potent to us, as to our sires!
 Eternal, bright on history's page
 Shall gleam thy stars from age to age.

NEGROES vs. WHITE MEN IN THE ARMY.

The following correspondence of the Springfield Republican, a leading organ of the Lincoln party in Massachusetts, cannot be read without filling the reader with irrepressible indignation, and with a warning of alarm of an approaching conflict in which the white man will be driven to fight for the natural supremacy of his race. Judge Kelly, Republican Congressman from Philadelphia, in a recent speech threatened that the negro regiments shall be marched into the North, "with a bayonet at the breast of every copperhead."

PENSACOLA, Fla., Feb. 1, 1863.

As the experiment of organizing negro regiments has been instituted by the government, its progress and results are a matter of great interest; and having had an opportunity to witness the efforts to enforce the principle of military equality of such regiments, I will volunteer to give you its history.

For several months past the military post of Ship Island has been garrisoned by two companies of the 13th Maine regiment, under command of Col. Henry Rust. Recently, the 2d Louisiana Regiment of black volunteers was ordered to rendezvous at this Island, and Col. Rust was ordered to transfer the command of the post to their commanding officer, Col. N. W. Daniels. Col. Rust and staff, as ordered, repaired to Fort Jackson, leaving behind him on the Island the two companies of the 13th Maine.

Upon assuming command of the post, Col. Daniels issued orders commanding the consolidation of the two companies of whites with his regiment of blacks. He ordered them to attend battalion drill, and be consolidated at dress pa-

rade. In camp and guard duties black Captains were placed over white Lieutenants, and thus white officers and black, white privates and black, in one black column blent, obsequiously doing honor to black equals and superiors, were to inaugurate the reign of ebony. The recognition required was not merely the passing salute and modes and forms of military etiquette, but an equal military equality, with its accompanying honors and obedience.

Against the orders thus consolidating them with blacks, the officers of the two white companies earnestly protested. But their protest being unheeded and unanswered, after a suitable delay, they finally refused to obey the orders. They refused to take their companies to battalion drill or appear on dress parade; they refused also to detail guard to be commanded by negroes. They were arrested, and the command of the companies finally devolved upon the Orderly Sergeants. By the Sergeant's offering to detail guard, the question was put directly to the members of the companies whether they would do duty as guard under negro officers. Following the example of their officers, the men peremptorily refused. Whereupon the men were ordered under arrest, their muskets and equipments taken from them, and black guards stationed around their appointed quarters.

The execution of the order for arresting the companies was one of the most humiliating scenes I ever witnessed. As a precaution against disturbance, the black regiment was ordered under arms and muskets loaded. Two companies of blacks, with their black officers, marched to the quarters of the disobedient soldiers, and called upon them to

surrender themselves as prisoners. Instead of resisting, the men obeyed the summons in a spirit characteristic of the intelligent New England soldier, who knows how to obey, but knows, too, the philosophy of resistance to injustice. Silently they marched in front of their negro masters, stacked their arms, hung their accoutrements upon their glittering bayonets, and turned sadly away, while their black captors bore away their arms with feelings and expressions of glee, as if they were trophies of conquest.

As the ebony band returned from their work, their comrades in camp welcomed them with shouts of triumph. By a single word or act on the part of the white officers, a scene of riot and bloodshed would have been the sequel. But wiser counsels prevailed, and officers and men quietly submitted themselves as prisoners to those with whom they would not serve as soldiers or acknowledge as equals.

I DREAMED BUT NOW.

I dreamed but now my soul had laid
 Aside its robes of flesh forever,
 In darkness drear and lone I strayed,
 To see the sunshine never, never!

Ah! that dear heart without the light
 And life of its bright love to bless me,
 The future would be doubly night,
 Nor joy, nor thou, love, to caress me.

MRS. HELEN RICH.

HOW WE ARE REVENGING SUMPTER.

The following are the reported casualties of this war from its beginning to January 1st, 1863:

Federals killed,	43,874
“ wounded,	97,029
“ died of disease and wounds,	250,000
“ made prisoners,	68,218
Total,	<u>459,374</u>
Confederates killed,	20,893
“ wounded,	59,915
“ died from disease and wounds,	120,000
“ made prisoners,	<u>22,169</u>
Total,	<u>222,677</u>

They have killed twenty-two thousand eight hundred and seventy-four more of our men than we have of theirs.

They have wounded, not mortally, thirty-nine thousand, four hundred and fourteen more of our men than we have of theirs.

One hundred and fifty thousand more of our men have died of disease and wounds, than of theirs.

They have made prisoners of forty-six thousand more of our men than we have of theirs.

Our total casualties are two hundred and thirty-seven thousand, two hundred and ninety-seven more than theirs—that is, our casualties have been fourteen thousand more than as much again as theirs.

In the way we have “revenged the firing on Fort Sumpter.”

But this is not all. We have spent almost *two thousand million* more of money than they have spent.

We have made two hundred thousand of our women widows.

We have made one million of children fatherless.

We have destroyed the Constitution of our country.

We have brought the ferocious savagery of war into every corner of society.

We have demoralized our pulpits, so that our very religion is a source of immorality and blood.

Instead of being servants of Christ, our ministers are servants of Satan.

The land is full of contractors, thieves, provost-marshals, and a thousand other tools of illegal and despotic power, as Egypt was of vermin in the days of the Pharaohs.

We are rapidly degenerating in every thing that exalts a nation.

Our civilization is perishing.

We are swiftly drifting into inevitable civil war here in the North.

We are turning our homes into charnel houses.

There is a corpse in every family.

The angel of death sits in every door.

The devil has removed from Tartarus to Washington.

We pretend that we are punishing the rebels, but they are punishing us.

We pretend that we are restoring the Union, but we are destroying it.

We pretend that we are enforcing the laws, but we are only catching negroes.

That is the way we are “revenging Sumpter.”

Selling our souls to the devil and taking Lincoln & Co.’s *promise to pay*. We have it in greenbacks and blood.

That is the way we are “revenging Sumpter.”

LITERARY NOTICES.

THE PRISONER OF STATE. By D. A. Mahony. Carleton, New York.

The author of this work was for several months confined in one of Mr. Lincoln's bastiles, and was finally let out, as hundreds of others have been, without a trial, and without being informed of the reason of his incarceration. In this book, Mr. Mahony has paid the Administration back with interest, for its criminal assaults upon his liberty. It is, we think, the most damaging book that has yet made its appearance against the administration. It is impossible for any man, who is not demented with fanaticism, to read it without having his whole soul aroused to battle-pitch against the detestable tyrants who, under the pretence of crushing rebellion in the South, are actually seeking to revolutionize the government of this Republic. Mr. Mahony is an able writer, and he has given the public a work which will be most useful in opening the eyes of the people to the real objects of this war. One of the New York papers says "the devil is in the book." If it is not so, it certainly is true that the book proves that there are legions of devils in Abraham Lincoln and his party. The work contains 414 pages. Price \$1,25

THE RECORD OF HON. C. L. VALLANDIGHAM ON ABOLITIONISM, THE UNION AND THE CIVIL WAR. J. Walker & Co., Cincinnati.

A book of 248 pages, containing well-selected matter from the speeches and addresses of Mr. Vallandigham on all questions which have been raised by the acts of the party in power. It proves that the man who has been so much maligned by the partisans of the administration has a consistent record as a patriot and a true friend to the Union. Mr. Vallandigham was one of the statesmen of the North who clearly saw, at the beginning of the strife, what the lamented Douglas so eloquently declared, that "war is dissolution—final and eternal separation," and he had the courage to stand up in his place on the floor of Congress and proclaim his convictions in the teeth of angry and despotic power. He dealt hard blows at the head of the administration, and all its dogs set up such a yelping, and barking, and howling as was never heard on earth before. But the patriotic congressman kept boldly and defiantly on, in op-

position to all the unconstitutional and destructive measures of the administration. He opposed the war, because he saw that war was eternal separation; and advocated peace, because he believed that in peace there was a chance left of saving our country. Time will vindicate the wisdom and patriotism of his position. This book will stand as a proof that he rightly comprehended the issues of the war, when so many were blinded, either by prejudice or selfishness. The work is valuable as a text-book of information and correct reasoning on most of the questions that are agitating the public mind. Price in paper covers, 60 cts. In cloth \$1,00.

THE SOUTHERN HISTORY OF THE WAR. THE FIRST YEAR OF THE WAR. BY EDWARD POLLARD. REPRINTED FROM THE RICHMOND CORRECTED EDITION. NEW YORK: CHARLES B. RICHARDSON, 594 AND 596 BROADWAY.

This book was received too late for anything but a mere notice in this No. of the Old Guard. A single glance at its pages shows that it is meant to be a truthful and fair history of the war. Its assaults upon the administration of Jefferson Davis are unsparing, and sometimes bitter, if not relentless. In this respect it is in remarkable contrast with the histories of the war which have been published in the North, not one of which, so far as we have seen, deserves the name of "*history*." They are all mere compilations of newspaper fustian and falsehood. Such books are an insult to the intelligence and honor of the American people, exhibiting us to the world as a nation of braggarts, if not fools. This Southern history of the war is at least not open to such a charge. No one who reads the book will, we think, doubt that the author meant to make a work worthy of being called a *history*. His accounts of the battles are made up with evident caution, and with fairness to all parties. The only signs of intemperate feeling in the book, are to be found in those passages which refer to Davis' administration and to his mere partizan apologists. If a Northern man had written such criticisms on Lincoln's administration a year ago, he would have been plunged into a bastile, to be starved to death, or devoured by vermin. This Southern history shows that they have had all the time, freedom to write and publish whatever they pleased there.

OMNIUM.

Results of drafting.

Of forty-one men drafted in Clinton County, Michigan, thirty-two have escaped to Canada, which if not "the land of the brave," is at least "the home of the free."

Jim Lane looking out for the future.

Jim Lane, now Senator from Kansas, at a recent "Union League" meeting in Washington, used the following characteristic language:

"As far as that is concerned, I would like to live long enough to see every white man in South Carolina in hell, and the negro occupying his territory."

But Sir, then you would be sure to meet them again, and on such terms of equality as would undoubtedly be as offensive to them, as painful to yourself.

The Democracy of Iowa.

The Democracy of Iowa held a grand mass convention at Anansa, March 27, and among other bold resolutions, passed this one:

Resolved, That the principles of the Connecticut Democracy as expounded by Ex-Gov. Thomas H. Seymour, is our Democracy, and that we are in favor of a vigorous prosecution of peace as the only means of saving the Union.

The same is the position of the democracy of the whole country, with the exception of a few would be leaders who are affected with greenbacks.

John Cochrane, the head crusher.

John Cochrane—Gen. John Cochrane—while addressing a nest of abolition traitors in New York, a few nights ago, said—"we must crush the heads of the copperheads." If our fire-side and ladies drawing-room General, proves as successful in crushing the heads of peaceable people of the North, as he has in crushing the rebels in the South, he went hurt us much.

Halleck coming North.

Gen. Halleck, in a letter to the contractor, New York meeting, in which he signed himself the "General-in-chief," said:

"Our armies are still advancing, and, if sustained by the voices of the patriotic millions at home they will ere long crush the rebellion in the

South, AND THEN place their heels upon the heads of sneaking traitors at the North."

By "traitors" he, of course, means all who do not support the Administration in its war upon the constitution and government of our country. When Halleck comes North on that business we advise him to put a few duplicate heads in his pocket, for he will need them before he gets through with his task. The man that does not despise such threats is a dog and slave.

Jones the Plagiarist.

Mason Jones, an ignorant braggart and shameless plagiarist, who by dint of puffing and free passes, drew large audiences in New York city, has found his level already. The Young Men's Association of Chicago, hired him to lecture three nights with the following results:

Paid Jones for the lectures	\$4,00
Total receipts	\$1,38
Loss to the Association	\$2,62

We heard Jones lecture in New York, on Curran. He began by abusing Phillips' life of the great Irish orator, and then went on to steal sentence after sentence from Phillips' admirable work—indeed the only thing tolerable in Jones' performance, was his plagiarism from Phillips. To a gentleman, who asked our opinion of Mason Jones as a lecturer, we answered, "he steals well, but he insults the American people by coming here and advertising himself as a man of intellect."

A place for white men.

Hunterdon County, New Jersey, must be a good place for a white man to live in. At a recent township election there, the Republicans were wiped out of sight and hearing. In Kingwood, not a Republican vote was cast. In Delaware and Alexander, the Republicans could not muster force enough to put a ticket in the field in opposition to the Democracy.

Abolition murder and arson.

In Jackson county, Mo., the abolitionists recently shot seven unarmed men who were suspected of being secessionists, and burnt twenty-seven houses of poor people, upon whom the same suspicion rested.

Died in the Wool.

An abolition paper praises Daniel S. Dickenson as a "democrat dyed in the wool." Yes,

poor devil, he died in the *wool*, and will go where all niggerheads ought to go.

Lincoln's instructions to his Provost Marshals.

1. As your office is one that is unknown to the Constitution of the United States and to the Constitution of the States, you must endeavor to impress the people as much as possible with the dignity and importance of your official position, by evincing as much contempt as you can for the foolish, old-fashioned laws of the States, which are now entirely obsolete, being unfitted for the exigencies of the times.

2. You are to speak continually and in all places of the "odious," "infamous," "execrable," "infernal," and "damnable" doctrines of State rights.

3. Never, under any circumstances, allude to the Constitution; and if you hear the word on any man's lips, arrest him immediately.

4. It is a disloyal practice for any man to allude to the exploded mode of trial by jury. Arrest all such.

5. Accuse all democrats of every crime under heaven, and if the scoundrels presume to argue with you, arrest them.

6. All who talk about liberty of speech and the press, are traitors—arrest all such.

7. All who prate about the *habeas corpus* are enemies to the Government—arrest them.

8. Studiously avoid using the word *freedom*, except as applied to negroes. Arrest all who are guilty of such disloyal practices.

9. Use, whenever you can, the ear-tickling words "loyal," and "supporting the Government," but always in such a way as to mean the subversion of the miserable old Government, and the support of my new system. If you hear any man use the words in any other connexion, arrest him.

10. It is opposing the Government, for any man to speak of restoring the Union as it was. Arrest such.

11. It is a disloyal practice for any man to speak of the size of my feet, or otherwise to allude to me, except in praise of my personal beauty, and of my emancipation policy. Arrest them.

12. If you hear any man say that I know better how to tell stories, than how to conduct the affairs of the nation, he is disloyal—arrest him.

13. If you hear any man allude with respect to the ridiculous article in the old Constitution, which protects citizens from unreasonable

searches and seizures, arrest and search him instantly. If you find no contraband letters and documents about him, it will be proof that he has taken the precaution to destroy them, and will be a sufficient evidence of his guilt. Lock him up.

14. It is opposing the Government, for any man to say that the abolitionists ought to enlist to help do some of the fighting. Arrest all such traitors.

15. Arrest any body you please, and if any man complains, arrest him for he is disloyal, and an enemy of the Government.

16. If anybody should blow your brains out while attempting an "illegal arrest," tell the devil that you died serving me. He will reward you accordingly.

Taxing patience and property.

Lincoln is reported as saying that he knows "a long war will greatly tax the patience of the people." Ah? Sir, if it *taxed* only their *patience* they might easily bear it. But your war will tax their property for more than its value—and all for the God-defying folly of trying to make a white man of a negro!

The Mozart thieves.

The officers of the Mozart Regiment have signed a letter abusing Fernando Wood and endorsing the brutal speech of Ben. Butler at the Academy of Music. Has the Colonel been promised to be made Brigadier General, and the other officers to be promoted, or are the officers of that Regiment all *thieves*, that they second Butler's murdering and plundering schemes? The propositions announced by this bloody mountebank at the Academy of Music, amount to nothing less than murder and theft. They are so pronounced by all modern writers on the law of war.

Epigram on J. Van. B.

What! jolly Van B. of oppression the hater,
Called a turncoat, a Judas, a rogue and a traitor!
What has made all the democrats angry and sore?
Has John done that now, which he ne'er did before?

Consistent was John all the days of his life,
For he loved his best friend as he loved his own wife;

In his actions he always kept self in his view,
Though false to all others, to John he was true.

A little man with a big pamphlet.

A little man in New York, who by profession was a dancing-master or a singing-master, has written a big pamphlet to prove that the President has the right to suspend the *habeas corpus*. Strange that so diminutive a creature should be so ambitious about matters of the *corpus*. Let him remember that *heels*, not *heads*, should be the objects of his study.

Continuance of Slavery.

Park Godwin, editor of the *Evening Post* says that, "if slavery is to continue in this country, he wants the Irish catholics to take the places of the negroes, and let the more intelligent and more virtuous blacks be liberated." Such an abominable sentiment is entirely worthy of the man who utters it—a man who raves like one in bedlam against the constitution of his country, and slanders every white man who is not a negro in his heart.

A wheelbarrow load of Greenbacks for a ham.

A lady who was alarmed at the small quantity of cotton she obtained for a five dollar greenback, recently expressed her fears that the time might come when she should say, "John, load up the wheelbarrow with greenbacks and go buy a ham."

A remarkable love poem.

You I love my dearest life,
 More than preachers love the strife,
 More than Lincoln loves to rule,
 More than Blair to play the fool,
 More than Cameron to rob,
 More than Greeley loves a mob,
 More than Godwin loves to lie,
 More than Seward loves a spy.
 More than Sumner loves a nigger,
 More than Wells, his beard and figure,
 More than Stanton loves a fight,
 More than Halleck Mac' to spite,
 More than Raymond loves himself,
 More than Butler, heaps of pelf,

More than Beecher loves to swear,
 More than Tyng to play the bear.
 More than Bates to be a dolt,
 More than John Van B. to bolt,
 More than Forney loves a spree,
 More than Brady loves a fee,
 More than "patriots" love their price,
 More than Generals, cards and dice,
 More than Hooker loves his toddy,
 More than Opdyke loves the shoddy,
 More than Mac the foe to beat,
 More than Fremont, a retreat,
 More than Chase to fool the banks.
 More than Hale to cut his pranks,
 More than preachers love the strife,
 I love you my dearest life.

Unwelcome praise.

The New York *Evening Post* praises Senator Randolph as one of the "true" men of New Jersey. If Mr. Randolph can bear praise from such a source, he is proof against all other mortal ills. "What have I done," exclaimed a Latin poet, "that bad men should speak well of me?"

Patriot words in the mouths of traitors.

A Republican exchange says—"It will be noticed that all the Republican papers breathe a tone of patriotism and love for the Union." This reminds us of an observation of Voltaire on reading the *dramatis personæ* in Congreve's plays, that "their language is everywhere that of men of honor, but their actions are those of knaves."

A fire-fiend.

The crazy Editor of the *Evening Post*, Park Godwin, says he "sees light ahead." It may be so, but then—

"'Tis the red light of war
 Painting hell on the sky."

The light which his imagination sees is the light of burning dwellings and fields of grain. He is a fiend, whose element is fire and destruction.

SENATOR BAYARD.

WE give our readers, in this number of the *Old Guard*, an excellent likeness of United States Senator JAMES A. BAYARD, of Delaware. Mr. Bayard is one of the ablest of the true and brave men who have faced the fanatics and traitors in the Senate of the United States during the present reign of Abolition terror. He has met their revolutionary acts with such argument and defiance as silenced them, though he could not beat sense or shame into their vicious minds.

Senator Bayard was born in the State of Delaware in 1799. He was nominated for Congress by the Jackson party in 1829; but the Adams party being in a large majority in Delaware at that time, he was defeated. President Jackson appointed him Director of the Bank of the United States, but he did not accept the position. He subsequently declined the appointment as Commissioner under the Indian Treaty, always rejecting all offers of office, until near the close of President Jackson's administration, when, without solicitation on his part, he received the appointment of U. S. District Attorney, which he accepted and held until 1843, when he resigned. He took his seat in the Senate of the United States in March, 1851, in

which position he has justly won the respect and confidence of his countrymen as a statesman, and as a man of character and honor. He was born in what may be called the *constitutional period of our history*, and received his political education from the founders and framers of the Republic and the Constitution; and when his career is ended, he will leave a record everlastingly to be honored, as one of the few men who never for an instant yielded assent to the un-American and despotic doctrines of the bloody revolution inaugurated by the "Republican" party. In a recent letter to a friend, Senator Bayard writes: "I remain in the Senate solely from a sense of duty to my constituents." It must indeed be a disagreeable thing for a patriot and a man of honor to be compelled to associate with such a nest of vipers as the United States Senate has become under the administration of such men as Sumner, Wade and the brutal assassin, Lane, of Kansas. We shall have to wait two years longer for a Congress which will end the reign of despotism and blood. By that time the measure of wrath which these deluded conspirators are filling for themselves will be full.





Eng^d by W. G. Jackman, N.Y.

Sumner Wood

"The issue now before the Country is Peace & Constitutional Government looking to REUNION, or War & military Despotism with certain DISUNION!"

Engraved expressly for the Old Guard

THE DELUSIONS OF THE ABOLITIONISTS—A LETTER TO
REV. HENRY WARD BEECHER.

REV. HENRY WARD BEECHER:

Sir.—In your leading editorial, on the war, in the "INDEPENDENT" of September 11th, 1862, you write:

"It is very certain that the North should be made to see that, so far, she has failed in this conflict. She has failed to produce a moral impression, either at home or abroad, in favor of free institutions, nor has she shown that free institutions breed abler men than slave institutions. Should a verdict be taken, at the present stage of affairs, there can hardly be a doubt that judgment would go against us.

* * * * *

"We believe that foreign nations will have learned much of the noble quality of American soldiers. But we doubt if it can be said, from anything that has happened yet, that better men grow up amid free institutions than among slave. We firmly believe that it is so. But it has not been made to appear."

I can, Sir, well appreciate your surprise and disappointment that this war has failed to prove that the North possesses greater men than the South, or, as you express it, "that better men grow up amid free institutions than among slave." The majority of the people of the North painfully share your disappointment and mortification. They sit dubitant and paralyzed, as if just awakened, by some terrible blow, out of long-continued, blissful, but fallacious dreaming.—Sir, I respectfully suggest that this is a proper time for you to sit patiently down and review this subject by the light which flashes in your face from the evidence you now have that Northern men are not better than Southern men. On this spot, Sir, you stand

very near the fountain from which has flowed all the bitter waters now pressed to the lips of our unhappy country. For a quarter of a century, fanatics have been teaching the Northern people to despise the South. In nearly all our Northern pulpits, the people of the South have been characterized as idle, ignorant, weak, and sinful beyond other men. Our Northern senators have denounced them, in the very senate-chamber of the United States, as "barbarians," "scoundrels," and "thieves." Thus we taught ourselves to despise them. Thus we provoked them to give us a trial of their strength and skill. We have found them not wanting in the full measure and vigor of manhood. That is one delusion of which we are pretty well cured. We shall never again despise the greatness and courage of the Southern people. But, Sir, we have other delusions to be cured of, before we can bring ourselves to live peaceably with them when the Union is restored. We have, some how, to get this great fallacy pumped out of us—that slavery in the South is injurious to the prosperity and progress of our country. While we believe that there is a necessary antagonism between the institutions of the South and the fullest development of national riches and power, we shall never be able to persuade ourselves to keep the peace with them. Can we hope to convert them to our speculative philosophy? The Constitution is on their side. It throws the same

shield over their institutions that it does over ours. Can we hope to persuade them to yield their constitutional rights, to gratify our speculative notions and prejudices? If we have any such expectations, it is certain that there is, at least, one other delusion to be knocked out of us before we shall be peaceable citizens, under the Constitution, with them.—But the grand delusion of which we have to be cured is this one that—“better men grow up amid” the institutions of the North than of the South. This idea is a fountain of pride and insolence, which poisons the whole stream of fraternal intercourse between the two sections. You admit, Sir, that the conduct of the South in this war has disproved this favorite theory of ours. You say—“should a verdict be taken, at the present stage of affairs, there can be hardly a doubt that judgment would go against us.” While you are in this mood, it may be well to remind you that history is on the side of the South. Not only have the richest and most powerful peoples on earth been slaveholders, but they have been at the pinnacle of their glory at that precise period when the institution of slavery was most extended. This fact may cause us to bite our lips, and to quarrel in our hearts with the ways of God among men, but there stands the truth in history, unshaken and untouched by all our long babbling and braying, and running on in that abolition strain. Egypt, in its proudest and richest days—when its gigantic temples were reared on the upper

Nile, and when letters first started those nurseries of learning that sent a flood of light to the West—was a nation of slaveholders. In the most refined age of Greece—in the days of Pericles, Demosthenes, Themistocles—slavery was at its zenith. The polished Athenians, the polite Corinthians, the brave Spartans, were slaveholders. In Rome, too, slavery flourished in the Augustian age—in those mighty times of Pompey, and Brutus, and Cicero, and Virgil, and Tacitus, and Seneca. And as for that matter, Gibbon shows us that the decline and fall of the Roman Empire began with the abolition of slavery. History attests that the civilizations of Egypt, Greece and Rome touched their highest point at the strongest era of slavery. Aristotle taught that the high and proud spirit of freedom in Greece was developed by the institution of slavery. In Edmund Burke’s celebrated pamphlet on Conciliation with America, he says: “There is a circumstance attending the Southern American Colonies, which makes the spirit of liberty still more high and haughty there than in those to the Northward. It is that, in Virginia and the Carolinas, they have vast multitudes of slaves. Where this is the case in any part of the world, those who are free are by far the most proud and jealous of their freedom. Freedom is to them not only an enjoyment, but a kind of rank and privilege. I do not mean to commend the superior morality of this sentiment, which has, at least, as much pride as virtue in it; but I can-

not alter the nature of man. The fact is so: and these people of the Southern Colonies are much more strongly, and with a higher and more stubborn spirit, attached to liberty, than those of the Northward. Such were all the ancient commonwealths; such were our Gothic ancestors; such, in our days, were the Poles; and such will be all masters of slaves who are not slaves themselves. In such a people, the haughtiness of dominion combines with the spirit of freedom, fortifies it, and renders it invincible." It, Sir, will, no doubt, be an easy thing for the most blatant ignoramus in the land to sneer at the genius of Burke; but it will not be so easy for the wisest abolitionist to contradict the facts of history to which he alludes.

Slavery has existed in this country from its foundation. Show us where and how it has deteriorated its political character. Who were the first in this land to denounce the oppressions of Great Britain? The slaveholders of Virginia. Who first ventured upon the hazards of the Revolution, and moved to declare themselves independent of Great Britain? The slaveholders of South Carolina. Who, when offered exemption from the restrictions on New England commerce, indignantly rejected the favor, and preferred to suffer with their brethren of Massachusetts? The slaveholders of South Carolina.—Who was the author of the Declaration of Independence? A slaveholder. Whose genius and patriotism chiefly prevailed in the formation

of the Constitution of our country? Slaveholders. Who will say that the people of New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania have now more manhood, patriotism and virtue than their ancestors, who were slaveholders? To which page of American history do you point to show that slaveholders have been reduced in the stature of their manhood by the institution? You are amazed that this war has failed to prove "that free institutions breed better men than slave institutions." Sir, the great and pure men of the Revolution were bred under the institution of negro slavery. Would to God that we had a few such men in the land in these degenerate times! I have ventured to call your attention to this subject, in hopes that you may be induced to review the whole matter in the clear light of fact and history. Then, may be, you will be constrained to leave slavery where the Constitution leaves it. Then, may be, you will give a little peace to this bleeding country. Never, until we cease to vex the land about slavery, shall we have peace. Never shall we conquer the mad spirit of the rebellion, until we cease to feed its fires by agitating against the property-institutions of the South. Rebellion is not chiefly in the bayonets and cannon of the rebels—it is in their moral purposes, in their hearts and passions. Is it not because the abolitionists have persistently inflamed and exasperated these, that the Government has made such poor headway against the seceding hosts? Have not the abolition-

ists driven the revolutionists to such a desperation of madness, that they prefer *death* to submission? What more can be done to *aid the rebellion* than this? Our enemies abroad, who send the rebels ship-loads of munitions of war, do little in aid of the rebellion, compared with what is daily done by abolition preachers and editors at home, in giving increased vigor to their determination to fight to the last. The man who sends bullets to our enemies is certainly a foe well deserving the halter; but he is a far worse one who increases their motives, their spirit and will to use them.—The former may add the strength of a finger to the hand of rebellion, but the latter adds accumulating force to its fiery soul. Sir, the people are beginning to place the terrible re-

sponsibility of the long continuance and increasing fury of this rebellion, where God and justice place it—on the shoulders of those preachers, and lecturers, and editors, who labor with such malignant zeal to make one-half of our country despise and hate the other half. The light which seems to have flashed in your face from the battle-fields of a whole year of war, and which has corrected, at least, one delusion, let us hope gives promise of returning reason to thousands, who have lived by manufacturing hate and revolution. It is like light in a dark place—like a glimmer of dawn after a night of horrors. Be entreated, Sir, not to shut your eyes to it.

Your obedient servant,

C. CHAUNCEY BURR.

THE BOWL OF BLOOD.

BY C. CHAUNCEY BURR.

Up, up, ye cowards! man your souls!
Is this a time for rest?
When "loyal" treason madly rolls
Its chains upon your breast!

Up, up, from cautions slothful bed!
Look on the bloody plain!
O see the dying and the dead!
O see your brothers slain.

Blood! blood! is in the bowl of life!
Wilt drain it to the last?
Wilt urge still on the hellish strife?
Still stir the battle blast?

Peace! peace! O Christians, let us pray
That God will send us peace!
Christ, turn us from the fiery way,
Into the paths of peace.

GOVERNMENT BY CONSPIRACY.

America is governed by conspiracy. Conspiracy implies secrecy on the part of the conspirators, and noninformation on the part of the people conspired against. Infraction of the laws on one side, and blindness and suffering on the other. No man needs *proof* of this. He has but to cast his eyes backwards over the legislative and executive history of the last year, to see it all. There it stands, as awfully visible as the skulls in the temple of death. Now and then a member of Congress has been awakened to a vague half-sense of the dangers that threaten us, and has ventured to introduce a resolution calling upon the President for information, but his vigilance only brought down hisses upon his own head, without opening the sealed chambers of executive doings. One man, for introducing a resolution asking for information from the President on a point of vital importance to the very life of our nation, was denounced as "a traitor," "a secessionist," "a sympathizer with Jeff Davis," and he narrowly escaped being expelled from Congress. Against the only two or three members who had the virtue and the courage to attempt to discuss the doings of the administration, schemes and threats of expulsion were instantly set on foot. In one instance, over \$10,000 of the public funds were expended in carrying on a gigantic conspiracy to expel a representative for daring to review the acts of the administration on the floor of Congress. A wretch who, it was afterwards proved, had served out a term in the Sing Sing State Prison, was found to invent a tale on which charges were based, and then men and papers and documents were sent for all over the country, for the purpose of "making out a case;" but,

in the mean time, the conspiracy became so transparent to the public, that the conspirators were forced to abandon their designs. The party accused, after he had been held up to all the world as a "traitor," and after they had caused it to be published in a hundred newspapers that they had "positive proofs of his guilt," demanded, in vain, a report on his case. At almost any time of the session of the last Congress, Macbeth's address to the witches would have been appropriate:

"How now, ye secret, black, and midnight hags!
What is't y' do?"

And the congressional conspirators might have truly answered, with the witches:

"A deed without a name!"

For, never before were such scenes enacted in an American Congress. Every member who did not permit himself to be crushed down into an uncomplaining, silent tool of the abolition conspiracy, was denounced as a "traitor" and a "rebel." An abolition colonel threatened to "cut the heart out" of a congressman, while he was standing on the steps of the capitol, because he overheard him, in a private conversation, dissent from the unconstitutional deeds of the conspirators. And almost every Republican newspaper in the land applauded these threats of assassination of one of the people's representatives. Not only were men denounced as "traitors" for offering a plea for the Constitution, but they were to have their "hearts cut out" if they dared to call in question the high-handed proceedings of the Catalines. When, at last, a resolution was engineered through the House of Representatives to ask the President for certain information touching public affairs, he refused to give it, and the Republican press every-

where came down upon the "impudence" of such an inquiry. Not only was debate struck down in Congress, but democratic newspapers were thrown out of the mails, or destroyed by the order of U. S. Marshals, and men and women were everywhere dragged off to military bastiles for daring to call in question the unconstitutional deeds of Congress and the Executive. The silence that sat in the Valley of Graves, was forced upon the lips of men. The administration must not be spoken of, save in unreasoning praise—hardly looked at, without a threat of dungeons being hurled at the head of the offender.

To a man of sense there is needed no other proof than this malignant secrecy which the administration determined should cover up its acts, that a deep laid conspiracy was going on against our Constitution and laws—against liberty—against all kinds of liberty, but negro liberty. That is the great conspiracy. The voices of white men must be dumb, that the mouth-pieces of the negroes alone may be heard. All who are not for liberating the negroes, must be restrained of their liberty. That is the conspiracy. Since Mr. Lincoln's advent, the country has been governed by conspiracy. It has been pronounced *treason* for a Judge to issue the writ of *habeas corpus*, as by solemn oath he is bound to do. In one of the Marcus Ward campaign songs, lately sung in New Jersey, are these lines :

"No sympathetic rebel crew must man our ship of State ;
Nor accused treason-mongers, who of 'habeas corpus' prate."

This is the song of the conspirators. All who demand that constitutional and statute laws shall be respected, are "accursed treason-mongers." All who claim liberty for the white man, are a

sympathetic rebel crew." Wherever they hear a man speaking for the *Constitution as it is and the Union as it was*, they cry out at him, "rebel!" "traitor!" "sympathizer with Jeff Davis!" They pay an undeserved compliment to Jeff Davis, whose acts have shown that he is almost as bad an enemy to the Constitution as they are themselves. A worse enemy he cannot be. Indeed, Jeff Davis was a friend to the Constitution long after they had conspired to overthrow it. Read his speeches in the Senate, for years after they had pronounced it "a covenant with hell," and "a polluted rag." Their conspiracy is old. The signs, by which we know it, are old, for they belong to every conspiracy which history records, since the world began. We know it by the secrecy with which it seeks to cover its deeds, and by its enforced silence upon speech and the press. No tyrant ever allowed his deeds to be discussed, if he could help it. No conspirator ever permitted his designs to see the light, if he could prevent it. Discussion and light are fatal to tyrants and conspirators. Peaceable and unoffending citizens have been driven from Boston, from New York, from Philadelphia, from Buffalo, from Newark, for their alleged "sympathies." They were lucky if they were not immured in a dungeon. Mr. Lincoln emulates the Turkish tyrant, who does not permit the sacred cities of Mecca and Medina to be polluted by the footsteps of a Christian. We shall not be astonished to see him keep on, until, like the Grand Diaro of Japan, he refuses to allow the sun to shine upon his illustrious head, because it performs the same thing for common mortals. His assumptions of power would be scarcely more ridiculous, if he were to follow after the King of Ma-

.acca, who styles himself "Lord of the Winds;" or of the Mogul, who is "Ruler of the Thunder Storm."

Clergymen have been ruthlessly dragged from their pulpits and their families, and plunged into filthy dungeons, for refusing to pray for Mr. Lincoln. No doubt Mr. Lincoln is sadly in need of prayer; but refusing to pray for him, however unchristian it may be, is not a crime punishable by any law known to this country. "*Sympathies*," whatever they may be, are not *crimes*, according to law. In all these cases, the administration is the criminal. It is a conspiracy against the laws, against the Constitution, against liberty. There is no softer name for it. Conspiracy! Its own *discretion* is the only law it tolerates, and the people must ask no questions. To question its acts, is to be a "traitor." Remember, if you dare, that white men were once free in this country, and you will be hunted down by a flock of irresponsible, gambling, drunken Provost-marshals, as unreasoning and as rapacious as wolves.

Conspiracy! A free people governed by conspiracy! The laws, instead of being administered, are suspended. By an executive order, every judge in the land has been deposed, every court suspended, and the safety and liberty of the people put at the discretion, at the mercy of provost-marshals, as ignorant as boot-blacks, and as brutal as Chinese executioners.

By the late elections the people have loudly, emphatically said, that these things must cease. They will be governed no longer by conspiracy, but by the laws. They will faithfully support every constitutional measure to put down rebellion in the South, but they will no longer permit constitutional liberty to be put down in the North. Down with usurpation in the North! Down with conspiracy in the North! Up with the Constitution! Up with the laws! Up with liberty! Down with abolitionism! let the ballad speak: let the press speak. Let the ignominiously silenced voices of the people speak. Let conspiring alone be dumb.

THE suspension of the writ of *Habeas Corpus*, even a Black Republican Congress seemed unwilling to ratify, or failed to do so, because the President claimed it as an executive power, and procured an opinion from his Attorney-General to that effect—an opinion which, if honest, was as disgraceful to him as a statesman, as it was derogatory to him as a jurist. After the clear and overwhelming argument of the venerable Chief Justice of the United States, we feel no disposition to enter into an elaborate disquisition against this monstrous claim of power. There can be but little hesitation in the public mind in deciding between the opinion of the complainant Attorney-General and that of the Chief Justice, sustained as it is by his illustrious predecessor. When Charles the First decided on resorting to ship-money to procure a revenue, he proposed this question to his judges: “Whether, in case of necessity for the defence of the kingdom, he might not impose this taxation; and whether he were not sole judge of the necessity?” These guardians of law and liberty, says the historian, who then held office at the will of the king, replied with great complaisance, “that in a case of *necessity* he might impose that taxation, and that he was sole judge of the necessity.”

The refusal of John Hampden to pay the unconstitutional tax, it is well known, gave a new impulse to the great cause of English liberty; and when the Bill of Rights was passed, upon the accession to the throne of William of Orange, the judges were made independent of the king. There will always be those around the fountain of power and of patronage, not only to fawn and flatter,

but to co-operate actively in its despotic tendency. The despotism claimed and exercised by Mr. Lincoln and his subordinates of arresting and incarcerating in remote prisons any man or woman at his mere arbitrary will and discretion, without the accusation of any crime, and without the possibility of being heard in defence, is too horrible to need a serious refutation, in a community accustomed to the enjoyment of constitutional liberty. Men have been dragged from their beds at midnight, and thrown into prison, without being apprised of the grounds of suspicion against them; over sixty* State-prisoners have been despotically thrown into the American Bastille, which would be better designated hereafter by the name of Olmutz than by that of the patriot La Fayette.

The Chief Justice of the United States, under the panoply of the constitution of his country and the law of the land, issued the great writ of liberty, to bring a prisoner before him to inquire into the cause of his detention, and all the power of the constitution and the law was impotent to extend its sacred guarantees of personal liberty to this victim of executive despotism. The decree has now gone forth that the public press shall no longer make known the names of those who may be imprisoned by order of the executive. The great commentator on the laws of England has well remarked: “To bereave a man of life, or by violence to confiscate his estate, without accusation or trial, would be so gross and notorious an act of despotism, as must at once convey the alarm of tyranny

* Since this was written, the illegal arrests have increased to the number of more than a thousand.

throughout the whole nation; but confinement of the person, by secretly hurrying him to jail, where his sufferings are unknown or forgotten, is a less public, a less striking, and therefore a *more dangerous engine* of arbitrary government." He therefore describes the *habeas corpus* as "the bulwark of the British constitution." There are but few spirits so erect and independent (says Blackstone) as not to be broken by the long continuance of the silent and inglorious sufferings of a jail. Our English ancestors felt this in all its force and power; and having, at an early period of their history, extorted from a reluctant monarch, among other guarantees of liberty, that of the *habeas corpus*, by which the causes of imprisonment might be judicially investigated, and the prisoner discharged if there should be no legal grounds for his detention, it was followed up through long centuries by numerous affirmative acts of Parliament. But as most of the kings of England had, in cases of alleged necessity, been accustomed, at intervals, to elude these statutes, and especially as Charles I. had violated them in numberless instances, the Commons determined to enact a new law, "which might not be eluded or violated by any interpretation, construction, or contrary precedent." Against arbitrary imprisonment and martial law, in the language of the patriots of that day, "an eternal remedy was to be provided," and they resolved to call their law a *Petition of Right*. Sir Robert Phillips said: "I can live, though burdened with impositions beyond what at present I labor under; but to have my liberty, which is the soul of my life, ravished from me—to have my person put in jail, without relief by law, and to be so adjudged—Oh, improvident ancestors! Oh, unwise forefathers!

to be so curious in providing for the quiet possession of our lands, and at the same time to neglect our personal liberty, and let us lie in prison, and that during pleasure, without redress or remedy! If this be law, why do we talk of liberty? Why trouble ourselves about a constitution, franchises, property of goods, and the like? What may a man call his own, if not the liberty of his person?"

A vote was unanimously passed through the House of Commons against arbitrary imprisonments, martial law, and forced loans. Being afraid that the Commons would go too far, the Peers proposed a more moderate plan, which was simply a re-enactment of the ancient charter and the statutes in explanation of it, with the following addition: "And in case that, for the security of his Majesty's person, the general safety of his people, or the peaceable government of the kingdom, the king shall find just cause, for reasons of state, to imprison or restrain any man's person, he was petitioned graciously to declare that within a convenient time he would express the cause of the commitment or restraint, either general or special, and upon a cause so expressed, will leave the prisoner immediately to be tried according to the common law of the land."

The lower house replied that these general declarations signified nothing, and that this clause left their liberties rather in a worse condition than before. The king then proposed to the House of Peers to subjoin to the intended petition of right the following clause: "We humbly present this petition to your majesty, not only with a care of preserving our own liberties, but with due regard to leave entire that *sovereign power* with which your majesty is entrusted for the protection, safety and happiness

of your people." The Commons instantly rejected it, as calculated to elude the whole force of the petition, and proceeded at once to pass their great petition of right unaltered, and immediately sent it to the Peers for their concurrence. The Peers quickly passed it, and nothing was wanting but the royal assent to make it a law. The king, instead of the usual clear and concise form by which a bill is either confirmed or rejected, came to the bar of the house of Lords, with the Commons assembled, and said: "The king willeth that right be done according to the laws and customs of the realm, and that the statutes be put into execution, that his subjects may have no cause to complain of any wrong or oppression contrary to their just rights and liberties, to the preservation whereof he holds himself in conscience as much obliged as of his own prerogative."

The Commons were indignant at an answer so vague and indeterminate, and immediately commenced an impeachment against Dr. Manwaring, and proceeded to censure the conduct of the Duke of Buckingham. The king saw that a great tempest was about to burst on his favorite, and came again to the House of Peers, and pronouncing the usual form of words, "*Let it be law as is desired,*" gave full sanction and authority to the petition. Thus was passed the great English act, the petition of right, which has been called the second *magna charta* of English liberty. It will be seen with what extreme solicitude Charles I. clung to his supposed prerogative of imprisoning for "reasons of state," agreeing to bind himself within a reasonable time to state the cause of the imprisonment, and leave the prisoner immediately to be tried according to the common law. But the

sturdy friends of liberty said no: we will agree to no such power. He then cunningly devised a general clause, by which he might claim the power, under the delusive plea so often set up, "for the protection, safety, and happiness of the people." The Commons were too earnest in the cause of liberty to be deluded by such a plea.

These great principles of liberty were brought to this continent by our forefathers. Is it to be presumed that the wise patriots who framed our Federal constitution, jealous as they showed themselves to be of liberty, would vest in a President powers without limitation or restriction, which, after a mighty struggle, had been denied to the King of England? It is preposterous to indulge a supposition like this. Yet Mr. Lincoln is every day exercising the power of arbitrary imprisonment, without the obligation which Charles I. was willing should be imposed upon himself of having the prisoner tried in convenient time. The President and his Attorney-General claim this despotic power under the following clause of the constitution of the United States: "The privilege of the writ of *habeas corpus* shall not be suspended, unless when, in case of rebellion or invasion, the public safety may require it." This is a restriction, and not a grant of power. In the debate on the adoption of the Federal constitution, in the Virginia convention, Patrick Henry held up the negative restrictions of the constitution as evidence that Congress were to have powers by implication, where there were no express grants to which they would be incidental. Gov. Randolph answered him by saying: "I persuade myself that every exception here mentioned is an exception not from general powers, but from particular powers therein

vested. To what power in the general government is the exception made respecting the importation of negroes? Not from a general power, but from a particular power, expressly enumerated. This is an exception from the power given them of regulating commerce. He asks, where is the power to which the prohibition of suspending the *habeas corpus* is an exception? I contend that by virtue of the power given to Congress to regulate courts, they could suspend the writ of *habeas corpus*. This is, therefore, an exception to that power." The general power over the *habeas corpus*, according to Gov. Randolph, which view was concurred in by all the friends of the constitution in that august body, arose from an express grant of power to Congress. The restriction upon the exercise of that power must necessarily have applied also to Congress, yet Mr. Lincoln gravely contends that this negative restriction upon Congress is a positive grant of power to the President.

The suspension of this writ necessarily suspends a law of Congress, providing when, and how, and by whom it may be issued. In the Federal convention, Mr. Butler moved the following resolution: "Resolved, that the national executive have power to suspend any legislative act for the term cited." On the question for giving this suspending power, every State in the convention voted *No*. The power of the President to suspend a law of Congress was thus distinctly denied.

Yet it matters but little with the President whether he acts in accordance with his delegated powers or not. We hesitate not to declare that in our opinion there is not a vital principle of the constitution which he has not violated. Without any proclamation of rebellion,

he invaded the State of Maryland with an army raised in violation of the constitution, and, seizing the municipal officers of her chief city, and throwing them into prison without legal warrant, appointed others in their place. When called upon by Congress for the cause of such action, he declined to give it, and that submissive body bowed humbly to this violation of our chartered liberties. He has acted still more tyrannically towards our sister Missouri, by treating the police officers of St. Louis in the same manner, and appointing others in their place, and through his commander declaring martial law to exist throughout the entire State, accompanying it with a code so bloody, that the code of Draco pales before it.

The establishment of the "blood council" to crush out rebellion in the Netherlands does not exceed in atrociousness the proclamation. It was said that it would be modified by the President, but we now understand, that no principle on which it is based will be renounced. If the constitution be not utterly a dead letter, any execution under such proclamations will be nothing more or less than willful and deliberate murder. Can it be treason to resist such a palpable violation of the constitution? Edmund Burke: of speaking of the proposition to have some of the leading rebels from America brought to England, to try them for treason, said: "Suppose you do call over two or three of these unfortunate men, what will become of the rest?" "Let me have the heads of the principal leaders," exclaimed the Duke of Alva. These heads proved Hydra's heads. "Sir," said he, "God and nature oppose you." In this case, however, it was proposed to have regular and fair trials, according to all the formalities of the

common law. But Lincoln has reduced the whole code, which he has substituted for the established laws of the State, to a frightful simplicity. Sentences of death, and executions, and confiscations, and the emancipation of slaves, are to be turned out by the great labor-saving machinery of a "blood council." The apparatus of the inquisition is not more simple, and not half so arbitrary, as this great military guillotine. Under its operation murder and robbery may be achieved with appalling precision, and with the dispatch and regularity of Oriental despotism. The freedom of speech and of the press, the right of the people to keep and bear arms, their right to be secure, in their persons, houses, papers, and effects from search and seizure, the sacred right of trial by jury, the constitutional guarantee not to be deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law—all fall, and are crushed beneath the

tread of this Juggernaut of black republicanism. What means this persistent violation and disregard of all the most sacred provisions of the constitution? Do those in power really believe that this course is necessary to restore the supremacy of the constitution over the whole country? We have reason to believe that they entertain no such expectation, and are very far from having any such wish. There is a party in the North, patriotic in all its impulses, who sincerely desire a restoration of the Union, and for that purpose are anxious for peace and compromise; but this party is denounced as sympathising with treason, and is now under the ban of a haughty majority. We repeat that this majority, controlled as it now is by those in power, want no peace, and desire no compromise, not based upon the overthrow of the institutions of their sister States.

JACKSON'S MESSAGE AGAINST NULLIFICATION

versus

LINCOLN'S WAR MESSAGES.

THOSE who are in the habit of comparing Mr. Lincoln's war messages to General Jackson's immortal message against Nullification in South Carolina, commit a blunder that would be laughable, if it were not connected with the most tragic miseries of our nation.

In the first place, Mr. Lincoln's ungrammatical, unstatesman-like, illegal, and historically absurd performances are sad enough specimens, compared with the splendid State documents of Andrew Jackson.

Then, Nullification and Secession are very different things. The nature of Nullification is set forth in the following

brief extract from Gen. Jackson's message to Congress, Dec. 10th, 1833 :

"The ordinance [of Nullification] is founded, not on the *indefensible right of resisting acts which are plainly unconstitutional*, and too oppressive to be endured, but on the strange position that any one State may not only declare an act of Congress void, but prohibit its execution; that the true construction of that instrument permits a State to retain its place in the Union, and yet be bound by no other of its laws than those it may choose to consider constitutional."

It is a remarkable fact, that every one of the non-slaveholding States, except

New Jersey and Illinois—and perhaps Indiana—have passed laws of *Nullification*, not only of two acts of Congress—one of 1793 and the other of 1850—but of an article of the constitution, commanding the rendition of fugitive slaves “on claim;” while the South Carolina *Nullification*, against which Jackson hurled his thunders, was aimed only at a single act of Congress, in relation to the revenue, which that State held to be unconstitutional, and which it absurdly attempted to disobey.

In Jackson's great message we shall look in vain for the preposterous and revolutionary doctrines put forth by Mr. Lincoln. Jackson was a law-abiding and constitution-respecting executive; while Lincoln has proved himself to be a law-defying and constitution-despising executive. In his message against Nullification, Jackson distinctly proclaims that the President has no right to attempt to suppress Nullification or Rebellion, except “by constitutional means.” The President has no more right to punish crime otherwise than according to law, than a judge, in a court of justice, has to set aside the laws, and institute his own disgression in their place.

Jackson winds up his conclusive argument against Nullification by saying :

“It being thus shown to be the duty of the Executive to execute the laws *by all constitutional means*, it remains to consider the extent of those already at his disposal, and what it may be proper further to provide.”

It will be perceived that President Jackson scrupulously refused to take a single step in advance of the powers given the executive by the constitution and the laws of Congress. He said :

“The removal of the Custom-house from Charleston to Castle Pinckney was

deemed a measure of necessary precaution; and though the authority to give that direction is not questioned, it is nevertheless apparent that a similar precaution cannot be observed in regard to the ports of Georgetown and Beaufort, *each of which, under the present laws, remains a port of entry*, and exposed to the obstructions meditated in that quarter.”

The Nullifying ordinance of South Carolina obstructed the collection of the revenue in all the ports of the State, and to arm the State authorities against the laws of Congress, requiring the U. S. custom-house officers to seize and hold the vessels and their cargoes until all duties were paid, it authorized the process of *replevin*, and of *capias in withernam*, in the nature of a distress from the State tribunals. Jackson admitted that the executive had no power to resist this State process without a special act of Congress to meet it. He said :

“Against the proceeding it is not perceived that the collector can interpose any resistance whatever; and against the process of replevin authorized by the law of the State, he having no common law power, can only oppose such inspectors as he is *by statute authorized to employ*.”

We perceive how cautious President Jackson was to take no step against South Carolina not *authorized by statute*. Had Jackson madly usurped authority, instead of waiting for Congress to proceed legally upon the matter, and rushed off into a war against the State, his illegal deeds would undoubtedly have roused other Southern States, and he would have hatched the same bloody strife that Mr. Lincoln has brought upon his hands. When the impartial historian shall deal with these bloody events, it will be seen that it was Mr. Lincoln's

unconstitutional and illegal manner of attempting to suppress the rebellion that produced the final separation of the Union, and the terrible events which have overwhelmed our country with misery and shame.

Had Lincoln, like Jackson, calmly waited for Congress, which alone has power in the premises, to discuss the matter in the clear light of the constitution and the laws, there is little doubt that all our difficulties would have been healed without the shedding of blood, and without the final disruption of the Union.

Jackson not only waited for Congress to deal legally with the matter, but he recommended a compromise, which was actually adopted, and the obnoxious revenue laws were so altered as to be accepted by the State of South Carolina. What impudence or what ignorance to compare Lincoln with Jackson, in the manner of dealing with rebellion! The one saved his country, by adhering rigidly to the constitution and the laws; —the other has destroyed it, by disregarding both.

There is nothing in the great anti-nullification message of Jackson which, in the remotest degree, conflicts with the time-honored doctrines of state-rights, which date from our revolutionary fathers, and which have been the foundation principles of the American democracy. Jackson freely admitted that, "for sufficient cause," a State might, in the language of Washington to the constitutional convention of Virginia, "resume its sovereign rights," but he justly added:

"Misrule and oppression, to warrant the disruption of the free institutions of the union of these States, should be great and lasting, defying all remedy. For causes of minor character the gov-

ernment could not submit to such a catastrophe."

And he further said:

"These deductions plainly flow from the nature of the federal compact, which is one of limitations, not only upon the powers originally possessed by the parties thereto, but also upon those conferred upon the government and every department thereof."

And again:

"If the Federal government exercise powers not warranted by the constitution, and immediately affecting individuals, it will scarcely be denied that the proper remedy would be the judiciary."

But what, if a President turns tyrant, usurps supreme authority, and suspends the judiciary? What relief, then, have the insulted people but in their own courage and steel?

It is certain that Gen. Jackson never imagined that a President of the United States would ever dare to suspend the judiciary, and proclaim himself above the courts of law. It is true that tyrants, like Robespierre, had done this in France, and Nero in Rome; but was it to be imagined that a President of the United States would venture upon such ground?

As little was it to be expected that the revered name of Jackson would be used as an indorsement of such usurpation and crime. We repeat, again, had Lincoln followed the example of Gen. Jackson, long before this time our country would have been reunited, and our fair fields would not be, as now, soaked in the blood of our kinsmen.

And if the only object of the men in power had been the restoration of the Union to its old foundation, the example of Jackson would have been followed. But such was not the purpose. The

moment a plausible excuse could be found for a war to exterminate the domestic institutions of the South, the party in power jumped to embrace it. The debates in both houses of Congress, and nearly all the official acts and army orders of the President and his Secretaries, prove that the war is conducted with an eye of fiery determination upon this point. Professions, promises, and pledges amount to nothing—we judge Mr. Lincoln and his party by their *acts*.

If they are honestly for a restoration of the Union upon the sublime principles of government that triumphed in the formation of the constitution in 1787, we give our hearts and hands to go with them in every legal means which can be employed for the accomplishment of that glorious object. But it is useless to deny that every intelligent man and patriot must be forced to doubt whether the administration entertains any strong wish to restore the Union. Men who are not, like the Lovejoys and Sumners, demented by fanatical prejudice, can see that exterminating the institutions of the South would not be restoring the Union. Disregarding the sacred guarantees which the constitution throws around those institutions, is not saving the Union. Passing unconstitutional laws in Congress for the destruction of the constitutional rights of property in the South, is not saving the Union. Trampling on the constitution and the laws—imprisoning men for no crime, and without form of law—destroying newspapers, and punishing freedom of speech as a felony—all this mad usurpation and diabolical tyranny is not saving the Union. If those who are guilty of these momentous crimes suppose they are saving the Union, they are fit subjects for a lunatic asylum; and if they are not that, they are fit subjects for

the halter. To suppose that they are not mad, is to make them the greatest criminals the world ever saw. To hear these chattering lunatics invoke the name of Jackson as a cover to their deeds, is enough to cause us to look about with a shudder to see if the old hero is not coming up out of his grave, to thunder his emphatic “No; by the Eternal,” into their elongated ears. This awful “no, by the Eternal,” is a sentence which the people must very soon hurl out against the usurpers and tyrants, or the day will be passed when what is left of the Union will be worth saving. As this war is conducted, the only results we shall ever have to show for all we suffer, will be two hundred thousand dead men, and five billions of debt to crush our laboring men into the earth for all time to come. Who does not see that it is already as much a war against the North as the South? It is, in one word, a war against Democracy—against the principles of liberty which our fathers shed their blood to establish on this continent. It is a war against the constitution. If it were a war against rebellion only, and had constitutional warrant, that promised success we should cry “*amen*” loud enough to be heard in heaven. But, to indorse the cut-throats who now reign at Washington, who, like madmen running a muck in the Indian Archipelago, strike alike at friend and foe—would be to turn our backs upon our country in the day of its trial. To join in this crusade against constitutional liberty, would be to prove that we are *bastards*, and not the sons of patriot sires.

“When the administration” (said Marmontel) “is confided to improper hands, the strength and dignity of every state will be impaired, and a train of calamities must ensue.” Alas, how true

have we found these words! If Titus wept that he had lost a day, what tears may we be called upon to shed that we have lost a country?

But, there are those weak enough to ask, is not Mr. Lincoln doing all he can to save the country? Mr. Lincoln is doing all he can to save the country, just as the madman attempted to save his barn, which was infested with rats, by burning it down. When this country is reduced to another San Domingo, will it be our country? When one-half of the people are held in the Union by no other tie than the bayonet at their throats, will it be our country? When the throat of one half of the nation is cut by the other half, will it be our country? When the work of damnation is finished, and leaves a debt that will compel the poor people to work evermore, not for the comfortable support of their own families, but for the government, will it be our country? When the sublime principle of the Declaration of Independence, that "government derives its just powers from the consent of the governed," is driven from the continent at the cannon's mouth, will it be our country?—Do we own it to be our country, even now, without a blush? When *lettres de cachet* have taken the place of constitutional and statute law, is it our country? When the executive office usurps the functions of the legislative and the judicial, is it our country? When those sacred articles of the constitution which declare that "*The*

right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers, and effects, against unreasonable searches and seizures, shall not be violated"—that "*No bill of attainder or ex-post facto law shall be passed*"—when these, and every other constitutional safeguard to personal liberty are trampled under foot by the executive and by Congress—is it our country? When the Austrian principles of government are transplanted to these shores, is it any longer our country?—In the name of our Fathers! in the name of God, in whose Almighty arm they confided, say *No!* Hurl it out in the faces of the usurpers, like Jackson's thundering "*No, by the Eternal,*" until the demagogic tyrants are taught that they must no farther go in the work of destroying the constitution and laws of our country. Teach them this—"*That they must confine their war to those who are in rebellion against the laws, and let liberty in the North alone.*" Show them at once that for every illegal arrest of unoffending citizens there shall fall the sure vengeance of disregarded law. Whether it be the President or his agents who are concerned, the punishment for a breach of the constitution and the laws must be *a sure thing*, or we allow the seeds of usurpation and despotism to be sown, which will quickly spring up, like the dragon's teeth, into a harvest of destruction. If we mean not to be slaves let us stand by our rights.

CAUSES OF THE REMOVAL OF GEN. McCLELLAN.

WHILE the removal of Gen. McClellan from the command of the army of the Potomac, at the very time when he was moving upon the whole country, few, we presume, have been in any doubt as to the cause of the strange proceeding. When he was restored to command, after the wretched failure of Gen. Pope, we had no expectation that he would be allowed to retain his place for a longer period than was necessary for him to reorganize the beaten and demoralized army, it was certain that Lincoln could not continue McClellan in command of the army, and carry out his plans of abolition, plunder, and devastation. It will be remembered that when Gen. Pope assumed command of the army of the Potomac, he issued an order which was understood by his soldiers, and by the whole country, to give license to general marauding, rapine, and destruction of all private property that lay in the track of our forces. Many of the soldiers took such swift advantage of the uncivilized order, that Pope saw that his army was so rapidly rioting in demoralization, that he was compelled to issue another order setting forth that his first order had been misunderstood, and that he never intended to give permission to the cruel excesses that were practiced. In the mean time, the entire Republican press had wildly applauded the marauding order. They declared that the "right man had been found at last" and that "now the legitimate objects of the war will be accomplished." "McClellan, who was still on the Peninsula, discovered that the plaudits bestowed on Pope's plundering proclamation, were having a most injurious effect upon portions of his own army, so much so that he found it ne-

cessary to issue an order, from which the following is an extract:

"The idea that private property may be plundered with impunity is, perhaps, the very worst that can pervade an army. Marauding degrades as men and demoralizes as soldiers all who engage in it, and returns them to their homes unfitted for the honest pursuits of industry. This army is composed mostly of young men; and the general commanding, to whose care they are entrusted owes it to the parents who have sent their sons, and to the communities who have sent the flower of their youth into the military service of their country, to warn and restrain them from an evil so pernicious.

The General Commanding takes this occasion to remind the officers and soldiers of this army, that we are engaged in supporting the constitution and laws of the United States, and that in suppressing a rebellion against their authority; that we are not engaged in a war of rapine, revenge or subjugation; that this is not a contest against populations, but against armed forces and political organizations; that it is a struggle carried on against the United States, and should be conducted by us upon the highest principles known to Christian civilization."

It was impossible that the President, the party, and the people, who had gone off in such extacies over Pope's order, should not take umbrage at the wise, humane, and christian stand taken by Gen. McClellan. Either the President must recede from the abolition programme of marauding, plundering, and destroying, or he must suspend McClellan. He could not carry on the war according to the custom of uncivilized nations, and keep in command a general who had proclaimed that the war must be "conducted upon the highest principles known to christian civilization." There was no other road for the President to take. Either he must back squarely out of the abolition plan of vengeance and destruction, or he must remove McClellan. Every word of Gen. McClellan's order above quoted, was a blow in the very teeth of abolitionism. In three weeks from the date of its issue, McClellan was virtually removed from

all responsible command, and the silly, but bloody and bullying Pope put in his place. As we have already said, McClellan was recalled after Pope's disgraceful defeat, only to save the army for the time, from utter demoralization, and to preserve Washington from the grasp of the victorious rebels. But, to suppose that McClellan would be allowed long to retain command, was to imagine that the abolitionists would become christians and patriots, and that the President would turn a deaf ear to the revolutionary councils of the disunionists of Congress. This was too much to expect. Mr. Lincoln's sympathies are with the radicals. To know that, one has but to read his debates with Mr. Douglas. He is an abolitionist, and if he has ever taken any steps in opposition to them, it was a matter of *policy*, and against his own principles. Policy forced him to check the reckless career of Fremont in the west, and of Phelps in the south, but it was a noticeable fact, that the strongest term he used in censure of their course was, that it was "premature." They simply sprang the abolition mine before the time. But events have made the longer postponement of these revolutionary anti-slavery schemes dangerous to the hopes of the conspirators. There was a cloud in their sky. They clearly saw that there was yet left a possibility that the Union might be restored, and slavery not abolished. Two months ago, Cheever in a sermon, "thanked God that there is no sign of the rebellion going out, before we have finished slavery." But to make this doubly sure, there must be more pitch and tar thrown into the fiery furnace of the rebellion. The South must be further goaded and maddened by the most bloody prosecution of the abolition proc-

lamation. The laws of civilized warfare must be set aside, as the constitution and courts were set aside by the President. All this required the setting aside of Gen. McClellan. Mr. Lincoln judges well, if he has made up his mind to ride on in the bloody disunion car of abolition. He could do nothing else but remove the christian and enlightened General who had proclaimed to the army that "we are not engaged in a war of rapine, revenge, or subjugation;" that "this is not a contest against populations, but against armed forces," and that, "the idea that private property may be plundered with impunity, is, perhaps, the very worst that can befall an army." Such a man, certainly, is not fit to carry out the designs of the abolition administration. If Mr. Lincoln, Mr. Chase, Mr. Seward, Mr. Stanton, Mr. Sumner, and that sort of people, are patriots, then it is very evident that Gen. McClellan is not a patriot. If Gen. McClellan desires the respect and confidence of his countrymen, then these men do not. There is a great gulf between them and McClellan. Viewing things from Mr. Lincoln's stand point, we declare that, in nothing has he shown greater sagacity than in the removal of Gen. McClellan. If he intends to follow the councils of the abolitionists, he should have removed him before. True, the act of removal receives the universal condemnation of the real union men of the Northern States; and so also, does the abolition proclamation. In both, Mr. Lincoln dares to treat with menacing contempt, the voice of the people. There is some courage in that—or if not courage, there is bravado and desperation. But the people are beginning to show defiance too. There is a loud voiced declaration going forth, that the

President has disgraced, not McClellan, but himself. The following mighty words, uttered by the deposed general in an unpretending speech at Trenton the other day, met with a response from the heart of the American people, which the President ought to look upon as the shadows of coming events:

“ And before bidding you good night, I have this piece of advice to give you:—*While the army is fighting, you as citizens see that the war is prosecuted for the preservation of the Union and the constitution, for your nationality, and your rights as citizens*

These words are like red hot cannon balls thrown from a Columbiad into the camp of the abolitionists. They are still thundering, bombarding the black citadel of the conspirators. They prove the wisdom, the patriotism, and the statesmanship of Gen. McClellan. They prove that Lincoln was compelled to remove him from the chief command, or to abandon the thieving, the exterminating, the union-dostroying schemes of the abolitionists. The people will faithfully follow the advice of the patriotic General. They *will* see that the war “is prosecuted for the preservation of the Union and the Constitution,” and for their “rights as citizens.” That is just what they said they would do, at the ballot on the 4th of November. Mr. Lincoln will find that the people will not recede. They have given him their *ultimatum*. They have said to him, *this war must be conducted for the restoration of the Union, for the preservation of the Constitution, and in a manner that respects the laws of the land and the rights of citizens, or it must cease.* They have said to him, “we are not your subjects, but you are our servant.” We did not appoint you a king for four years to play the tyrant and the despot over us, but we only made you a simple (alas, how simple) executive to administer the laws. In-

stead of administering the laws, you have suspended them. We compelled you to take an oath to support and obey the Constitution. How have you kept that oath? Let the thousands of citizens thrown into your abolition dungeons, in violation of the constitution, answer. Let the suspended courts of justice answer. Let the incarcerated Judges answer. Let imprisoned clergymen answer. Let violated women answer. Let a bleeding and dying nation answer. Pretty soon, two hundred thousand widows, and a million of orphans, will demand of you what you have to show for all the blood you have shed, and the money you have wasted! Good God, sir! how will you answer them? Will you point to the emancipated slaves? a mere mole hill of wretched negroes, by the side of a mountain of dead white men, standing in a sea of blood! One day God will hear the cries of the widows and orphans. The people hear them already. They will heed the counsels of Gen. McClellan, to “see that their rights as citizens,” are respected. Be sure they will find some way to make *you* respect them. Every man whose rights have been violated by you, will one day bring you into the courts of justice, and force you to answer. White men have some rights in this country, and among these is this one—that they shall not be murdered, to emancipate negroes. You have removed McClellan because he so understands the constitution, and the rights of the white men. And the people have condemned your principles, and endorsed McClellan. You have suspended him from his command. They have suspended you from their confidence and respect. They are sovereign—you a servant. Just so much has McClellan the advantage of you in this controversy.

HON. FERNANDO WOOD.

WITH this number of THE OLD GUARD we give an excellent likeness of the Hon. FERNANDO WOOD, who has put himself at the head of a great movement for peace in New York. He brings to this cause great and unquestioned ability and energy, and the friends of peace and of constitutional liberty throughout the country, turn their eyes thankfully and hopefully towards him, trusting that something may really be done to save the Republic from the foul war that now devours it. We give below the concluding portion of Mr. Wood's speech at the great Peace Convention, which neither Republicans nor their allies, the so called war democrats, have attempted to answer :

“1. The war should cease, because it should never have been commenced, inasmuch as there is no coercive military power in the Federal Government as against the States, which are sovereign, and in possession of all power not delegated. If power of coercion exists at all, it is legal and not military.

2. Because there was no necessity for it. An amicable adjustment of the questions in dispute could have been, and can be still procured on terms of fairness and equality.

3. Because, however legal and just at the commencement, it has been diverted from its ostensible original purpose, and made a war for the abolition of Slavery and the extinguishment of the Southern States as such, which, of course, as a consequence, subverts the Government itself.

4. Because it is made a pretext for the most outrageous and damnable crimes against the liberty of the citizen, the rights of property, and

even against the form of Government under which we have lived.

5. Because it is creating a stupendous public money debt, which must bear down labor, destroy capital, and finally cause national bankruptcy and dishonor.

6. Because, in the military, it is establishing a new and dangerous power, which already overrides the Courts and the Constitution, and which history teaches when once firmly established becomes permanent, despotic and tyrannical. When military law subverts the civil law liberty departs for ever.

7. Because there is neither in the civil nor in the military departments of Government, any man or men of sufficient mental power to successfully prosecute the war against the vastly superior statesmen and generals of the South.

8. Because the commercial wealth of the country, derived from foreign trade, and largely enhanced by Southern products, must gradually disappear, if this war continues. As yet, artificial stimulants have supplied the defection of sound mercantile resources; but time must dissipate them, and then will follow a reaction, terrible, overwhelming and annihilating.

9. Because the popular enthusiasm necessary to conduct the war and supply the failing armies has subsided. Force, by a draft, cannot supply this indispensable requisite. Republicans, who have grown up with the ideas of personal freedom, and right to political opinions and action, cannot be so suddenly changed as to become willing instruments of power, and be used effectually against their own convictions of policy and right.

10. And, finally, because experience should admonish us that the over-ruling power of God is against us. We cannot succeed in what we have undertaken. Hence every dollar expended is thrown away—every life lost is little less than murder—every acre of land laid waste is so much toward national impoverishment—and every day's continuance of the war places additional barrier between us and reunion,

and drives another nail in the coffin of the Republic.

My friends, need I say more? Need I attempt the elucidation of these premises? The mere statement of these positions, without argument or illustration or reference, of itself proves the case. "Truth is mighty and will prevail"—and hence let these facts, thus briefly though feebly expressed, go forth to the world as the avast courier of the returning reason of the American people. The war must cease sooner or later! This is an accepted fact, and why continue the conflict in the face of this overwhelming array of reasons for its immediate discontinuance. It is madness—because to do so is suicidal and criminal. All who are parties to its continuance participate in the responsibilities. They are *particeps criminis*, and before the expiration of another Presidential term, will hide their heads in shame, penitence and contrition. May the Almighty change their hearts and their morals and return their reason. May He deem the sacrifice of human life—the fell destruction of property—and the general devastation that has laid waste the fairest portion of our national inheritance a sufficient atonement

for the national sins we have committed. And may peace, unity, prosperity, and fraternity be once more restored to us, that we may transmit the institutions of our fathers unimpaired to our posterity. Fellow-citizens, be calm, prudent and thoughtful! Liberty is cowering behind passion, and power is dallying with her there. Prejudice is dethroning reason, and raising an oracular temple upon her ruins. Stupidity mocks at calamity and reproaches patriotism. Pandora's box is opened. Men of New York, be firm. Define your position, and maintain it. Let no idle gasconade come from you to insult the hopes of your bleeding country. Liberty is the high mark, the first object—maintain that, and then restore the Union. A drowned man may be resuscitated; his friends will apply restoratives, and they will do it promptly, calmly, earnestly, and they will do it so long as there shall be the least indications of existing vitality, however feeble and doubtful. So with our country. If it is worth anything, it is worthy every sacrifice we can make for its restoration, which must come speedily, or life is extinct."

OMNIVM.

☞ Since the letter which appears in this No. of THE OLD GUARD, addressed to Henry Ward Beecher, was in type, the Rev. gentleman has left the country on a journey to Europe.

Arrest of Mr. Vallandigham.

In Mr. Lincoln's letter, attempting to vindicate his arrest of Mr. Vallandigham, he says:—"Arrests are made not so much for what has been done, as for what probably would be done." It is about time the people of the United States impress upon the obtuse intellect of the President some kind of a hint that he must no further go in this business, unless he is prepared to take the consequences which such a crime against liberty deserves. If the Queen of England were to declare and attempt to practice such a principle, she would lose her head in a less number of days than have elapsed since Lincoln uttered these words of folly and shame. The American people have made themselves the wonder and the laughing-stock of all Europe that they have so tamely submitted to such an intolerable despotism. But let the people of Europe now do the people of Ohio the justice to see that they have despised and defied Mr. Lincoln by nominating the man whom he has banished for Governor of the State. This is saying that Abraham Lincoln is the criminal, and that Mr. Vallandigham is the patriot.

Park Godwin and Feminine Negroes.

Mr. Tilton, the Editor of the *Independent Beecher's* paper, says: "I have heard Park Godwin say that the negro race is the feminine race of the world." We have heard before that Park Godwin had an appreciative heart for feminine negroes, but we did not know that his affections in that direction went so far as to embrace the whole negro tribe as the great and charming sisterhood of the human race.

Honor to the Irish Brigade.

In General Meagher's speech at the recent complimentary demonstration of the city authorities, he paid the following really great tribute to the honor of his Irish Brigade: "In moments of success they never gave way to the excesses which for the most part disfigure and shamefully blot the records of the grandest victories. (Loud applause.) The houses, cattle, gardens, cornfields and other property of insurgent families who had abandoned them to the mercy of the national army, as well as all the goods and chattels belonging to families who stood their ground, were respected by the men of the Irish Brigade, who went out from here to fight and put down the armed enemies of the republic, and not to cast naked and breadless on the world the women and children and aged fathers of the delinquent States. It was the boast of a Roman soldier of distinction in the days of Pliny that he had taken nothing in the way of booty but one little vessel of beechwood with which to offer sacrifice. (Continued applause.) The soldiers of the Irish Brigade can proudly boast of having been no less moderate in the hour of excitement and temptation, and of having added to their colors no spoils or trophies which their honest courage did not win, and which an exalted code of virtue, as well as the rules of war, did not approve. (Loud cheers)." These words reflect immortal honor upon the Irish Brigade; but they are words of bitter rebuke to such Generals as Pope, Burnside, Hunter, Fremont, Grant, and a score of others, who seem to have encouraged the soldiers in committing every excess known to the catalogue of crime, and which are condemned by the laws of war practiced by all civilized nations.

Who is the Traitor?

A few months ago the *New York Tribune* said: "For the old Union we have no regrets, and we do not wish to see it restored." About the same time the editor of the *Old Guard* wrote: "Give us back the old Union, under the Constitution framed by our fathers—we want no other, and will never consent to anything less." Now the *Tribune* denounces us as a "traitor" and a "sympathizer with rebellion." If the editor of this journal is a traitor for wishing to save the Union, what is the editor of the *Tribune* for wishing to destroy it?

A Woman Furnishing Arms for the Government.

A copperhead editor calls Miss Dickinson "a reasonous, war-howling virago." Why, sir, how is she treasonous? Does she not furnish arms for the Government? Ask the Reverend Doctor Henry Ward Beecher, or Park Godwin, the black and red republican editor of the *Evening Post*.

The New Republican Badge.

It is said that the Loyal Leagues are issuing a splendid new badge, it being a negro's head in India rubber, with this appropriate motto in silver letters: "*The Constitution be damned!*"

Three Hundred Dollars, or Your Life.

The Republican party tax every man who can raise it \$300 to set negroes free, and it proposes to take the life of every man who has not the ready cash. It is a highwayman who says to every citizen, "Three hundred dollars, or your life!"

Song of the "Loyal" Leaguers.

We're going to fight for darkies now,
 Glory hallelujah!
 At Lincoln's negro altars bow,
 Glory hallelujah!
 Come, jolly white men, come along,
 Glory hallelujah!
 Fall in, and sing this merry song,
 Glory hallelujah!
 O, when we get the negroes free,
 Glory hallelujah!
 As good as negroes we shall be,
 Glory hallelujah!

Quarrel between Uncle Sam and John Bull.

Uncle Sam.—You infernal old scoundrel, how dare you spit in my face?

John Bull.—Beg pardon! It is only exercising the right I always claim, to spit in everybody's face whenever I please.

Uncle Sam.—Perfectly satisfactory, sir.

A correspondent of the Cincinnati *Commercial* says that "Mrs. Lincoln is quite unhappy because she won't be able to travel this summer." Old Abe ought to be ashamed of himself, to run after negroes, and neglect his own family in this matter.

Miss Dickinson, in her late farago at Cooper Institute, paid her attention to New Jersey in the following fish-woman style:

"Little, mean, contemptible New Jersey, made out of the offscourings and fragments left after the Union had been formed. (Great laughter.) Contemptible any way at that.—(Continued laughter.)"

This is base ingratitude in Miss Dickinson.—We ask her if she has no affectionate memories of New Jersey, when she was practicing the pure and holy principles and "affiliations" of Spiritualism in the region about Vincetown? Cruel, forgetful, unnatural Miss Dickinson! Has that gay deceiver, Park Godwin, driven out of her head and heart her spiritual comforters in New Jersey? Base world!

Northern War Men and Southern Peace Men.

The Philadelphia *Evening Journal* gives the following list of war and peace men:

Peace Men.—Jefferson Davis, Mississippi; J. C. Breckinridge, Kentucky; Robert Toombs, Georgia; John Slidell and Judah P. Benjamin, Louisiana; T. C. Hindman, Albert Rust, of Arkansas; L. O'B. Branch and Z. B. Vance, of North Carolina; James M. Quarles, Tennessee; M. R. H. Garnett and Alex. R. Boteler, of Virginia, were the most prominent peace men in the Congress of 1861 who are now in arms against the United States. *War Men*.—Charles Sumner, Henry Wilson, Anson Burlingame and Eli Thayer, of Massachusetts; John P. Hale and Daniel Clark, of New Hampshire; Zachariah Chandler, of Michigan; Benj. F. Wade and John A. Gurley, of Ohio; Hannibal Hamlin and Wm. P. Fessenden, of Maine; Jas. R. Doolittle and John F. Potter, of Wisconsin, were the most prominent war men who are not in arms against the rebellion, but office-holders under the U. S. Government, and opposed even yet to peace.

How some Lincolnites kept his Fast-Day. Old King Abe.

The *Mentor*, a literary and political paper published at Kittanning, Pa., in a late issue appeared in mourning. The editor says :

" We are in black to-day to remind our democratic friends that

1. The *Union of the States* is destroyed.
2. That the *Constitution* of our country is trampled upon and despised.
3. That the *freedom of Speech* and of the Press is gone.
4. That the security of *Property, Reputation, and Life* is gone.
5. And that the Party which has wrought all this seeks to perpetuate itself by a Reign of Terror."

The Republicans of that village kept the night of Lincoln's fast-day by breaking into and destroying the office of the *Mentor*.

Lincoln's Negro Scale.

No one can say that the Negro is not a progressive race in Mr. Lincoln's mind. He styled them :

- In 1859, "negroes;"
- In 1860, "colored men;"
- In 1861, "intelligent contrabands;"
- In 1862, "free Americans of African descent."

Next they will be "my beloved brethren," and, notwithstanding all this, the Negroes and Abolitionists are guilty of the ingratitude of putting Lincoln's nose out of joint, by expressing their preference for Fred. Douglas for the next President.

Old King Abe,
Was a jolly old blade,
And a jolly old blade was he ;
He called his Fremont,
His Hunter and his Pope,
And he called for his Generals three ;
And every General to catch a fine nigger,
And a very fine nigger was he,
Nigger, dear nigger, my brother nigger
O lovely nigger !
How merry we'll all be,
When the darkies are free ?
For there's none so rare
As can compare
With the darkies when they are free.

Strength of the North and South.

Forney, the editor of the Philadelphia *Press*, generally known as "Lincoln's Dog," now says : "As a war power the South is stronger now, and has from the beginning been stronger than the North." Four months ago Forney devoted a column of abuse to the editor of this journal for saying the same thing in a speech in Philadelphia :—"We have murdered 200,000 of our people, and rolled up a debt of two thousand millions of dollars over our heads, with no other result than to teach us this lesson, "that numbers is not necessarily strength." Four months ago Forney denounced us as a "traitor," for proclaiming what he has at last confessed to be true. In the vocabulary of these wretched dolts not to be a fool is to be a "traitor."

THE OLD GUARD,

A MONTHLY JOURNAL, DEVOTED TO THE PRINCIPLES OF 1776 AND 1787.

VOLUME I.—JULY, 1863.—No. VII.

STATE SOVEREIGNTY.

WE do not propose, in in this article, to discuss the question of war or peace. Another and a graver question seizes the public mind. The people begin to see that in fighting for *territory* we are losing *liberty*: that in a struggle for *dominion*, we are allowing the vital principle of our Government to be crushed. Despotism has enthroned itself in the ancient seats of American freedom. Our fathers formed a Government which was meant to be the servant and protector of the people, and not their master and destroyer. The battle they fought was against centralized despotic power. The principle they established was that of local self-government and State sovereignty—that is, of the *people's sovereignty*. There is no other sovereignty known to the Government formed by our fathers but that of *the people*. This was precisely the thing they fought for—to establish the right of the people to fashion their own institutions, and to govern themselves by a Constitution and laws of their own election. The despotism of the British throne said: “We will govern you after our fashion—we are the masters, and you are ser-

vants—we will dictate what is to be allowed, and you shall submit.” But our rathers put a tremendous *No* upon all that business. They said: We will govern ourselves: the people are the natural masters, and the government, with all its officers, is but our servant. This right of the people to self-government is inalienable and imprescriptible. It belongs as much to a people as a man's life belongs to its possessor. This is the great doctrine of the Declaration of Independence. We shall not spend time to prove it, because it is the admitted principle on which this Government was founded. Knock this away, and the Government established by our fathers is at an end. Whether the work of destruction is accomplished by Jefferson Davis or by Abraham Lincoln is of no sort of consequence to us or our children. Now this right—this power to govern—is called *sovereignty*. It is the original, the supreme power. In the American sense, *sovereignty* is the general will of the people. From its very nature, it is one and indivisible, and incommunicable: that is, it cannot be divided and it cannot be communicated,

any more than a man's will can be divided and transmitted to another. A man's will may commission another to exercise its powers, but it cannot give away or transfer *itself*. Hence *sovereignty* always remains with the people, as necessarily as the human will is the incommunicable property of the individual to whom God gave it. The will is the sovereignty of the man, as the general will of the people is the sovereignty of the State. This is what our fathers meant when they pronounced it inalienable. The sovereign may delegate the exercise of its powers—that is, commission as many agents to act for it as it pleases; but the agent, thus acting for the sovereign, does not himself become sovereign, any more than the man whom you commission to do business for you becomes *yourself*. He acts with such powers as you have delegated to him, but never can acquire any of the sovereign attributes of your own will.

So with government: it is not, correctly speaking, *sovereign*, any more than it is the people. The Government is but the minister or commissioner of sovereignty. Government is not an original, self-existing power; it is an intermediate power, charged simply with the exercise of the people's sovereign will—that is, with the execution of the laws. All its powers are of the nature of a commission, and therefore destitute of sovereignty. When President Lincoln was in Congress, in 1848, he uttered the following truth, based upon the principle we are now affirming:

“Any people, anywhere, having the power, have the right to rise up and shake off the existing Government, and form a new one that suits them better.”

Sovereignty, then, is the attribute

of the people and not of the Government. The sovereign people of this country originally formed communities called States. So far as any other governmental organization was concerned, these States were independent sovereign bodies, because each represented the aggregate will of its own sovereign people. Each State was independent of every other. Massachusetts was as independent of South Carolina as South Carolina was of the empire of China. The sovereignty of each was perfect; and as we have already illustrated, this sovereignty was inalienable and incommunicable. The State could no more give away its sovereignty than a man can give away his will. But the States agreed, in certain specified matters, to exercise their sovereignty jointly, which agreement formed the Union, and the Constitution was drawn as the bond between the high contracting parties. The parties to this agreement were the States, in their independent, organized sovereign character, and not the people of all the States consolidated into one political mass. Each State signed the agreement separately, and in its own time. Maryland was the first to accept the Constitution, and Rhode Island the last, which did not ratify the Constitution until two years after Maryland had accepted it. The choice of accepting or rejecting the Constitution was an act of sovereignty, which each State exercised for itself as a free and independent sovereign body. In the original compact the colonies declared themselves to be free and independent States, with “full power to levy war, conclude peace, contract alliances, establish commerce, and to do all other acts and things

which independent States may of right do."

The Articles of Confederation adopted by the original Thirteen States, Nov. 15, 1777, set forth that "each State retains its sovereignty, freedom and independence, and every power, jurisdiction and right, which is not by this Confederation expressly delegated to the United States in Congress assembled." This old Confederation of these sovereign States was declared in the Articles of Confederation to be a "perpetual Union." But it lasted only ten years, when it was dissolved, and a new one formed in 1787. The Congress of the United States made three attempts to save the old Union, by proposing amendments to the Articles of Confederation, in 1783, 1784, and 1786; but Congress could not obtain the consent of the States to these proposed amendments, and the Confederation was dissolved. In all this we see that the sovereign power, to make and to unmake, to dissolve and to reconstruct, was with the States alone.

Article 7th of the Constitution says: "The ratification of the Conventions of nine States shall be sufficient for the establishment of this Constitution, between the States so ratifying the same." This clause of the Constitution asserts the entire sovereignty of the States. It was for them to determine, individually, whether they would secede from the old Union and join the new one or not. When this question of secession and reconstruction came before the Conventions of the States, each State either proposed amendments to the new Constitution, or named conditions as the terms of its acceptance. Virginia and New York ratified the Constitution conditionally.

The language of the New York Convention was: "That all power is originally vested in, and consequently derived from, the people, and that government is instituted by them for their common interest, protection and security. The powers of government may be resumed by the people whenever it shall become necessary to their happiness." The action of the Convention of the State of Virginia was similar. The Jack Bunsby, who is now President of the United States, told you, not long since, in some message or proclamation, that "the United States formed the States." The extent of his "wisdom in solid chunks" will fully appear in the history we are now rehearsing.

The State of Rhode Island refused to send a delegate to the general Constitutional Convention, and she was never represented in that body; nor did she become a member of the Union until more than a year after Washington's inauguration. And when she did come in, she came with similar stipulations to those of New York. Washington had been inaugurated more than six months before North Carolina gave her assent to the Constitution, and became a member of the Union. By the Congressional Act of July 31st, 1789, impost duties were collected of Rhode Island and North Carolina as foreign States, and all imports from them were made subject to like duties as from foreign countries.

When the Convention of Massachusetts ratified the Constitution it proposed several amendments to it, in order to remove certain objections which some of "the sovereign States" had to adopting it. But we have not time to dwell longer on the subject. We have

only to reflect that the formation of the Federal Union was the voluntary act of sovereign and independent States. The Federal Government is not therefore a sovereign, but a dependent body. Its powers are not original, but derived. The States made it. All its powers are only delegated. In the Federal Constitution they are called "delegated powers." Delegated powers are not sovereign powers. By delegating the exercise of certain of their powers to the Federal Government, the States surrendered no iota of their sovereignty. A sovereign power can delegate the exercise of its power to as many agents as it pleases, and be none the less sovereign itself. The exercise of sovereign powers does not constitute the agent a sovereign. From the fact that the Federal Government exercises certain sovereign powers delegated to it by the joint sovereignty of the States, it no more becomes a sovereign body than the agents of the Rothschilds in New York becomes himself the Rothschilds. The Rothschilds can at any moment recall the powers of their agent. So can the sovereign States recall the powers which they jointly delegated to the Federal Government. They would not be sovereign if they could not. Article fifth of the Constitution provides for a Convention which would have competent powers to so amend the Constitution as to return to the States the powers delegated to the United States. The formation of the Federal Government was simply an agreement between the original thirteen States that they would in certain matters exercise their sovereign powers jointly. The Federal Government is therefore but the common agent of all the States. When,

for instance, New York, by ratifying the Constitution, agreed that the Federal Government—as the agent of all the States—should have power to obtain money, regulate commerce, &c.. she only agreed to exercise her sovereign powers in these matters jointly with the other States, which were partners to the agreement. She surrendered no sovereignty, but agreed to exercise that sovereignty jointly with the rest for specified purposes.

The Federal Government is therefore a government without sovereignty and without a people. It is the creature of the sovereign States, and little more than the general agent of the State Governments. Said Mr. Madison—"Who are the parties to the Government? The people, but not the people as composing one great body; but the people as composing thirteen sovereignties." The Federal Government is a Government of States, and not of the people as a consolidated national body. The President is elected not by a majority of the whole people, but by a majority of the States. There was a majority of over one million of the people's votes against Mr. Lincoln; but a majority of the States was for him. So the office of President represents the State Governments. The Senate of the United States is not elected by the people as one body, but by the State Legislature. So of all the officers of the Federal Government—they represent and are dependent upon the Governments of the States. All their powers are derived from the sovereign State Governments. If a majority of the States should refuse to choose Presidential electors, or to elect United States Senators, the Federal Government would cease to have

any legal existence. We hear of late a great deal of talk about the American Nation. But there is no such body politic as the *American Nation*. It is the *United States*. The preamble to the Constitution does not say, "We, the people of America," but "We, the people of the *United States*." The supreme, the sovereign power, is all with the States. The Constitution provides that two thirds of the *States* can call a Convention—not two-thirds of the *people*. Three-fourths of the *States* can alter the Constitution—not three-fourths of the *people*. Sovereignty is alone with the people of the *States*. Mr. Madison, the father of the Constitution, said—"The States, then, being the parties to the Constitutional Compact, and in their sovereign capacity, it follows of necessity that there can be no tribunal above their authority." Mr. Hamilton, in the New York Constitutional Convention said, "The States can never lose their powers till the whole people of America are robbed of their liberties. These must go together; they must support each other, or meet a common fate." And when we see the Federal Government attempting to subvert, or override the governments of the States, we may be sure that it is the liberty of the people that the usurpers are driving at. Let us repeat, that sovereignty is as much the property of the States which formed the Union, as the will is the property of the man to whom God gave it. To deny the sovereignty of the States, is to strike down the whole theory of government established by our fathers. It was by an act of sovereignty that the States formed the Federal Government. If they had sovereign power to form the Government, they could be

no less sovereign after the Government was formed. The Government is the creature of their sovereignty. And, as we have seen, this sovereignty is, in the nature of things, inalienable and incommunicable. It may delegate its powers, but it can never lose itself, any more than a man can lose his will, or transfer it to another.

The Constitutions of the States are based upon the assumption of State sovereignty. For instance, the Constitution of Massachusetts affirms that:

"The *people* of this Commonwealth have the sole and exclusive right of governing themselves, as a free, SOVEREIGN, and INDEPENDENT State! and do, and forever hereafter shall, exercise and enjoy every power, jurisdiction and right, which is not, or may not hereafter be by them EXPRESSLY delegated to the United States."

You will notice that the State claims that the powers it bestowed upon the United States were not given away—not surrendered—but "*delegated*." A delegated power is still the property of the grantor. The State of Massachusetts has always practically acted upon the principle that it has not surrendered its sovereignty. *Four* separate times it has threatened to resume the powers it delegated to the Federal Government, and each time took preliminary legislative steps to withdraw from the Union.

It is a remarkable fact that the leading statesmen of Massachusetts have ever affirmed the most ultra doctrines of State sovereignty. Josiah Quincy, when in 1811, a bill was before Congress to enable the people of New Orleans Territory to form a State Government, said—"I am compelled to declare it as my deliberate opinion that if this bill passes, the bonds of this Union are virtually dissolved; that the States which compose it are free from

their moral obligations, and that as it will be the right of all, so it will be the duty of some, to prepare definitely for a separation—amicably if they can—violently if they must.”

Mr. Poindexter called Mr. Quincy to order for uttering this language, and the Speaker pronounced Mr. Quincy not in order. From this decision Mr. Quincy appealed to the House, which reversed the decision of the Speaker, and pronounced the language to be in order. We quote this to show to what extent the extreme doctrines of State sovereignty prevailed among the leading statesmen in the early days of the Republic. In 1839, ex-President Adams, in an address before the Historical Society of New York, on the occasion of a Constitutional jubilee, said :

“We may admit the same right as vested in *the people* of every State in the Union, in reference to the General Government, which was exercised by the people of the United Colonies, with reference to the supreme head of the British empire, of which they formed a part, and under these limitations have the people of each State in the Union a right to secede from the Confederated Union itself.”

This is pretty strong State sovereignty. In 1842 Mr. Adams presented in Congress a petition from the citizens of Massachusetts to dissolve the Union. Mr. Marshall, of Kentucky, immediately offered a resolution to expel Mr. Adams. Mr. Adams replied by asking the Clerk to

“*Read the first paragraph of the Declaration of Independence—(raising his voice)—THE FIRST PARAGRAPH OF THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE—(raising his voice still higher)—THE FIRST PARAGRAPH OF THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE.*”

After the Clerk had read to the sentence which declares, “the right and duty to throw off such government,” Mr. Adams said—

“Right and duty to alter and abolish it. Now, sir, if there is a principle sacred on

earth, and established by the instrument just read, it is the right of the people to alter, to change, to destroy the Government if it becomes oppressive to them.”

Edward Everett, who was then in Congress, made a speech, in which he, in the strongest language, endorsed the position of Mr. Adams.

It would be easy to quote from Mr. Seward, and from a majority of the leading Republican politicians of the present day, language equally affirmative of State sovereignty. They have all changed front within two years. The sentiments we have presented on State sovereignty are those which our fathers proclaimed when they founded the Government. In past days they have been asserted by “the leading statesmen of the land,” of all parties. But now we have a party in power which has turned the Government upside down, and turned reason and truth inside out. The Federal Government, instead of being the servant of the people, and the agent of the joint sovereignty of the States, proclaims itself their keeper and master. The Republic is, *pro tempore*, at an end. A buffoon is king; and swarms of furious ignoramuses, in gilded shoulder-straps, are ministers of justice. The Constitution is torn to pieces by such knaves as a Butler, or such fools as a Burnside. A distinguished politician said some months ago that the people were obliged to lie to keep out of prison. Though it rain Butlers and Burnside and Bastiles as thick as flies in the summer shambles, let us not lie to stop the filthy shower. By the love we bear our country, by the patriotic hope of some day witnessing a restored Union, by the sacred memories of the great and pure men of the Revolution, we will not say that despotism is liberty,

or that destroying the Constitution is preserving the Government. Let us leave that folly to the impudent conspirators and traitors who teach that the nation's life consists in its territorial disunion. The nation's life consists in liberty—in the preservation of the institutions established and protected by Constitutional law, and not in the number of square acres we hold. Let us rather live in a country no bigger than a single county of the State of New York, and be free—as we were before the reign of Lincoln—than to exist in a land as large as the United States, with the empire of China annexed, and witness such despotism as the western States of this Union are suffering to-day. If an upstart imbecile, in military gear, like Burnside, may seize a civilian and a patriot like Valandigham, and try him and sentence him, by the satraps and vagabonds of his own appointment, then indeed the Government of the United States is destroyed. Then there is an end of the Government that was formed by our fathers. Then there is nothing left for us to do, but to strike for liberty, as our fathers struck before us. If the Federal Administration is determined to subjugate its masters, the sovereign States, then the people of every State must do their share of the glorious work of defend-

ing their altars and their freedom. But we are told that Mr. Lincoln is crushing out rebellion in the South. Mr. Lincoln has no right to crush out a so-called rebellion in the South in such a manner or by such agencies as to crush out freedom in the North. The Constitution and the laws are the only powers he can employ without subjecting himself to the just penalty of a felon's death. If he uses the military to crush the civil powers—if by force of arms he suspends the Constitution and the laws, he is guilty of the crime of high treason. For this crime Mr. Lincoln, and his confederates in guilt, will surely one day be tried. If found guilty, they will be condemned to hang by the neck until they are dead. And may God have mercy on their souls.

The Statute of the State of New York declares that :

“It shall be the DUTY of the Governor and of all the subordinate officers of the State to maintain and defend its sovereignty and jurisdiction.”

If that “*sovereignty and jurisdiction*” are violated by Abraham Lincoln, it is just as much the duty of the Governor to take all necessary measures for his arrest and punishment, as he would to arrest and restrain any other vagabond who should attempt to violate the sovereignty and laws of the State.

NEVER before, we think, was there so much bewildering nonsense uttered about any one thing in this world, as is now daily put forth in writing and talking, and spouting about the words *loyal* and *disloyal*. Small boys, who think they are men because they can smoke and swear, will tell you who is *loyal* and who *disloyal* with as easy an impudence, and with as small an outlay of brains as the ass in the fable used in criticizing the conduct of the lion. This word *loyal* is a very simple affair. It is a French word from *loi*, which signifies *the law*. To be *loyal*, is simply to *abide by the law*. A loyal man is one who is *attached to the laws*—who faithfully acts according to the Constitution and laws of his country. This gives you at once the measure of loyalty and disloyalty. All those who honestly and faithfully adhere to the Constitution and laws are *loyal*; and all who, from whatever pretense, disregard the Constitution and laws are *disloyal*. Whether the man's name is "JEFF" or "ABE," if he disregards the Constitution and laws of his country, he is *disloyal*, and, instead of being praised by his stupid followers as a patriot, ought to be punished as a felon. Whether he is a president or a fishmonger he falls within the rule. A president has no more right to transcend the law than a fishmonger has. Both are bound to act within the limits of the law—with this difference, that the President has to take an extra oath that he will be faithful to the Constitution and the laws. On an unfaithful President, therefore, there is an extra weight of perjury and felony for disregarding the law, or being *disloyal*.

He has been faithless to higher pledges and more sacred trusts. Such is the law and the fact; and all the spouting, and twisting, and turning, and lying, can make it no otherwise. But, exclaims some moon-eyed philosopher, must not the President put down rebellion? The *laws* must put down rebellion, and the President is no more than the agent, *pro-tempore*, for directing their administration. Rebellion must be put down; but it must be put down according to law, and by nothing else, or the strife is simply that of one disloyalty pitched against another. When the judge leaves his bench, and rushes down at the culprit, exclaiming, "*I declare the laws to be incompetent to punish this scoundrel, and so I will take the matter into my own hands!*" you have something to match the folly and crime of a President and a Congress who proclaim their determination to suppress rebellion by unlawful means. Then your President and Congress rush into the ring on even terms with rebellion, to fight it out, like two lawless pugilists contending for the national belt. Now that is the bad sight we shall see—two noted pugilists entering the ring, and falling to fisticuffing after a fashion that is a confessed violation of the laws, and therefore sinks the whole affair into a common level of disloyalty and blood. "But Jeff gave the challenge and drew the first blood." Then he proved himself to be a disloyal villain. But was that a good reason why we should accept the challenge on illegal grounds, and rush into the disloyal ring? For "Jeff's" disloyalty, he should have been met by the whole force of the Con

stitution and law: neither the President nor Congress, nor any other power, had a right to go beyond that. If the challenge was an act of disloyalty, is not the accepting of it, on a field of violated law, also an act of disloyalty? Has Abraham Lincoln and Congress any more right to violate the law, in punishing rebellion, than Jeff Davis has to violate the law in starting the rebellion? Broken law is broken law, whatever party may be guilty of the *disloyalty*. But we are told that "the Constitution is suspended." Who suspended it? Who had a right to suspend it? To suspend the Constitution of our country by force of arms is, itself an act of *treason, usurpation, and rebellion*—is a felon's deed, and deserves a felon's doom. If the Constitution is suspended, what are Abraham Lincoln and his Cabinet, and that negro-spouting Congress doing there in Washington? If the Constitution is suspended, they have no more business there than any other equal number of crazy men and vagabonds. If the Constitution is suspended, all their acts is without the authority of law, and are no more binding upon the people than the edicts of a political caucus. If the Constitution is suspended, the tax bill is a farce, and the people will be under no legal obligation to respect it. O, ye wretched dolts! keep on telling the people that the Constitution is suspended, and how long, think ye, it may be before they take it into their heads to suspend you and your tax-gatherers? If the Constitution is suspended, the United States have ceased to have any legal existence, and the State Governments would then be the only legal authorities in this land. Suspend the Constitution, and, in an in-

stant the aforesaid fishmonger and his second cousin, the clam-crier, will become the equals of Abraham Lincoln in authority—with this single accidental difference, that the one may have an army at his back, and the others not. But there is this about it:—if the Constitution is suspended, the army has no legal existence, and it would be under no more obligation to obey Mr. Lincoln, than it would be to follow the fortunes of the *traitor* Jeff Davis. Such is the jumble of absurdity and nonsense we get into by proclaiming the Constitution suspended. No: rather let us declare at once that any man who dares to suspend the Constitution, must himself be *suspended*, and that directly, unless he give up his disloyal business. If we are men, let us show the courage of men, and speak out. If there is yet left a drop of patriot blood in our veins, let our souls stand bravely up in our own defiant bones and muscles, and proclaim it aloud, right in the face and eyes both of rebellion and usurpation, that the Constitution is *not* suspended, and never shall be, while we've a hand to strike in its defense! It cannot be suspended, except by the same authority of the States which created it. Mr. Lincoln has no more right to violate one of its least provisions, than the hostler in the stable of the White House has. He has taken a solemn oath to support the Constitution, each and every part of it; and any effort on his part to violate one of its sacred provisions would only make him a criminal, while that immortal instrument would still stand "the supreme law of the land," or the whole legal being of the Republic would tumble. This is the ground we stand upon. The Con-

stitution, the whole Constitution, and all the laws resting upon its firm foundation, must be supported, defended, and obeyed—obeyed, not in the South only, but in the North also; not by the people of one section, but of every section; not only by Jeff Davis, but by Abraham Lincoln, and by all the furious embeciles of Congress, who have been working to overthrow our Government. To support the Constitution and the laws is the true *loyalty*. To violate these, is the real *disloyalty*. If the Constitution-defying and law-despising party in power is not *disloyal*, then the word has no meaning. And to say that those who are pleading for the Constitution and laws are not the true *loyal* people, is to be a fool, and not to know our own language. Mr. Lincoln does not blush to own that he has violated the Constitution, and done deeds without the warrant of law; and the party in power puts in the plea for him that the Constitution and laws of our country are defective, and unequal to the crisis. Therefore Mr. Lincoln sets up his will, as above the Constitution and laws he has sworn to obey. In one word, he virtually proclaims himself *dictator*; and, seeing that his entire party press justifies his usurpation, he has lately, we are told by his organs, assumed personal direction of the departments of the army and navy, as if ambitious to play, as nearly as possible, the *role* of the old *Imperators* of Rome, who, by precisely the same steps, destroyed the Republic, and established the Empire upon its ruins. The tyrants in old Rome said it was necessary for them to assume extraordinary powers, because the laws were incompetent; and the deluded people permitted this impudent assumption until it was too late for them to regain

their lost liberties. It is only a few months since a Senator of the United States stood up in his place in the Capitol of our Republic, and declared that he “was willing to make Abraham Lincoln dictator for the time.” What a delusion! Admit a dictator for a year—admit him for a day—nay, admit him long enough to drive a nail in the capitol, and you have conceded the principle. Consign the liberties of the people to one man for an hour, and why not for a year?—for a year, and why not for life? Once, during the hardest period of our revolutionary struggle, when the British army was devastating the State of Virginia, some parties in the Legislature, moved by weak fear and blind cowardice, proposed to make Patrick Henry temporary dictator. At the sound of these words, a noble-minded Virginian sprang to his feet, and exclaimed, “Though I am the friend of Patrick Henry, the day you place your dictatorial crown upon his brow, that same day I’ll plant my dagger in his heart!” This bold step brought the deluded cowards to their senses; and from that day such words of delusion and folly have never been repeated within the boundaries of this Republic until the accession of the present party to power. Since the foundation of the Government, the name of dictator, of military governor, of martial law, has been as sound as foreign to these shores as that of usurper, imperator, or tyrant. Never, since the stars shone above our fair fields, were these names heard until now. Alas! my countrymen, what millions of gloomy miles have we run back in a single year! Over what precipices and into what gulfs have we plunged in a single year! While the thunders of ungodly rebellion are rattling and

hissing at one end of the Union, a contumacious disregard of Constitutional and statute law is breaking up the very foundations of our Government at the other. In the whirl of rebellion at one end, and of usurpation at the other, the land of our fathers seems to be going down, and utterly sinking in an ocean of blood. My God! with what fearful, bewildering velocity we fall! Never before, I think, since the Judean herd, suddenly filled with devils, rushed down the steep places into the sea of Gallilee, and were drowned, was there such another sight to behold! Then there is this further brutish stupidity—that the only men in our land who are honestly and earnestly working to preserve our Constitution and laws, are denounced as *disloyal*, while those who are subverting both are pronounced *loyal*. In the mad jumble of human nonsense, loyalty and disloyalty have changed places. To ask that the Constitution and laws shall be respected, is to *sympathize with rebellion*—so we are told; and, further, subjects every true patriot to threats of hanging, or being dragged off to military dungeons, to be subjected to treatment which sends the stoutest and bravest men to the grave in a few months! Alas! into what a swinish gulf are we fallen, when such men as Sumner and Wade are called “patriots;” while those who love their country, and would willingly die to save it, are denounced as “traitors!” O, reason! O, shame! where have you hidden yourselves, when these loud-braying foes of the Constitution, who have for a quarter of a century denounced our nation’s flag as a “flaunting lie” and a “polluted rag,” are allowed to elevate their treason into patriotism, and to glorify their malig-

nant hatred of the Constitution into a blow for the Union! Shall I be told that I sympathize with the accursed folly and crime of southern rebellion, because I cannot sit still in cowardly silence, and see the party in power trampling the Constitution under foot, and pulling down the whole temple of our liberty and laws over our heads? Who are they that run up and down, hissing and sneering and braying about *disloyalty*? Why, the infamous indorsers of the treasonous “Helper Book,” which declares:

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

This book was called the "Impending Crisis"—meaning the coming doom of the South. It was the text-book of the Lincoln campaign. Sixty three Republican members of Congress subscribed a hundred dollars a piece to circulate gratuitously *a hundred thousand copies* of the work. Besides these Congressional assassins of Constitutional rights and the Union, the leading members of the Republican party all over the country were also subscribers. In the black list of conspirators we find the names of Gov. Morgan, Horace Greeley, Wm. Cullen Bryant, Thurlow Weed, and William H. Seward. The last-named *patriot!* gave it the following particular endorsement:

"AUBURN, June 28, 1857.

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

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

"I am, gentlemen,

"Very respectfully,

"Your obedient servant,

"WILLIAM H. SEWARD.

"Messrs. Burdick Brothers, New York."

This seditious, disunion book was not only the text-book of the Lincoln campaign, but, after his election, a new subscription was made by the leading members of his party, for the purpose of reducing the retail price of the work from 25 to 10 cents, so that it might "obtain universal circulation." The author of this plea against the Constitution and laws of our country was rewarded with a consulate by Mr. Lincoln, and nearly every one who devoted his time to circulating its disunion poison has been rewarded with a similar post of honor and profit by the President. This, then, is the style of

traitors who are spouting and braying around about the "disloyalty" of all the God-fearing and Constitution-loving men who are working to save our beloved country from the doom of utter destruction. These "loyal" howlers are the same who lately showed their teeth, and snarled at us as "Union-savers"—the same who, in the Fremont campaign, marched up and down throughout the North, shouting and screaming, and singing, with only sixteen stars on their banners, as if in defiant proclamation that only the Northern States were entitled to a place on the flag of our Union—the same who, in the Lincoln campaign, took the name of "Wide-awakes," indicating that they were on the look out for Helper's "Impending Crisis" of "a war against slaveholders," arrayed themselves in a sort of military uniform, marched and countermarched before the people in martial columns and sections, used military phrases in all their calls for private meetings and public demonstrations, and spouted and shouted, and raved against "the slaveholders," until the South was frightened at once out of its senses and loyalty. This is how the thing came to pass. And these same seditious spouters and military marchers who frightened the enraged and foolish South into rebellion against the Government, because it had fallen into such hands, are now splitting their seditious throats in screaming "loyalty" over the wreck they have made, in imitation of the cunning thief, who cried out, with all his might, to "stop thief!" in order to draw off attention from himself. But let the eyes of the people be kept steadily upon the traitors who have wrought all this mischief. Let them not skulk out of sight under the cry of

“disloyalty!” which they set up against all who are honestly endeavoring to preserve the Constitution and laws, and to save the Union from the doom that threatens it. The latest device of these enemies of the Constitution is to persuade the people that “the restoration of the Union, under the old Constitution, is neither possible nor desirable.” Such is the language they use. Believe them not! As a good child will never forsake the bedside of his sick parent, nor give up hope so long as life remains, so the good and loyal citizen will never desert his country in the day of its trial, nor despair of saving it while he has a heart to pray, or a hand to strike in its defense. Let us rather say, *As God will help us, the Union must and shall be restored!*—restored to its old foundations of justice, equality, and the rights of States—of liberty, freedom of speech and of the press, and all the sacred old guarantees of Constitutional and State laws! Let us swear the oath of liberty, that we will prefer death in defense of these, sooner than meanly purchase life by their loss!

And as for the Southern rebellion, we have to say, that the Constitution must and shall be enforced, until the laws of the Union are acknowledged over every inch of its territory; but we will also have the olive branch—offers of peace, justice, equality, and protection to property and life. All the un-

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

ALL the numbered woes that now afflict our unhappy country proceed from a violation of *rights*, which are not only abundantly protected by the Constitution, but are admitted to be older than the Constitution itself. *Interference* with slavery has brought all this death upon our land: not *slavery*, as is strangely affirmed by Mr. Bancroft and Mr. Everett, but *interference* with slavery is the cause of the civil strife. Slavery is the cause of the war in no other sense than money is the cause of theft. It is true that men would not steal if there were no money, just as men would not destroy our country with an agitation about slavery, if there were no slavery. But we do not propose to abolish *money* or property because bad men will steal it. The Constitution of our country recognizes slaves as money or property. It taxes them as such, and in many ways throws the protection of the laws over the institution. We committed as grave an offense against the Constitution and laws of the land, when we attempted to disturb our southern fellow-citizens in the safe and peaceable possession of their property in slaves, as they would have committed had they attempted to disturb us in our peaceful rights of houses and lands. We may quarrel with our Constitution, and fight our laws—we may say that the one is a “covenant with death,” and the other an “agreement with hell, but all this raving does not alter the Constitutional right of States to establish or retain slavery according to their own sovereign will.

It is by the sovereign State will that slavery has been abolished in the North. It is by the same sovereign

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

Possibly we may dislike slavery. But that is our own private affair. The Government was not founded for the benefit of our personal likes or dislikes. Other States approve of it as much as we condemn it; and the Constitution extends an equal protection over all. We have no more right to punish them for approving, than they have to punish us for disapproving it. The Federal Government has no more right to confiscate slave property in some States, than it has to confiscate church property in other States. Our hatred of slavery does not invalidate one of its claims to all the protection guaranteed to it in the Constitution and laws of the country. On this subject there can be no grounds for dispute among honorable and intelligent men. The Constitution does not leave us in doubt.

Article I., section second of the Constitution recognizes slaves as persons to be represented by their masters, and as property to be taxed.

Article I., section 8th, authorizes

Congress to *suppress insurrection*; which clause was intended, says Chief Justice Story, as a protection to the slave States. Article 1, section 9th, prohibited Congress from suppressing the slave-trade prior to 1808, and gave Congress power to impose a tax or duty upon each slave imported before that time.

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

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

Here are no less than five sections of the Constitution which recognize, and give protection to, slavery. Notwithstanding this, a madman by the name of Pomeroy, of Kansas, recently declared, in his place on the floor of Congress, that he "did not believe that any slaves were held by any right or any law."

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

Millions of our Northern people have been so misled on this subject of slavery, that they are entirely blind as to the rights of the slave-holding States. We everywhere hear them talking of what they are going to do about slavery; as though it were in their power to do anything about it, without a violation of law, and of the sacred rights of sister States.

Slavery is a matter over which the

non-slaveholding States have no control, and with which they have, legally, nothing to do, except to obey the laws and respect the Constitutional rights of the States. Those rights exist, not merely *under* the Constitution, but *over* it.

They existed before the Union was formed; and, in the Articles of Confederation, no iota of those rights was relinquished. The Constitution was sanctioned by *them*, rather than *they* by the Constitution. Had not that instrument admitted the sovereignty of those rights, the Union would never have been formed.

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

These original and unrelinquished rights are out of the lawful reach of the Federal Government. Its office and sworn duty is to protect them.

If the confederacy should crumble to pieces, if the Constitution were to pass away, those rights would remain unshaken—would exist while those States exist—whatever should become of the Confederacy. Instead of losing any of their high sovereign power, on the subject referred to, that power was expressly reserved, both in the Articles of Confederation and in the Constitution of the United States; and the non-slaveholding States not only admitted and sanctioned it, but bound themselves to return fugitive slaves to the South. On this question of slavery, those States are just what they were before they entered into the Union—sovereign and independent. And the non-slaveholding States are, in reference to the same question, what they

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

If the Northern States violate these rights, or permit their citizens to do so, they not only break the compact, but make it the duty of the injured States to defend themselves, as a free people should, from a violation of their sovereignty. We of the North entered into the Union with our eyes open. We knew that the compact was subject to this reservation. We pledged ourselves to observe it.

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

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

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

We do not hesitate to say, that the South would be justified in resisting any and every advance of Abolition-

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

But here is the weak point of the South in its present armed attitude; for although there had for years existed in the North organized bands against her rights, which urged an incessant guerilla warfare upon her institutions and her peace, yet the Federal Government had never proved faithless to her. Though every northern State, except New Jersey, had trampled the Constitution and laws of the Union under their feet, in violation of the rights of those States, still the Federal Government had remained firm and faithful in the defense of those rights. It is true that a sectional party—a party of one idea, and that of hostility to them—had obtained control of the Government. It is true that this party, after its triumph, declared that, to use Mr. Seward's words, “this is the beginning of the end of slavery.” But still it was a fangless serpent until the South withdrew from the national legislature, and left the patriotic friends of the Constitution and the laws in the North, for the time, powerless to resist the mad whirlwind of fanaticism and sedition.

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

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

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

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

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

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

prosperity to this suffering and blood-stained land.

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

THE WAR POWER.

A NEW phrase has lately appeared in this country, very much as Satan's face first appeared in Paradise.—It is, "*the war power*," as something above the Constitution, which is declared to be "*the supreme law of the land*." It is a new doctrine in America. It was one of the reasons which our fathers gave for rebelling against the King of England, that "he has affected to render the military independent of, and superior to, the civil power." The Provincial Congress of Massachusetts, writing to the Continental Congress, May, 1775, said: "As the sword in all free States should be subservient to the civil powers, we tremble at having an army, although consisting of our own countrymen, established here, without a civil power to provide for and control them." This was uttered while we were in the midst of the Revolutionary war. As soon as the colony framed a Constitution, it declared: "The military power shall *always* be held in exact subordination to the civil authority, and be governed by it."

The Constitution of New York declares that "No authority shall, *on any pretence whatever*, be exercised over the people of this State, but such as shall be derived from and granted by them."

The Constitution of New Jersey says: "The military shall be in strict subordination to the civil power."

The Constitution of Pennsylvania says: "The military shall, *in all cases and at all times*, be in strict subordination to the civil power." The Constitution of every State in the Union is similar. The idea of a *war power* that is above the powers of ordinary legislation—that is able to revoke or suspend existing constitutional law—is not only

foreign to the genius of our government, but is positively denied by express constitutional enactment.

What is now by ignorant or designing people called the *war power*, or *military law*, is simply the absence of all law, and rests upon the same moral basis, as what is called *Lynch law*, or *mob law*. They depend upon the same arbitrary usurpation of power, in opposition to Constitution and statute. It depends solely upon the will or caprice of the party by whom it is proclaimed and enforced. Until Mr. Lincoln's election, no man imagined that it was ever to be put in force outside of the military camp; nor was it supposed that it would ever be used even there, in violation of the express guarantees of the Constitution. It is well known that Washington, although the land was full of traitors to our revolutionary cause, totally ignored the idea of such a *war power* as Lincoln claims to wield. In 1792, Lord Loughborough said: "Martial law, such as described by Hale or Blackstone, does not exist in England at all, but for a century has been totally exploded, as contrary to the Constitution." Lincoln's "war power" is a kind of tyranny which no king of England has dared to exercise since James II., and he was driven from his throne by the British people, for attempting it. In no free government is such a power allowed the executive. Sir Wm. Blackstone, the great commentator on English law, said: "But the happiness of our Constitution is, that it is not left to the executive power to determine, when the dangers of state are so great."

Speaking on this same subject, Daniel Webster exclaimed: "No, sir, no sir! our security at all times, *in war or in*

peace, is in our watchfulness of executive power. Sir, I will never trust executive power vested in a single magistrate to keep the vigils of liberty."

Nor does the Constitution of our country so trust him, for it has withheld all such power from his lawful grasp. The Constitution has not neglected to define the crime which is committed by any citizen, not excepting the executive, or military commander, who suppresses the civil authority, and destroys the Constitution by the power of the bayonet. Such an act is *treason*. It comes completely within the spirit of the definition of treason, as given in the Constitution. And the executive or military commander who makes this war upon the Constitution and laws of his country, will owe it to the clemency of the country, and not to a want of law, if he does not meet a traitor's doom and a felon's death. Such a deed is not only in effect, but is literally "*levying war against the United States.*" The legal existence of our country is in its Constitution and laws. To destroy these by the force of the army and navy, is clearly to make war upon the republic. The President has no such power. He has no power, express or implied, to suspend or to make laws. He has no more right to arrest John Doe without due process of law, than John Doe has to arrest the President without law. The executive has no judicial functions whatever. Neither he nor his secretaries can order arrests, except through the judiciary, without being guilty of a usurpation, which ought to cause their impeachment and expulsion from office. This is as true in times of war, as in times of peace. *The Constitution is at all times the supreme law.* The President has no powers intrusted to him not granted by the

Constitution and the laws; and how can it be said that he can, at his will, violate a fundamental law of the Constitution? Even Congress, the law-making power of the Republic, is cautiously limited in its powers by the Constitution. It cannot pass a bill of attainder, nor an *ex post facto* law. It cannot confiscate the property of traitors for a longer period than the lifetime of the party attainted, when the forfeited property reverts to his heirs. This is the law at all times. There is no such thing as a *war power* known to this country, except the Constitution and the laws. *Constitutional Law is the war power in America.* True, Mr. Lincoln says otherwise. But Mr. Lincoln's opinions are not entitled to the slightest respect in this matter. Mr. Lincoln solemnly declared in a message to Congress, that the Union is older than the States which made it—that is the son is older than the father who begat him—a declaration which caused a smile of derision on the face of the whole civilized world. Some of the gravest of the European journals assumed from it, that the President of the United States was actually insane. Such, indeed, would be a charitable conclusion. But the fact that his cabinet and his abolition party all agree in the monstrous usurpation, is proof that there is a deep laid purpose of overriding the Constitution and laws of the country. This is, indeed, the verdict of the last elections. Those elections pronounce no word of censure upon any constitutional act which the President has done, or can do, to enforce the laws. The condemnation is upon the warfare which has been waged, by the party in power, upon the liberty of white men, and upon the supreme laws of the land.

HOW TO HAVE AN HONORABLE PEACE, AND WHAT IS IN THE WAY OF IT.

THE following article on the means for obtaining an honorable and lasting peace, we copy from the editorial columns of the DAILY ADVERTISER, a Republican paper of long-standing reputation, published in Portland, Maine. The source from which this remarkable article comes, renders it worthy of the widest publication:

“But what is the way of peace?—We answer, the whole abolition party is opposed to it, lest, in the restoration of peace and the restoration of the Union, their favorite one idea of the war—the abolition of slavery at the South—would be defeated. In their esteem, the war is a God-send if conducted only to that end, cost what it may in life and treasure.

Then there are tens of thousands of Government contractors of all grades, and their dependents of all grades, who cry out constantly, “war”—no peace, except upon the unconditional submission of the South. Their motive is palpable. With the return of peace their vocation and plunder would cease. The people are plundered daily to the amount of fifty per cent. of the Government’s daily expenditures—not in each transaction, but in the average. With these war-dogs, the bankruptcy of the Government is of little concern, for *repudiation*, by and by, can settle that national disgrace by recourse to a greater one.

Then there are thousands of officers in the army and navy, whose cry is

like the others—*war, war*, or eternal submission of the South! For with a return of peace their vocation, too, would be gone. The large pay and perquisites—daily rations for themselves, and horses, and servants, *which are never in the service*, would stop.—Their grasping hands would then be withdrawn from the treasury. They, with one voice, are ready to shout, “*shame,*” “*treason,*” “*sympathy with the rebels,*” to any suggestion of a measure looking to a return of peace between the North and South.

Then comes the host of plunder and office-seeking politicians of all grades, each crying out *war, war*, (yet each is careful not to go into it with his own person; for this, they imagine, is the only popular and recognized cry of patriotism, and to stem any torrent of misled popular feeling would be death to their own selfish hopes.

All these and other influences are combined, without actually conspiring to *suppress any sentiment looking to measures of peace*. And every mother’s son of them will be ready to cry of us, “*crucify him, crucify him,*” because we dare here now, at this day, to tell them and the people, one and all, *the longer you delay a demand for peaceful measures at the hands of your rulers, the worse off you will be in purse, in credit, in lives, in future prosperity, and in every interest that makes up a great nation, and still, in the end, you will come to a conference of peace!*

But, says a bragging war-spirit, who has nothing to lose, nothing to suffer in, and nothing with which to pay the war-debt that the nation is contracting—would you *compromise* with the South for the sake of the Union, since you propose peace upon no other basis but the Union?

Compromise? No! It is unknown that any compromise is needed, or will be required. The first step towards a conference, in order to tell what is necessary, has not been taken. *We want that first step taken.* If the South will be content to take the Constitution as it is, and with such needful guarantees added that it shall be forever observed in all its parts, *as it is*, who would prefer a continuance of the war to such a strengthening of the Constitution as it is, *for the benefit of the South, even?* He cannot be a patriot, nor have a patriot heart within him, who would thus choose.

The evidence is indisputable, that if

the Crittenden propositions had been acceded to seasonably, no war would have ensued. They were rejected without any other justification than a belief that the South would not dare go to war, although no propositions for peace should be acceded to by the North. It is this Congressional blunder that has sunk so much treasure, and opened so many fresh graves in our land; and with no pre-eminent glory, in the aggregate, achieved yet by either side over the other. Let the North invite peace, in no spirit of humility or terms of dishonor, and peace will come. At all events, why continue in ignorance of what will be required to restore peace, when a conference between the hostile interests, of no greater dignity to either than the conferences they entertain daily on other subjects, will disclose the great problem of the future fate of our country and nation?"

The Administration painted.

The following life-like picture of the administration is copied from a pamphlet lately published in this city, and was reproduced in the columns of the *Tribune*. It is such a capital likeness, that the editor of the *Tribune* could not fail to admire it.

"Within the last two years, this Government has suffered a grievous change, a most disastrous and humiliating eclipse. It has become a filthy hybrid; a monster, smeared with the bloody sacrifice of its own children; a detestable compound of crimes and vices; a despotism which cannot fitly be described in decorous language: "the sum of all villainies;" "a league with hell and a covenant with death.

"The administration is ignorant, conceited and vulgar; cunning, insincere, and unscrupulous; fierce, sanguinary, and cruel; full of all subtlety and all mischief; of all hypocrisy and deceit. It is without truth or honesty, without manliness or decency. Its avarice is insatiable; its corruption unbounded. For gain it will do anything, however infamous, oppressive and wasteful, and it does not scruple to barter the whole country for profit. It is a bully, a braggart and a coward; it domineers by terror over weakness; it shrinks from truth and daylight; it deals in pimps, spies and informers, and fears an enemy in every shadow. With bands of armed men it strikes down the liberty of the citizen at the dead of night, when he is surprised, solitary and defenceless; wages war on women and young children. It is barbarous and wanton, for it desolates peaceful and inoffensive lands with fire and flood; it destroys cities, towns, villages, and solitary dwellings; it plunders wherever its emissaries prowl, destroying what cannot be taken away. It does not spare the sacred monuments of art, science and literature; respects not the grave; has no pity for the shrieks and entreaties of helplessness and purity, and the instruments of its crimes are only less detestable than the crimes themselves, and the criminals in everything, and in the most stupendous proportions is this administration abominable; the stench thereof rises towards heaven as the stench of Sodom and Gomorrah."

George Washington a Copperhead.

The friends of the Union as it was, and all who are opposed to usurpation and contempt of the laws, are now called "Copperheads." The following language of George Washington proves him to have been just such a Copperhead: "Towards the preservation of your government and the permanency of your present happy state it is requisite not only that you steadily discountenance irregular opposition to its acknowledged authority, but also that you resist with care the spirit of innovation upon its principles, however specious the pretext"

General Jackson a Copperhead.

All who believe that war will not restore the Union are also hissed at by the Blacksnakes and Copperheads. General Jackson was just such a Copperhead, for in his farewell address to the American people, in March, 1837, he said: "If such a struggle is ever begun, and the citizens of one section of the country are arrayed in arms against those of another in doubtful conflict, let the battle result as it may, there will be an end to the Union, and with it an end of the hopes of freemen. The victory of the victor would not secure to them the blessings of liberty. It would avenge their wrongs, but they would themselves share in the common ruin."

Jefferson a Copperhead.

All who now oppose the opinions of the Administration are called traitors, and all who know enough to distinguish between government and the illegal acts of government are called Copperheads. Just such a Copperhead was Jefferson, for he declared that "Treason, when real, merits the highest punishment. But codes extend definitions of treason to acts not really against one's country. They do not distinguish between acts against the government and acts against the oppressions of the government: the latter are virtues, yet have furnished more victims to the executioner than the former, because real treasons are rare—oppressions frequent. The unsuccessful strugglers against tyranny have been the chief martyrs of treason's laws in all countries."

The Scandalmonger of the *Post*.

Park Godwin, the scandalizing and lying editor of the *Evening Post*, calls Ex-Governor Seymour, and the Hon. Mr. Pendleton, of Ohio, "insignificant persons." With such a man as Godwin, none are *significant persons* but such abolition thieves and assassins as old John Brown, or such charmers as Miss Anna Dickinson, who pronounces Beecher and Godwin men of "*ravishing eloquence*."

Lincoln's Dog as Prophet.

John W. Forney, who is now the dog—the "dirty dog"—of the Lincoln Administration, in a speech made at Lancaster in other days, before he was quite the dog he is now, uttered the following language:

"Have we a *conscript law* that tears the husbandman from his plow, the father from his family, the son from his widowed mother, to go forth and act as gladiators for the amusement

of a few ambitious kings? Have we a gang of hired tax-gatherers to drain the substance of the people? Is our President an Attila or a Caligula? Is our Senate a Council of Ten? Is our House of Representatives a body of tyrants, armed with power to ravish and destroy? *Secret usurpation against such wrongs would be justifiable and right, for we are taught the great lesson that 'resistance to tyrants, is obedience to God!'* ”

To all of these inflammatory questions we answer *yes! YES! YES!*

We have a conscript law that tears the husbandman from his plow, the father from his family, to go forth to act as gladiators.

We have a gang of hired tax-gatherers, to drain the substance of the people.

Our President *is* an Attila or a Caligula.

O Senate *is* a Council of Ten.

Our House of Representatives *is* a body of tyrants, armed with power to ravish and destroy
The “dog” said well.

Liberty of the Press.

Junius says that, “The liberty of the press is the palladium of all the civil, political, and religious rights of an Englishman.”

Once it was so of an American; and it must be so again, even if the liberty is regained over the dead carcasses of the usurpers and tyrants who have stricken it down.

MERRY SOLDIERS THREE.

O we be merry soldiers three,

All dirty and ragged and funny,

Lately come from the South country,

“With never a penny of money!”

Come, good fellow, we'll drink to thee,

All dirty and ragged and funny

And to all good fellows, wherever they be,

“With never a penny of money!”

We served Abe Lincoln faithful and well,

All dirty and ragged and funny:

Contractors are rich, as we have heard tell,

“But we've never a penny of money!”

Our company once was strong eighty-three,

All dirty and ragged and funny;

We left them behind, all dead but us three,

“With never a penny of money!”

Here's to our comrades, hearty and brave,

All dirty and ragged and funny;

Long may our flag and their memory “wave,”

“Tho' we've never a penny of money!”

NOTE TO OUR SUBSCRIBERS.

THIS number of THE OLD GUARD has already been delayed two weeks for a fine steel engraving of Ex-Governor THOMAS H. SEYMOUR, which was designed to accompany it; but by an unforeseen accident, the engraving cannot be completed for this number without deferring its publication still longer. So we are obliged, therefore, to go to press without the engraving. It will appear in another number. Our artist also has in hand Judge WOODWARD, the Democratic nominee for Governor in Pennsylvania.





Eng^d by W.G. Jackman, N.Y.

Geo. W. Woodward

Engraved expressly for The Old Guard

THE OLD GUARD,

A MONTHLY JOURNAL, DEVOTED TO THE PRINCIPLES OF
1776 AND 1787.

VOLUME I.—AUGUST, 1863.—No. VIII.

THE DEBT, THE TAXES, AND THE RUIN.

THE Secretary of the Treasury coolly announced on the 1st of July, that the national debt is only "one thousand one hundred millions," and that it increases at the rate of two millions five hundred thousand dollars per day, or one hundred and four thousand dollars per hour! without any prospect whatever of a cessation to that increase, or indeed of any other result than an increased ratio of growth in the debt. The official returns of debt have been as follows for two years :

	DEBT.	INCREASE.	INCREASE PER DAY.
July, 1861 .	\$60,189,406
Jan. 1862 ..	267,540,035	\$207,350,629	\$1,330,000
July, 1862..	514,211,371	246,674,336	1,580,000
Jan. 1863 ..	819,407,182	305,195,814	1,956,000
July, 1863..	1,197,274,365	377,867,183	2,422,225

For the last six months of 1862, the increase was \$1,330,000 per day, and for the six months to July, 1863, that ratio had nearly doubled. Every successive month the increase is greater, for the reason that more men and more supplies are needed at constantly rising prices. Those prices, as our readers

have too much reason to know, are raised by the use of government paper money, which depreciates in the double ratio of the quantity paid out and the decrease in the stocks of the goods required by the government. The increase of debt in the last six months of 1863 will be \$3,000,000 per day. It is to be borne in mind that these figures do not represent the whole expenditure of the government, but simply what it borrows over and above the proceeds of the customs and taxes. The appropriations, or the amount authorized to be expended for the fiscal year 1864, is \$1,000,000,000, even if the next Congress should not add a dollar to the amount.

We are now to remember that these debts are to be paid by the twenty millions of people of the Northern States, for the reason that—even in the event of the Union being restored—the commercial capital of the South and of the Border States has been so thoroughly desolated that they cannot pay, even if the whole Southern war debt is repudi-

ated. We shall not now allude to the \$2,000,000,000 of claims upon the government, already being made out, for damages in the Border States, but confine ourselves simply to the actual existing debt for which paper has been issued, and irrespective of \$300,000,000 of debt due contractors and others, not yet adjusted.

We have stated that the prices of all articles purchased by the government have risen in proportion to the depreciation of the paper, and the average is 40 per cent. Hence of \$700,000,000 expended for goods, ships, supplies, &c., \$200,000,000 has been extra price caused by the depreciated paper, and which would not have been paid had the money been regularly borrowed. Thus, if \$500,000,000 had been bor-

rowed at 6 per cent., it would have bought as much of supplies as \$700,000,000 of paper money. That \$200,000,000 is therefore interest paid for the use of paper money, a pretty dear way of borrowing. The debt stands then as follows, July 1 :

		INTEREST.	PER CENT.
Funded debt....	\$800,553,309	\$48,278,000	6
Paper.....	396,721,057	200,000,000	50
Total....	\$1,197,274,366	\$248,278,000	22

If the paper money is ever withdrawn it will be by funding. If this can be done at 6 per cent., the interest on the debt now outstanding will be, with sinking funded, \$83,790,000 per annum. We will compare this with the debts of France and England :

	PAPER.	DEBT.	INTEREST.	PER HEAD.
France.....	\$36,000,000	\$2,206,000,000	\$110,000,000	\$3 05
Great Britain.....	29,334,783	3,917,945,913	127,965,701	4.36
United States.....	20,000,000	1,197,274,360	83,790,000	4.18

Thus the actual debt now exceeds that of France \$1.15 per head, and nearly equals that of Great Britain. At the close of the present fiscal year, the debt, if the official estimates are not exceeded, will be \$2,000,000,000, or \$140,000,000, or \$7 per head per annum! or \$35 per head for every family of five persons. It will be borne in mind that these are the lowest actual figures, without taking into account threatened foreign wars, or possible new disasters to the army.

This immense debt is now in process of creation. The government is paying out paper that is yet in good credit for labor and property. The people are giving their goods for the paper, and investing it in bonds. Who is to pay that paper and bonds? The labor of

the country—precisely the people who are now in the grasp of the provost marshal, torn from their employments and families to go and destroy and devastate the property and means of industry which were once the source of our national wealth. It is not the property of the country that will bear the burden—it is the farmer and laborer. The present intolerably vexatious income and interest tax yields very little in proportion to what was expected from it, and if ever the debt is paid at all must be quadrupled; and what means will there be of paying? It will be difficult to show that there will be any.

Before the war, the 8,000,000 of people in the Southern and Border States bought of the North, in round numbers,

\$700,000,000 per annum in food, clothing, manufactures, &c. They paid for these in an equal value of cotton, tobacco, naval stores, &c., &c. The industry of the South produced equivalents for the industry of the North, and mutual interchange produced national prosperity. With the war that ceased. The trade was cut off. Neither side could make its accustomed sales and purchases, and on the first our trade was paralyzed. Gradually the expenditures of the government have grown up to \$900,000,000 per annum, thus affording a substitute for the Southern trade. The government, however, does not pay—it only promises to pay. It does not give cotton, &c., for the goods; it gives pieces of paper. These, it is said, answer the purpose of money, and pass from hand to hand. They do so, no doubt; but the real wealth of the country is thereby consumed. The wool, the clothes, the food, the ironware of the country are consumed by the government, and the owners hold paper in return, for which they can find no use, and they lend it back to the government, which therewith buys more goods at higher prices. As long as this process lasts, 1,000,000 men in uniform go on to destroy. The time must come when the process will cease. 1,000,000 of men will be turned out of employ. The government expenditure will cease. War business will be at an end. The blood-drenched fields and desolate homes of the South will offer no trade. The crippled troops, the idle manufacturers, the impoverished farmers, and destitute laborers, will be called upon to pay \$2,000,000,000, held by a few New England States that have driven on the war for their own benefit.

It will be borne in mind that the six New England States, with their twelve senators, have been the oligarchy which has driven on this war. Thus :

POPULATION.	
Six New England States.	3,135,283. .12 senators.
Six Middle & West'n States, 13,370,743. .12 senators.	

The government of the country under our system, it is well known, exists in the congressional committees, which govern in each department. These committees are controlled as follows :

	OF.	CHAIRMAN.
Chas. Sumner.	Mass.	Foreign Relations.
Henry Wilson.	Mass.	Military Affairs.
J. P. Hale.	N. H.	Naval Affairs.
W. Fessenden.	Maine.	Finances.
Clark.	N. H.	Claims.
Foster.	Conn.	Pensions.

Thus the New England Senators govern the Finances, the Navy, the Army, and the Foreign Relations. Under their government the debt is rolled up \$2,500,000 per day, and men are dragged from their families to feed armies whose mission is to desolate the best customer of the North. While the West is groaning with distress under this expenditure of blood and treasure, how does New England fare—the home of the oligarchs who are driving on the Juggernaut of blood and rapine? Let the official report of the Massachusetts Bank Commission for 1863, reply :

“Seldom, if ever, has the business of Massachusetts been more active or profitable than during the past year. The war has brought into activity many mechanical employments for which there is little occasion in time of peace. . . . The necessity of transporting great bodies of troops from point to point along our seaboard, and of furnishing them subsistence, has called into the service of the government a vast fleet of transports, for the hire of which owners have received rates of compensation greatly exceeding the ordinary profits of commerce. Every steam vessel, capable of navigating either the ocean or harbors and rivers, has been thus employed, and many more, previously regarded as worn out and no longer seaworthy, having been flimsily re-

paired, and made to pass through a hasty or corrupt inspection, have gone out, laden with valuable property, or invaluable lives, to be wrecked or rescued, as the chances of the weather, or as skillful seamanship might determine. The shipyards, both public and private, have been worked to their utmost capacity, in the construction of iron-clad gunboats, and other vessels of war; while machine shops, rolling mills, and foundries have been equally busy in building their engines, rolling their armor plates, and casting their guns.

“The wants of the army have come in to make good the loss of the Southern market (for shoes), and the government has been a liberal and sure, if not a ready paymaster. Labor has been in great demand; wages have risen, and the trade is again in a high state of prosperity.

“Wealth has flowed into the State in no stinted measure, despite of war and heavy taxes. . . . In every department of labor the government has been, directly or indirectly, the chief employer and paymaster. . . . Vast contracts have been undertaken and executed with the use of no other credit than such as is based on government vouchers and certificates of indebtedness.”

Thus the \$2,500,000 per day that the government borrows, is poured into the lap of Massachusetts and the other New England States. Whole generations of Western farmers must toil hopelessly to pay that money, since there is no possibility of paying the principal. Year after year \$140,000,000, mostly earned by the Western and Middle States, to pamper New England wealth. The interest on the debt in ten years will amount to \$1,400,000,000, which must be earned by the many to pay to the few. The average amount of farm produce exported from the United States was, in ten years, to 1862, \$63,814,379. This represents the surplus agricultural productions of the Northern and Western States. Under the existing debt, more than double that whole amount of surplus will be required to pay the interest of the public debt, held mostly by monied autocrats, created by the extravagance and corruption of the war expenditures. Very little of the debt

is held by the agricultural sections, but it is those sections which must toil year by year, and hand over to the Eastern sections the vast sums we have mentioned. A very little reflection on the part of an intelligent man, will convince him how utterly impossible it will be for our institutions to exist under the double influence of that debt, and the intolerable burden of tribute imposed by the tariff on producers for the benefit of Eastern capital. The operation of the two in a very few years will produce two classes—paupers and money aristocrats.

The amount of the present debt is as follows in Indiana and Illinois, compared with New England :

	ILL. AND IND.	N. ENG.
United States debt.....	\$171,208,101	\$171,392,101
State debts.....	26,101,201	13,100,000
Total.....	\$197,309,302	\$184,492,101
Population.....	3,062,379	3,135,283
Productions per annum. .	\$100,000,000	\$494,075,498
Assessed property.....	221,199,864	643,801,947

The burden of the debt upon the two States of Indiana and Illinois, which have about the same population as the six New England States, is \$66 per head; in New England, \$61 per head. The sum of the debts nearly equals the whole of the assessed personal property under the census in the two Western States, and is less than 30 per cent. of that of the New England States. The annual production of the latter, protected by tariff, is \$165 per head. In Indiana and Illinois it is \$33 per head. The goods made in New England are sold to the West, and are charged with all the taxes paid on them to the government, and with the protective tariff tax. Thus the whole of the outlay extorted from Western consumers comes back to New England laden with the

interest of debts held and paid by Western farmers. This State of things is perpetuated by the fact that Indiana and Illinois, with the same population as the six New England States, have four votes in the Senate, while the latter have twelve. It is obvious to the most obtuse that such a state of affairs cannot be perpetuated because, under it, the impoverishment of the agricul-

tural States will be complete and exhaustive. There is but one mode in which the terrible ruin evoked by this war can be allayed. It is by an entire abolition of the customs duties, and an assessment of the debt upon the property of the country. This latter is not constitutional, since all taxes must be levied according to population. The alternative is entire repudiation.

CRIMES OF "STATE NECESSITY."

WHEN one of the victims of Lincoln's despotism was liberated from Fort Lafayette, he went to Washington to get possession of a package of private letters, which were written twenty-two years ago. Mr. Seward at first refused to give up the stolen package. The victim inquired why his private letters, written nearly a quarter of a century ago, and referring to nothing connected with the present revolution, should be withheld from him? Seward, with a cold and careless dignity, replied: "Reasons of State." "Well," said the victim, "reasons of personal right, of law and honor, have made me determined that I will appeal to the courts of justice for redress and protection."

This defiant temper caused the arch demagogue to touch a bell, and send a clerk for the stolen letters.

But let us ask the meaning of such words as "Reasons of State" and "State Necessity." Their plain signification is the assumed right of a

tyrant or despot to dispense with or ignore the laws, whenever they obstruct the measures of his despotism. It was Milton who denounced this *State necessity* as "a tyrant's plea." Another great English writer calls it "the great patroness of illegal actions, which politicians have used as certain philosophers did *occult quality*, though to a different purpose; this being the philosopher's refuge for ignorance—that the politician's sanctuary for sin." Lord Bacon says that Pius Quintus could not bear the name of *Ragioni di Stato*, (Reasons of State,) because they were the devices of wicked men wherewith to oppress religion and virtue. All the oppressions which the victims of despotism in the old world have suffered have been justified on this plea of *State necessity*. What tyrannies, what murders, what devastations of land and property have been committed by this Reason of State! It has no foundation in law, but is the foe and the destruction of all law.

"I know," said a great lawyer of England, "no distinction between *State necessities* and others: our books do not make any such distinction." Men have been imprisoned in England for even advocating this State necessity. Mr. Serjeant Ashley was committed to the Tower for saying, in one of his arguments at the bar, that there was a *State power*, or law of the State, above the law of the country. In 1765, in the case of Entic and Carrington, the judges, with respect to ship-money, were committed for saying that there was a State necessity for it. Whenever those in authority begin to talk about *State necessity*, it is time the people began to think of a legal necessity to put a stop to their startling usurpation. There is, there can be no necessity above the laws. Many kings have justly lost their heads for attempting this business of *State necessity*. When those in authority usurp powers not granted in the constitution and laws, there is a *popular necessity* to resist the insidious approaches of despotism by any and every means within the people's grasp.

Are the people to wait until they are divested of all power to defend themselves? Are they patiently to look on, and see all the laws which were made for their protection stricken down, while they are called upon, at the point of the bayonet, to obey new and unconstitutional acts passed for their enslavement? Said John Quincy Adams, "Nip the shoots of arbitrary power in the bud." There is no other course for a people, determined to

preserve their liberties, to pursue. State necessity is the plea of a usurper or a tyrant. The free people who allow *State necessity* to trample their constitution and laws under foot deserve to lose their liberties, and they are pretty sure to get their deserts. But we must be careful to keep our resistance within the boundary of law. Yes, by all means, if you are allowed the protection of the laws. But suppose that a military despotism suspends the laws, are the people to rely upon laws which are forcibly wrested from them by *State necessity*? No; we should say that then it would be the people's duty to take *State necessity* by the throat and hurl it into the dust. There should be no tampering with such a monster. Let those who betray the powers conferred upon them be promptly called to a quick account. Let their illegal and oppressive acts be met on the threshold with whatever kind of resistance is most sure and effective in the hands of the wronged people. Whenever this has not been done, usurpation has generally succeeded. In this country, THE PEOPLE are sovereign. They are the fountain of all authority—of all power. Lincoln and his satraps are endeavoring to wrest this power from the people. The people must wrest all power from them. But how? By the ballot, certainly, if the ballot be left to them. But the ballot has not been left to the people of Maryland, Kentucky, Missouri, and Delaware. There the people have been forced to vote, if they voted at all, with thousands of

gleaming bayonets pointed at their breasts. That is not voting according to either the letter or spirit of our laws. In New Hampshire and Connecticut the last elections were carried by federal soldiers, picked out and sent home for that purpose. In Wisconsin, after the election by legal voting had been carried against the usurpers at Washington, the results were reversed by illegal and fraudulent votes returned from the federal army. The same thing is to be attempted in Ohio, to defeat the popular choice there. It is to be carried out in every State where there is a republican government to aid the stupendous treason. Now, all this is not voting. The returns of the State elections may just as well be made out by the Federal Cabinet at once. This is *State necessity*: it means *State annihilation*. The State that submits to such wrong and despotism will lose its freedom, and it ought to. It has come to that at last; and the people of every State must speedily make their choice between an unconditional surrender of their corporate existence, and a manly assertion of popular rights and State sovereignty. The Federal government has no powers that were not delegated by the States. *Delegated* powers are not *surrendered* powers. They are still the property of the States, which are the only sovereign corporate bodies known to our constitution and laws. Then let the sovereign States speak to their recreant servants of the Federal administration as Queen Elizabeth

wrote to the disobedient Bishop of Ely:

"Proud Prelate,—I understand you are backward in complying with your agreement. I would have you to know that I, who made you what you are, can unmake you; and if you do not forthwith fulfil your engagement, by God I will immediately unrock you.

"Yours as you demean yourself,
"ELIZABETH."

That is the style and fashion in which a sovereign can speak to its recreant servant. That is the way the sovereign States may speak to a usurping and revolutionizing Federal administration. It is entirely competent for these sovereign States to call a Convention, which will have power to *unrock* the scoundrels in an hour. The States which made the Federal government can even unmake it whenever they please. Article V. of the constitution provides for the calling of a Convention which would possess all powers that were exercised by the State conventions that adopted the Federal constitution. How quickly such a Convention could make an end of this ugly devil of "State necessity," and of all appertaining thereto! It would be the work of an hour. Were the men who framed the government now living, how soon it would be done! The following is a statement of the charges which our revolutionary fathers made against the British king:

He put a tax on tea used in the colonies.

He caused a stamp act to be passed.

He made the military above the civil power.

He sent men into banishment and exile without authority of law.

He excited the negroes to insurrection.

He disregarded the constitutions and laws of the colonies.

All these things the King did under

the plea of "*State necessity.*" But our fathers drove the King and his *State necessity* together into the sea. That is the way a brave and virtuous people always act when *State necessity* drives at their liberties. Then they drive at *State necessity*, until they send it where Christ did the Gallilean swine, down to destruction.

WAR DEMOCRATS—THEIR CRIMES.

WHAT are war democrats? We occasionally hear of such, but we cannot admit the justice of the charge. There are no war democrats. No democrat can sanction the objects for which the war is now carried on, and no man can support the war without sanctioning its objects. To be in favor of supporting the administration in carrying on the war is to be in favor of its confessed objects—is to be in favor of all these ruinous and inhuman aims and principles :

The Emancipation bill.

The Confiscation bill.

The Conscription bill.

The Indemnification bill.

The taxing of the people to buy the negroes of the Border States.

The taxing of the people to pay the expense of stealing and educating the negroes of the South.

The subjugation and extermination of the white race in the South.

The destruction of the State governments.

The establishment of a massive military despotism on the ruins of constitutional liberty.

All the atrocities and crimes against the constitution, for the perpetration of which the war is used as an excuse.

To say that a man is in favor of giving further support to Mr. Lincoln's war, and is not in favor of these things, is an absurdity. In the position now assumed by the administration it is not possible to separate the war from its objects. As no democrat can endorse those objects, no democrat can be in favor of the war. If the objects of the war were the restoration of the Union, the preservation of the constitution, and the enforcement of the laws of the republic, a very different question would be raised for the consideration of democrats. But as the matter now stands, no man who endorses the war is a democrat. It is a falsehood and a fraud for him to pretend to be one—as much so as for

a negro to pretend to be a white man. To be in favor of the war is to be in favor of the destruction of the Union beyond all hope of reconstruction. Democrats are for peace, because *that* may possibly lead to a reconstruction, and because war is every hour carrying us further and further from all chances of an honorable settlement of our troubles. Possibly we are not yet beyond the reach of an honorable peace; but a continuance in our present course will surely lead to a dishonorable peace. If there is any salvation for us, it must be found in peace—war is destruction, and only that.

Such is the position of the great mass of the democratic party. A few supposed leaders may have been reasoned into a further support of the war by the potent argument of greenbacks, but the virtuous masses of the party repudiate and despise them as traitors to the democracy and their country. The platform of the democracy of Connecticut is the platform of the party everywhere, and has been ever since the emancipation proclamation and the late treasonous Acts of Congress. It will be the platform of the party which will come into power at the next Presidential election as a *peace party*. The cant about "letting the South go," as a charge against the peace men, is already an obsolete humbug, because it is seen that war means to drive them off eternally. The men who are conducting the war fairly and boldly announce that "the Union never shall be restored under the constitution as it is." And yet

there are men who profess to be democrats, (not many, thank God,) who support this war for disunion. As the war is now conducted, and as it is to be conducted, it is nothing but a stupendous John Brown raid. No man can support such a war without becoming a disciple and follower of the old thief and assassin of Osawatamie. If this war is right, John Brown was right. There is no longer any middle ground to stand upon. You are either for Lincolnism or against it. If for it, then you are not a democrat. The republican party has, since the war commenced, shown its cunning in nothing so much as in its successful plot to involve the democratic party in a share of the responsibility of the war. The republican leaders knew that, when at last it is seen that war has made sure, just as Senator Douglas declared it would, of "eternal separation," all concerned in it will be held to a fearful account, and therefore they lavished greenbacks and offices upon certain democrats of easy virtue, for the purpose of getting the democratic party into the same slough with themselves. The reign of terror they set on was a part of the same trick, in order to silence the men and the papers they could not buy. Another thing these cunning conspirators did, was to tempt the democrats to stultify the principles of the democratic party. For if this war at any time was right, the democratic party has been wrong from its foundation. To support the war has been to violate every principle professed by the democracy from the foundation of the gov-

ernment to the present time. The Kentucky and Virginia resolutions of 1798-99 have been affirmed and re-affirmed by the democratic party. They have ever been regarded as a sort of supplement to the constitution. The Kentucky resolutions were drawn by Jefferson, and those of Virginia by Madison. The following extract from the resolutions of Kentucky show the position the democracy has ever assumed on the relations of the Federal and the State government :

“Resolved, That the several States composing the United States of America are not united on the principles of unlimited submission to the General Government, but that by compact under the style and title of a Constitution for the United States, and of amendments thereto, they constituted a General Government for special purposes, delegated to that government certain definitive powers, reserving each State to itself the residuary mass of right to their own self-government, and that whensoever the General Government assumes undelegated powers, its acts are unauthoritative, void, and of no force; that to this compact each State acceded as a State, and is an integral party; that this Government, created by this compact, was not made the executive or final judge of the extent of the powers delegated to itself, since that would have made its discretion, and not the Constitution, the measure of its power; but that as in all other cases of compact among parties having no common judge, EACH PARTY HAS AN EQUAL RIGHT TO JUDGE FOR ITSELF AS WELL OF INFRACTIONS AS OF THE MODE AND MEASURES OF REDRESS.

“The Constitution of the United States was formed by the sanction of the *States*, given by each in its *sovereign* capacity. It adds to the stability and dignity, as well as to the authority of the Constitution, that it rests on this legitimate and solid foundation. The *States*, then, being the parties to the Constitutional compact, and in their *sovereign* capacity, it follows of necessity that there can be no tribunal above

their authority, to decide, in the last resort, such questions as may be of sufficient magnitude to require their interposition. The authority of Constitutions over Governments, and of the sovereignty of the people over the Constitution, are truths which are at all times necessary to be kept in mind.”

The Virginia resolutions drawn by Madison, the father of the Constitution, declare that :

“The General Assembly most solemnly declares a warm attachment to the Union of the States, to maintain which it pledges all its power; and that, for this end, it is their duty to watch over and oppose every infraction of those principles which constitute the only basis of that Union, because a faithful observance of them alone can secure its existence and the public happiness.

“That this Assembly does explicitly and peremptorily declare, that it views the powers of the Federal Government, as resulting from the compact to which the States are parties, as limited by the plain sense and intention of the instrument constituting that compact—as no further valid than they are authorized by the grants enumerated in that compact; and that in case of a deliberate, palpable and dangerous exercise of other powers not granted by the said compact, *the States who are parties thereto have the right, and are in duty bound to interpose, for arresting the progress of the evil, and for maintaining within their respective limits the authorities, rights and liberties appertaining to them.*”

The National Democratic Convention, which met at Cincinnati in 1856, passed the following resolution :

Resolved, That the Democratic party will faithfully abide by and uphold the principles laid down in the Kentucky and Virginia resolutions of 1798, and in the report of Mr. Madison to the Virginia Legislature in 1799; that it adopts those principles as constituting one of the main foundations of its political creed, and is resolved to carry them out in their obvious meaning and import.”

This was the position of the demo-

cratic party when Lincoln was elected. Such has ever been the doctrine of the party from the day of its foundation.

The New York Democratic State Convention, which met at Albany on the 1st of February, 1861, re-affirmed the same principle in the following resolution:

“Resolved, That in the opinion of this Convention the worst and the most ineffective argument that can be addressed by the Confederacy or its adhering members to the seceding States is civil war. Civil war will not restore the Union, but will defeat for ever its reconstruction.”

But, strong and decided as this resolution was, it was not explicit enough to suit the delegation from Tammany Hall, as it withdrew from the Convention and passed the following resolutions:

“Resolved, That we will, by all proper and legitimate means, oppose, discountenance and prevent any attempt on the part of the Republicans in power to make any armed aggression under the plea of “enforcing the laws” or “preserving the Union” upon the Southern States, more especially so long as laws contravening their rights shall remain unrepealed on the statute books of Northern States, and so long as the just demands of the South shall continue to be unrecognized by the Republican majorities in those States, and unsecured by proper amendatory explanations of the Constitution.

Resolved, That the Constitution clothes our government with no power to coerce sovereign States in their political capacity. The coercive power of this government is a coercion of laws not of arms, and can only be made effectual over the States by the authorized civil agents of the government for the execution of those laws, Where such agents no longer exist, any attempt at a forcible execution of the laws through any other channel is nothing more nor less than war; and the Constitution vests no power in

Congress to declare war against any portion of this Confederacy. If the Republican party will but do justice to the South, there will be no need of coercion.

“Resolved, That the delegation having repudiated the doctrine of coercion, deem it their duty to declare that the resolutions of the State Legislature adopted at the present session, tendering arms and money to the Federal government to coerce the seceding States, tended directly to involve the country in the horrors of civil war, and met with their just treatment at the hands of the President of the United States and the Government of the Border States, to whom they were transmitted.”

Who could have imagined that this same Tammany democracy could, in less than six months from the passing of these resolutions, be among the foremost of the vindictive advocates of bloody, inexorable coercion? Who could have believed that the democracy of the State of New York would so soon forget its own declaration of principles, and rush madly in to support a war which it had declared the Federal administration had no constitutional power to make! For this folly, this crime, let the leaders, and not the masses of the party, be blamed. The democratic masses everywhere have been bitterly opposed to the war. Among certain of the leaders, a greed of power, or a temptation of greenbacks, has operated to draw them into its support. They have never believed the war was either wise in policy or just in principle. If they were democrats, they could not believe it. The fact that such have sanctioned all the enormous crimes committed in the progress of the war is proof that they have been purchased either with

office or plunder. But such are no longer democrats. They have sold themselves and their principles. Was Judas any longer a follower of Christ after he betrayed his Master? Are these men democrats, after they have sold themselves, and betrayed their party and their country? No. There are no war democrats. If they are for this war they are not democrats. They are disciples of Sumner. They are followers of John Brown. They

are Lincolnites. But they are neither democrats nor Christians. No true disciple of Jesus Christ could sanction such crime, such murder, theft and arson. No honest democrat would ever support a war that is waged in violation of every principle of democracy and liberty. Hence we say they are not democrats. They are not Christians. They are disciples of old John Brown.

A LETTER TO EDWARD EVERETT.

I HAVE read with astonishment and sorrow, the report of a speech recently delivered by you before a political society of Boston called the "Union Club." It is indeed a sad time for our country, when men of your intellect and standing turn their backs upon the principles and professions of a lifetime, and consent to become the special pleaders for an administration which is clearly seeking to overthrow not only the Union, but the very form of the government established by our fathers. Up to the hour of the beginning of this war, you occupied the position of a wise, conservative patriot, and were, therefore, an enemy to our Northern fanaticism, which you long foresaw was driving the ship of state upon the rocks. Often did you warn these madmen that the end of their sectional agitation would be the dissolution of the Union. You cannot unsay the many noble words of truth and patriotism you have uttered. There they stand, and there they will stand when you are dead, an everlast-

ing rebuke to the real authors of our country's ruin, and a protest against the closing acts of your own life, when you went over into the ranks of intolerant and bloody fanaticism, and turned your face away from the wise and honorable records which your manhood had made. You, who stood so long at the top and radiance of conservative truth, seem to have plunged to the very bottom of radical abolition falsehood. Allow me respectfully to call your attention to some of the sophistries of your late speech.

You assume that there is no way of saving the Union but by fighting; and that all who are opposed to the war are in favor of letting the South go.

Your whole argument is based upon this sophistry. You do not offer a single word of proof that it is possible to save the Union by fighting. You assume it. But, sir, hundreds and thousands of your countrymen assume just the reverse: that it is impossible to save the Union by fighting. This is

the question to be discussed. You do an injustice to your fellow-citizens by assuming that they "are in favor of letting the South go," because they are opposed to this barbarous war. They do not propose to let the South go, as long as there is left one reasonable hope—one possible chance of retaining it. But they believe, with the lamented Senator Douglas, that "war is dissolution—final and eternal separation." You believed the same two years ago. In a letter which you wrote to a meeting in Faneuil Hall, dated at Washington Feb. 2d, 1861, you said ·

"To expect to hold fifteen States in the Union by force is preposterous. The idea of a civil war, accompanied as it would be by a servile insurrection, is too monstrous to be entertained for a moment. If our sister States must leave us, in the name of heaven let them go in peace."

Sir, a majority of the people of the North now believe just as you did in February, 1861. They believe that the idea of holding the South in the Union by force is preposterous—nay, impossible. They believe that a continuance of this savage war will make the separation final and eternal. They hope that peace may open some door of reconstruction. The position of the peace men is therefore one of patriotism, and not of sympathy with secession, as your remarks before the Boston Club would imply. Were you, sir, any less a patriot in 1861 than you are now? Were you a traitor to your country in February, 1861? It seems to me that you do your character an injustice, and insult your own intelligence, when you lend the weight of your name to the silly and false assumption of the Adminis-

tration, that the peace men are enemies of their country. You, sir—if you have not lost your intellect—know that it is not so. The present attitude of parties shows it, too. On one hand you see the fanatics, whom you have always denounced as the foes of the Union, madly shouting war! war! war! On the other, you behold the party which has ever resisted the disunion schemes of these fanatics, and which has ever been the conservator of the constitution and the laws, pleading for peace. Sir, I repeat again that you know they are for peace, because they hope through peace to save their country. You know that the motives of those who seek peace are patriotic. They stand, in principle, precisely where you stood in 1861. They are patriots now as you were then. They have not shuffled off their principles and their patriotism together, and ingloriously slunk away into the cesspools of abolition treason. You and they were together on the same platform when you uttered the following glowing words of patriotism and wisdom ·

"The suggestion that the Union can be maintained by the numerical predominance and military prowess of one section, exerted to coerce the other into submission, is, in my judgment, as self-contradictory as it is dangerous. It comes loaded with the death-smell from fields wet with brothers' blood. If the vital principle of all republican government "is the consent of the governed," much more does a union of co-equal sovereign States require, as its basis, the harmony of its members, and their voluntary co-operation in its organic functions."

These, sir, are words which you can never unsay. No folly, no apostacy of

yours can ever obliterate them. There they will stand, a glorious monument of what you once were, and a perpetual rebuke and 'shame for what you now are. A few short months ago, you denounced the idea of maintaining the Union by "military prowess" as "self-contradictory," and as being "loaded with the death-smell from fields wet with brothers' blood." Now you even endorse the arming of negroes for the purpose of plundering and murdering the white men, women, and children of the South. How are the mighty fallen! You talk idly and vainly of the "restraints of military discipline" among armed negroes, set on by the incendiary fanaticism of Abolition Generals. By these Generals white men have been led in battle, not like the armies of a Christian and civilized nation, but like marauding and plundering bands of assassins, violating every law of civilized warfare. How can you hope for better things of armed negroes led by the same abolition marauders?

Sir, the bad company into which you have fallen seems to have rendered you careless in the statement of facts—a thing which certainly could never with justice have been said of you in other days. In a recent oration at the Tremont Temple, Boston, you asserted that the failure of the Crittenden Compromise was caused, purposely, by the action of the Senators from the Cotton States. Just the reverse of this is true, for it was the Republican Senators who purposely caused the failure of that just measure, and thereby caused the war. The following passage from the speech of Senator Douglas, made in the Senate Jan 3, 1861,

proves the entire incorrectness of your statement.

• I believe this (his plan) to be a fair basis of amicable adjustment. If you of the Republican side are not willing to accept this, nor the proposition of the Senator from Kentucky (Mr. Crittenden), pray tell us what are you willing to do? I address the inquiry to the Republicans alone, for the reason that, in the Committee of Thirteen, a few days ago, every member from the South, including those from the Cotton States (Messrs. Davis and Toombs), expressed their readiness to accept the proposition of my venerable friend from Kentucky, Mr. Crittenden, as a final settlement of the controversy, if tendered and sustained by the Republican members. Hence the sole responsibility of our disagreement, and the only difficulty in the way of an amicable adjustment, is with the Republican party."

That is the truth; and it shows that those with whom you now fraternize, and whose apologist you have become, are alone responsible for this barbarous war.

The following passage in the speech of Senator Pugh, of Ohio, delivered on the same occasion, will be read with interest.

• The Crittenden proposition has been endorsed by the almost unanimous vote of the Legislature of Kentucky. It has been endorsed by the Legislature of the noble old Commonwealth of Virginia. It has been petitioned for by a larger number of electors of the United States than any proposition that was ever before Congress. I believe in my heart, to-day, that it would carry an overwhelming majority of the people of my State; ay, sir, and of nearly every State in the Union. Before the Senators from the State of Mississippi left

this Chamber, I heard one of them, who now assumes at least to be President of the Southern Confederacy, propose to accept it and maintain the Union, if that proposition could receive the vote it ought to receive from the other side of this Chamber. Therefore, of all your propositions, of all your amendments, knowing as I do, and knowing that the historian will write it down, at any time before the 1st of January, a two-thirds vote for the Crittenden resolutions in this Chamber would have saved every State in the Union but South Carolina. Georgia would be here by her representatives, and Louisiana also—those two great States, which at least would have broken the whole column of secession.”—*Globe*, page 1,380.

This, sir, settles the question as to who is to blame for this war. It shows that you have allowed yourself to become the endorser and the vender of the misrepresentations and falsehoods upon which the administration relies to cheat the people into a support of its iniquitous designs. The countenance which men like you have given to the usurpers and conspirators, has been the chief source of Lincoln's power to do evil. Left to themselves, these radical traitors could never have achieved the ruin they have brought upon our country. In your past career, you have often enough warned them, that if they kept on in their mad course they would destroy their country. You have wound up by joining their bloody band, and the name of Edward Everett must sink in history by the side of such names as Garrison, Sumner, Phillips, Seward, Lincoln, and old John Brown. A true history of the fall of this Union will one day be written, in which all the sophistries and lies that cover the present

hour will be swept away, and the men of this day will stand forth in the light of truth and justice. Then, sir, the men whom you now denounce as traitors and enemies of their country, will occupy the proud rank of patriots and wise conservators of the nation's honor, while the murderous clan of fanatics and impostors with which you have mixed your declining days, will sit in the seats of the condemned and despised. When it is at last seen that war could not save the Union; that it was never designed to save it; that, on the other hand, the war was carried on for the purpose of destroying not only the Union, but the Republic itself, then the day of justice and of judgment will come to all of us. Then, thank God, my name will not be found in company with the disciples of old John Brown, who have hounded on the war-devils that have destroyed our land. Let it not be thought presumption in me, that I ask you to pause and reflect where your name will be then. Ah! sir, this hour is mad. Untruth and injustice, nay, downright falsehood, cover men's minds as with a pall. God's justice seems to sleep. But it will not long sleep. Our country may not be saved; liberty may not survive; but truth at last will prevail. God and truth are mightier than sin and falsehood. The "loyal" pretenders of this day will be the "traitors" of history. Seward & Co. and Benedict Arnold & Co. will meet in perdition. Sir, the men whom you stigmatize as traitors will not be there.

Your obedient servant,

C. CHAUNCEY BURR.

PARALLELS BETWEEN ROBESPIERRE AND LINCOLN.

A cotemporary writes about "the originality of the villainy of the Administration;" but that is a mistake. It is not original, but in many respects a close imitation of the disgusting tyrannies practised by the furious imbeciles who conducted the details of the French Revolution.

For instance, Governor Morehead tells us that his mattress in Fort Lafayette consisted of eight pounds of straw put into a sack four feet long. If we consider that Governor Morehead is six feet and an inch long, and that he was allowed neither pillow nor bolster, we get some idea of the Lincoln national mattress. This mattress appears to have been copied from the model of the mattress which Robespierre furnished his victims in the prison of St. Maurice. When the victims complained that they were not long enough to sleep on, they were answered that it was no matter if their heads and feet did hit the ground, so long as there was a soft spot for their backs. What a striking likeness between the Robespierre and the Seward national mattress!

When the tyrants of the French Revolution had denied by enactment the being of God, they professed to worship Virtue. The women who were imprisoned on suspicion of being opposed to the Revolution, were stripped quite naked, and thousands of young and lovely unfortunates, with downcast weeping eyes and trembling frames, could not, in the presence of

these monsters, hide from their brutal gaze what modesty even conceals from happy and legitimate love. Yet virtue was the pretended idol of these besotted tyrants. Such is the contradiction in the conduct of bad men. We have seen this disgusting vice imitated in numerous instances by the Administration, whose satraps have stripped innocent women almost naked, imprisoned them in loathsome dungeons, where the most lascivious and brutal wretches were appointed to be their keepers.

When the victims of Robespierre were stripped and searched for whatever personal valuables they might have about them, the robbery was appropriately called *rapporter*, that is, to *pilfer*. In one instance, a poor cure had concealed a handkerchief with twenty-five louis tied up in one end of it. An officer, who made the discovery, exclaimed: "Rascal, darest thou wrong the nation of this handkerchief!" The poor cure was put in heavy irons for attempting to rob the nation, by concealing his own property. To this execrable conduct the Lincoln administration has given thousands of parallels. Women have been robbed of gold thimbles, and men of their purses and other articles of value found upon their persons, which is called *confiscating*, but it is really *rapporter*, stealing. Under this name of *confiscation*, General Butler stole millions of dollars' worth of personal valuables in New Orleans; and in

Baltimore General Schench robbed the people of such things as picture-frames and umbrellas as being contraband of war. Nearly all the satraps of the Administration seem to have been most dexterous at *rapporter*. If they had only been half as good at fighting as they have at stealing, they would have been far more formidable generals against the foe than they have proved themselves to be.

When a priest refused to take the oath of allegiance to Robespierre's government that denied the existence of God, he was seized and thrown into prison. A beautiful ivory image of Christ was found upon his person. The discovery gave atrocious joy to the worshippers of the guillotine. An officer took the image, and laying it on a log of wood, smote off its head with his sabre. At this sight the deluded people wildly threw up their hats and shouted, "Long live the Nation! Long live the Republic!" Hundreds of unoffending clergymen have been dragged to prison by the Administration for such things as refusing to preach in favor of the bloody atrocities of the abolition guillotine, and for refusing to pray for the embodiment of phlegm and stupidity which sits in the executive chair; and his deluded followers have shouted that such conduct is preserving the government.

In the French Revolution, the image of the Goddess of Liberty was erected over the murderous guillotine. In Lincoln's revolution men have been

dragged from their homes and plunged into vermin-infested dungeons, in the name of the "*cause of Freedom.*"

Those who, under Robespierre, were devoted to imprisonment or to death, were registered under the simple denomination of "Mr. ———, arrested as a measure of general security." This is the very language of Lincoln's excuse for his illegal seizures of the persons of leading democrats.

In the French Revolution, "*A la guillotine!*" went shouting over France in the name of "Liberty." In the Lincoln Revolution, abolition, murder, theft and arson go shouting over the land in the name of "*Justice and Liberty!*"

One day the famous Chaumette made his appearance among the prisoners of the Luxembourg, himself a prisoner among those whom he had caused to be imprisoned "on suspicion." He was no longer the formidable attorney of the Commune, the terror of the people—he was merely an individual, oppressed with shame, with smooth, shining black hair. Like a fox caught in a trap, he bore his head sunk upon his breast—his eye was cast to the ground—his step slow and unsteady—his countenance pale and sad—his voice mild and supplicating. The great genius for causing people to be arrested "on suspicion," was here a prisoner himself, drinking the cup which he had mixed for thousands of innocent people. One of the prisoners, a wag withal, drew near, and addressed him with all the quality of

a Roman senator thus: "Sublime agent of the nation, conformably to your immortal requisition, *I am suspected—thou art suspected,*" then pointing to one of his companions, "*he is suspected—we are suspected—you are suspected—they are suspected,*" and making a low bow retired. The throng of prisoners laughed at the calamity of the humiliated Chaumette. Even so, O Lincoln! O Seward! O Stanton!

O ye besotted Chaumettes, will all the people laugh and jeer when you are caught in the toils of your own despotism, as you surely one day will be caught? Such is the rule of God. Fools must perish in their own folly. Remember Chaumette! Remember Robespierre, whose head rolled at last under the very guillotine where he had caused so many innocent heads to roll before! Remember, and tremble!

OLD ABE'S FOOT DOWN.

THE legion is armed for the battle,
 The charger is hot for the fray,
The thunders of musketry rattle—
 Yon eagles shall feast on the prey;
The corslets like diamonds are gleaming,
 The standard of blood is unfurled—
Yes, put your foot down, Mr. Lincoln,
 And trample them out of the world.

The hosts of the land are in motion—
 On, on with a ravenous pack—
Like waves on a pitiless ocean,
 When the heavens above them are **black.**
They fire the mountain and prairie,
 The banner of death is unfurled—
Yes, put your foot down, Mr. Lincoln,
 And trample them out of the world.

The stars in their courses are silent,
 The willows in agony weep,
The wind o'er the wave murmurs sadly
 Where the ashes of WASHINGTON sleep;
But crack your low jokes, Massa Lincoln—
 Only white men to ruin are hurled—
So put your foot down, Massa Lincoln,
 And trample them out of the world.

THE rebellion is now seen to be a two-headed monster—one claiming, simply, territorial independence of the jurisdiction of the United States : the other striving to destroy our constitution and laws for the purpose of freeing negroes. The one says, we wish no longer to live within the temple of the Union : the other seeks to destroy the whole temple, so that no one can dwell within it hereafter. The one has incontinently and wickedly moved out, and defied the administration of our government : the other has stayed within, only to batter down and destroy all its sacred altars. The one says, you may be ruled by the old constitution and laws if you wish—we will not : the other says, the old constitution and laws are no more—we have set them on one side. The one says, our will is that laws of our country, administered by you, shall no longer be obeyed by us : the other says, our will is law.

This is the two-headed rebellion. This is the new Janus, with one face looking to the South, the other to the North. And plain, honest men look on with puzzled wits, to understand how one can be a scoundrel, and the other not—how one can break the laws, and be a patriot ; and the other, for doing the same thing, a rebel. But Mr. Lincoln says it was “*necessary*” for him to break through the constitution and laws, to preserve the government ; and Jeff. Davis says it was “*necessary*” for him to do the same to preserve the rights of his people. Each has intrenched himself behind the tyrant’s plea of necessity ; and, to this extent at least, each has committed the same fatal mistake. The doctrine that there is a NECESSITY for disregarding the constitution and

the laws is, of all blunders, the shallowest and the most mischievous. Admit it, and the whole foundation of government and law tumbles. Who is to be a judge of necessity ? Where is the authority for exercising such a lawless thing as *necessity*, in opposition to *constitution* and *statute* ? If a President says he is a judge of necessity, some other man may take it into his head that he is a judge of it too, and might persuade himself that it was necessary for him to make way with the President. When we push out beyond the soundings of law, we are on a sea where all men are equal in authority. The fight is even then. But Mr. Lincoln says to Jeff. Davis, “ You began it ;” and Jeff. Davis says to Mr. Lincoln, “ No : you of the North began it by making war upon our institutions, and denying our equality among the States.” So the quarrel is fairly opened, and how shall it be settled ? Not by the doctrine of NECESSITY, surely, for that is an even plea for all. The constitution and the law is the authority to settle all disputes. So long as Mr. Lincoln confines himself to that, he cannot go wrong in pushing the most energetic measures to bring Jeff. Davis to submission. But, the moment he forsakes the constitution and the laws, and throws himself upon necessity, he makes Jeff. Davis his equal in the conflict.

The President will do well to jump off of this untenable ground as soon as possible. See what a crowd of disunionists and traitors this doctrine has brought around him. It has caused a war, which was started under pretence of saving the Union, to degenerate into a war against slavery ; and a war *against* slavery is just as much of a rebellion as a war *for* slavery would be.

Whatever protection the constitution gives to that institution, belongs to it of legal right; and any man who attempts to destroy the constitution of his country, for the purpose of crushing that right, is a traitor, and deserves a felon's doom. The Wades, Sumners, Lovejoys, and all the republican leaders who control Congress and the administration, are traitors just as rank and pestilent as the Rhetts and Yanceys of the South. If the President should withdraw his forays of necessity from their operations against the constitution and the statutes, and direct them against the Lovejoys and Sumners, and hang them, he would do less harm to the cause of the Union than he does by his abolition messages and measures. A war conducted for the abolition of slavery, is a war *upon* the Union, the constitution, and the laws. Congress and the administration have no more right to wage such a war as that would be, than a judge in a court of justice has to condemn a thief to be burnt alive. The abolition of slavery, or the destruction of private property in slaves, is not the penalty for treason by the constitutional law of the Union. The punishment for treason is defined by the laws, and there is no such thing as a *war power* known to the institutions of our country, except the constitution and the laws. The constitution and the law is the *war power*, and the instant the executive tramples upon this, he too is in arms against his country. To the voice of those who say that rebellion in the South must be put down by the whole force and power of the offended laws, we say "Amen! with all our hearts;" and we go further and say that rebellion in the North must be put down also. Both heads of the rebellion must be crushed, or our country is lost. Both must be crushed, not by the danger-

ous power of accidental and lawless necessity, but by the safe and well-defined operations of constitutional and statute laws. And the very instant the true Union men of the North throw the old head of abolition rebellion under hatches, the Southern head, which grows out of the same hated stem, will go down with it. The instant the abolition rebellion, which is the father of the other, is thoroughly conquered, the crushed and persecuted Union sentiment of the South will be let up, to deal with secession in a far more summary manner than our army will ever do. For, an army may *crush*, but it alone can never *conquer* the rebellion, and save the Union. A people simply crushed, and held eternally down under the point of the bayonet, would not be citizens; and a government so doing would neither be a Union nor a Republic. The programme of the majority of both houses of Congress is a worse rebellion than even that of Jeff. Davis—for that does not render necessary the destruction of the spirit and form of our government, while this congressional rebellion aims to annihilate, not only our laws, but renders, if successful, the destruction of the constitutional form of our government inevitable. Secession, ugly fiend as it is, may still leave us the temple of our liberty and laws unhurt, though giving shelter to a less number of States; but this abolition rebellion aims to strike down the whole foundation and superstructure with a single blow. The work of Washington and the patriots of the Revolution is to perish in an hour. Necessity is to rule supreme in the seats of law, and anarchy—black anarchy—is to pave the way for an Austrian style of "freedom" on this continent—a *freedom* that sits down in broken will at the point of the bayonet, and looks up to see no other horizon than the beetling brow of a standing army. Has God forsaken the hearts and the will of this people? Has the blood of our fathers ceased to flow in our veins?

ONE night, during the French Revolution, when the throat of the nation was being cut in the name of "liberty and fraternity," a patriot, who saw the mobs of Robespierre murdering half the citizens of Paris, cried out, "Where is the OLD GUARD? If they come not, all is lost!"

This incident has suggested the title of this journal. There is yet left an OLD GUARD in America, in a class of patriotic citizens, who, in the midst of sedition, anarchy, tyranny, and a frightful whirlpool of disorganizing isms and of dishonest subserviency to corrupt and factious power, still cling to the ancient landmarks of the Republic—still hold on to the constitution and the laws that have descended to us from our fathers.

This journal humbly seeks to be an organ of this class of patriots. It speaks for those who wish to see the Union restored to just what it was previous to the present horrible era of blood. It labors to direct the public mind to those pure principles of government on which all constitutional liberty rests, and which were, by our fathers, made the foundation of our constitution and laws.

It exposes the delusions, sophistries, crimes, and the malignant treason of abolitionism, which has, for a third of a century, been permitted to hurl its destructive weapons against the whole citadel of the constitution and laws of the Republic.

It makes no distinction between the Northern man who tramples upon the constitution of his country, and the Southern man who commits the same crime.

It especially advocates the cause of the Northern laboring man, against

the monstrous proposition to turn loose four millions of negroes, or any number of them, to compete with white laboring men in all the labor markets of the country. For every slave, thus turned out to shift for himself, a white American, German, or Irishman, must be pushed out of his place, or be oppressively taxed to support the idle contrabands in our jails or poor-houses. The Administration, it is said, already has in its employ, doing the work that white men now sadly need, over twenty thousand negroes, and one government official has caused a statement to be published that he "has thirty black hands employed about the docks, and they are worth any fifty white laborers he could procure." The same official (Captain King) applied to a quartermaster for an increase in the negro proportion of the hands he employs. So elated are the negroes with the superb attention they receive from government, that, in Kansas, they have held a public meeting, to take preliminary steps for driving every German and Irish citizen out of that State. And this is only the beginning of the end. The inevitable result of negro-emancipation will be to reduce the laboring white man to the social *status* of the negro. This is Mr. Seward's old receipt for elevating the white laboring man—to *make the negro his equal*. In this mad undertaking the Union has been disrupted, freedom of speech and of the press, the right of petition—nay, even personal liberty—all, all have been trampled under foot, until the imagination shrinks from the painful effort to conceive that this is the nineteenth century, and that we still live in America. Into this field of ruin the Old Guard enters, with an

earnest purpose to help lift up the fallen pillars in the desecrated temple of liberty.

It does not busy itself with any factious or needless opposition to the present unhappy and most wretched administration. The administration has punishment enough in bearing the weight of its own delusions and blunders. This journal, so far from seeking to further complicate its misfortunes, renders a cheerful and an honest support to any and every legal measure, which promises to restore the laws of the Union to their full force over every inch of its territory. But it will not fail to denounce, as crimes against the people of America, every violation of the constitution and law, regardless of any excuse which corrupt men in power, or foolish men out of power, may raise in justification of such wrong.

It will carefully study to call *men* and *principles* by their right names. It will not call faction, and plundering the nation, *patriotism*, nor will it consent to say that a war for the liberation of negroes is a war for the Union.

It will rigidly hold that all political lying is just as immoral as any other lying—that any PARTY POLICY which sacrifices POLITICAL PRINCIPLE is the shallow device of corrupt men, and a wrong to public virtue. It will not, therefore, commend to politicians the example of the foolish man, who was so eager to replenish his pond of *eels* that he put into it every *snake* he could find. *The right man in the right place* means the true man in every party or public trust.

It will earnestly recommend that all parties, who really wish to see the Union restored to its old foundations, should take common cause against the party which no longer blushes to own that they neither expect, nor wish, to see

the Union restored to what it was.” All who love the old Union, and who would preserve our old constitution, are of one faith, and should at once come together in one united party. There is no longer truth or justice in speaking of Democrats, and that most respectable portion of the old Whig party who have refused to be broken like bubbles into the puddle of abolitionized “Republicanism” as two parties. In all the issues now before the country they are *one*. The habit of speaking of some conservative men as *Union men* in distinction from *Democrats* is a mischievous mistake. Every true Democrat is a Union man. He is one of the best and firmest kind of a Union man. He was never anything but a Union man. He is the original enemy of the Disunion-abolitionists, who have wrought all our woes. “*Union-saver*” is the name which the Black Republicans have contemptuously applied to him for many years, and it is a name which he has accepted, and still accepts, as the truest definition of his principles. It may be true, if this Democrat has remained honest and firm in the midst of these times of too general hypocrisy and cowardice, that he has spoken out with a loud voice against the mad destruction of our country under the hypocritical pretence of saving it. It may be true that he has fearlessly denounced traitors everywhere, whether in the North or the South—whether their names are Jeff. Davis and Yancey, or Seward and Sumner. It may be true that the blatant throats of ignoramuses, and of cunning demagogues, have cried out “*Secessionists*” at all, whose patriotic love of their country has forced them to denounce executive usurpations, and violations of constitutional and statute law. But, it is nevertheless true that these, and the like of these, are the

men who, under Divine Providence, will be the means of saving our country from lapsing into utter anarchy and despotism, if it is ever saved. These form the OLD GUARD, who will faithfully and bravely stand by the old constitution, the old Union, and all the sacred rights of self-government which we inherited from our fathers. "*Where is the Old Guard? If they come not, all is lost!*"

It shall be the mission of this journal to arouse this patriotic Old Guard to the importance of marshalling its legions to march to the ballot-box, and there strike for their country and laws. The party in power has rolled a debt of NEARLY THREE THOUSAND MILLIONS over the crushed resources and broken hopes of the people in three years. Of this tremendous sum, over *half a billion* has been stolen from the public treasury by the partisans and favorites of Mr. Lincoln. These political thieves have so far transcended the imagination of man, that they have made all past *thieving* comparatively respectable, by a transcendent eclipse of its abominations. If Mr. Lincoln's thieves are allowed to go on for his full term of office as they have progressed for three years, they will leave a debt of *four billions and eight hundred millions* upon the people! And all they will have to show for the waste of this incomprehensible amount will be four hundred thousand graves, dug in the earth that will be red with the blood of our sons and fathers, and a burning hatred between our once united people, which will last as long as the gloom of the grave. *The only possible hope of arresting this accumulating evil is in the election of a Democratic president next fall, who, when he takes his seat will put a stop to all this tide of

merely destructive events. It must not be a traitorous *Black Republican democrat*, who goes in for the support of the unconstitutional deeds of this negro-emancipating administration, but a square, firm, true man, who will stand up in his place, and denounce theft, tyranny, and usurpation, as our fathers of the Revolution denounced the crimes of the British government. If any Black Republicans are to be returned to power, let them go in the name of the party they serve, and not in the prostituted name of *Union and Democracy*. We have had enough of such deception.

To advocate this patriotic cause of Democracy and the Union this journal was started. The men, whose political principles date from 1776 and 1787, will find it a faithful and fearless co-worker in these old fields of constitutional and statute law and liberty. As the editor is in no sense an *office-seeker*, he is far removed from all temptation to such things as political *bobbing*, and bargaining with the enemy. His only ambition is to deserve the confidence and patronage of those who prefer death, in defense of the right, to life in companionship with the wrong. The politician's morality of *policy* before *principle* will find no countenance in this journal. But, at the same time, it will advocate an entire oblivion of past personal differences within party lines in relation to all who frankly and heartily return to the ranks of the Old Guard of the Republic, without any subjunctive qualifications or reservations. The party organization is not the property of a few, or of any limited number of leading men—it belongs to the *people*; and all who honestly adopt its principles have a common right of access to its councils, and may justly claim a voice in the direction of its public measures.

THE HOUSEHOLD PET.

BY MRS. HELEN RICH.

WE'VE a mimic man, a baby,
With a pair of roguish eyes,
And a mouth of budding laughter,
And a look that's very wise.
Though his hair is not in ringlets,
Or his eyes a lovely brown,
He has dimples and a stammer,
The delight of half the town.

And he wears a peacock feather
In his little cap of plush,
And he hearkens for Kris Kringle
With a quick impatient hush.
And he rides a cane as bravely
As all boys of equal age,
And we think him, without question,
Quite the wonder of the age.

You should see him dance the polka,
You should hear him try to sing ;
Now he ambles like a pony,
Now he ties the cat with string.
Then he reads you in the paper
Of inverted ships in rows,
With his grandpa's glasses mounted
On his little comic nose.

He will ask you if the lightning
Is afraid to hear the *thunder* ;
And the moon upon the water
Is a great and lovely wonder.
He will question you of angels
And of things beyond the skies,
Till you cannot see a planet
For the sudden tears that rise.

And he presses loving kisses
Where those tender teardrops lay,
And he tries to cheer you sweetly
In his simple earnest way.

And he tells you of the marvels
He will execute and plan,
When he grows as big as papa
When he gets to be a man.

We have named him from a hero,
We have mapped his future fair ;
He shall wear a poet's laurel
'Mid his dark and glossy hair.
We forget that we are weary,
We forget that we are old,
For our darling is a beauty,
He's our little store of gold.

We have heard of tortured bosoms,
We have heard of royal Lear,
But we know our little blessing
Will not cost our hearts a tear.
For a manhood looketh bravely
From the forehead of *our* boy,
And we hail it as a token
Of a rich and perfect joy.

Oh, he's but a tiny mortal,
And he may not live to know
How impossible the wonders
That but wait for him to grow.
And he may not know how gracious
To our souls his baby art,
But we love him all as fondly
As from death he dwelt apart.

God forgive us if we listen
To a parent's easy pride ;
God forgive us if misguiding
That young angel by our side.
May the Father look in pity
On the love that prayeth wild,
" *Take all earthly blessings from us,*
But in mercy spare our child !"

THE OLD GUARD,

A MONTHLY JOURNAL, DEVOTED TO THE PRINCIPLES OF
1776 AND 1787.

VOLUME I.—SEPTEMBER, 1863.—No. IX.

JUDGE WOODWARD AND THE CONTEST IN PENNSYLVANIA.

THE pending contest for Governor of Pennsylvania is one of unusual interest. From the geographical and political position of the State, as well as from the character of its people, the result of the election will be regarded as indicative of the future destiny of the Union, and as decisive of the experiment of democratic institutions. The questions involved are grave, broad, and wide-reaching. The issues presented are free from the complications of personal and local influences. The democratic candidate for Governor was the choice of no faction. He was selected by the representatives of the whole party from motives founded upon character, courage, and a peculiar fitness for the exigencies of the time. In any ordinary canvass, he would not have been chosen. In any ordinary canvass, he would not have accepted the nomination. He is a Judge of the Supreme Court, with four years yet to serve in the capacity of Chief Justice. He had personally, therefore, nothing to

gain by a transfer to the Executive office. In Pennsylvania, especially, the office of Judge of the Supreme Court, in respect of emolument as well as of public character and social position, is preferable to any other. But a point of time has been reached in our political history, when it must be definitely settled whether the system of government by republican forms, and resting upon the power and will of the people, which its founders have transmitted to us, can be maintained. A high officer of the national government announced as early as May, 1861, that the leading result of the existing war would be the entire obliteration of State lines, and that at its conclusion our people would be recognized as Americans only, and no longer as Pennsylvanians or Virginians. Extreme as this announcement was then regarded, the action of the government has since been carried into practical details that have startled and astounded the advocates of sound principles throughout the nation.—

All restraints imposed by the plain words of the Constitution of the United States have been disregarded. The provisions of the State Constitutions have been treated with open, wanton, and avowed contempt. Armies at this moment are being levied by a conscription whose forms and whose very existence were utterly unknown to the founders of the Republic. The framers of the Constitution certainly never contemplated the possibility of the creation of a national army, except by an appeal to the militia of the States. At this hour, in the remotest and most quiet community of the Northern States, every democrat holds his property, his liberty, and his life at the mere caprice of the Federal Executive. Worse than that, he may be seized, imprisoned, and plundered to gratify the individual malice of any irresponsible instrument of despotic power. The relations of the President and his Cabinet with the Governors of the States have been those of superior and inferior, and except in New York and New Jersey during the last year, the different Governors have exhibited extraordinary eagerness to accept and recognize these as their legitimate and true relations. The entire structure of our political system is in danger of subversion, and only by the action of the people at the polls can the danger be averted. Fully impressed with the importance of the crisis, Judge Woodward unhesitatingly accepted the nomination of the Democratic Convention, prepared to take his share of the responsibility

and labor involved in the effort to wrest the control of the government from incompetent and unworthy hands.

From the importance of the questions in issue in Pennsylvania, some anxiety has been manifested in regard to the history and characteristics of Judge Woodward. It is the object of this paper to gratify this natural feeling. From necessity, the intended sketch must be a brief and superficial one, for it has to be prepared without access to the materials for a biography, and in the absence of such personal communication as might supply its place.

GEORGE W. WOODWARD was born in the month of March, in the year 1809, and is consequently in the 55th year of his age. His birthplace was Bethany, then the seat of justice of the county of Wayne. His father, at the time of his birth, was Sheriff of the county, and subsequently became an Associate Judge, an office which he held up to the date of his death in 1829. The family had settled in Pennsylvania before the Revolution. The two grandfathers of Judge Woodward formed part of a colony from Connecticut which, contemporaneously with the emigration to Wyoming, had occupied, in the year 1774, the valley of the Wallenpaupack, which forms the present boundary between the counties of Wayne and Pike. After the Massacre of Wyoming, in July, 1778, the colonists were driven from their homes by the tories and indians. The women and children were enabled to find shelter

and food in the counties of Orange and Dutchess, in the State of New York, while most of the men of the colony enlisted in the revolutionary army, and generally in different regiments of the Connecticut line. Jacob Kimble, the maternal grandfather of Judge Woodward, commanded a company as captain in the Connecticut line throughout the war. After the war of the Revolution, in 1783, the survivors of the settlers returned to the valley of the Wallenpaupack, and commenced that career of toil and hardship which in that age was always, for at least one generation, incident to frontier life. The colony was remote and obscure; the early improvements, in consequence of their enforced abandonment for a series of years, had become valueless, and the means of the settlers had been exhausted by the necessity for their support during their absence. The winter following their return is still traditional throughout the country-side as the severest one of the century. The nearest settlement at which supplies could be obtained was Milford, on the Delaware, and every mouthful of the food of the colonists in all that weary winter, was carried upon the backs of men who traversed, upon snow-shoes, the thirty miles between Milford and their homes. The colony soon became prosperous, and like all such communities, soon began to send out into the world large numbers of hardy, vigorous, and unflinching men.

From the rugged character of the country in which they were reared,

and from the habits of self-reliance which their isolation induced, the colonists of the Wallenpaupack have always been distinguished for a peculiar physical and mental energy. There is scarcely a county on the continent in which there is not some scion of this race, who is illustrating in some walk in life his ancestral traits. Imbued with the blood of the Wallenpaupack, Judge Woodward has inherited with it the unbending courage, the resolute will, the clear, concentrated power, and the outspoken and open contempt for baseness and base men which always characterized the pioneers from whom he is descended.

The early education of Judge Woodward was such as the circumstances of the country and the period permitted. The county of Wayne was upon the frontier, and the schools were designed for only the necessary wants of a community of struggling and straitened settlers. It has been said, however, that he had the advantage of a training by an elder brother, who died early, but who, for the time, was an accomplished mathematician, and who gave to his pupil the foundation for a thorough mathematical education. As soon as he attained a suitable age he was sent abroad. In the first instance, his father placed him at the Geneva Seminary—now Hobart College—at Geneva, in this State, where for some years he was the classmate of several young men who have since been distinguished in public life, including the Hon. Henry S. Randall, formerly Secretary of State, and the Hon. Horatio Seymour, now Governor of New

York. From there he was transferred to the Wilkesbarre Academy, in the county of Luzerne, in Pennsylvania, then in the charge of Doctor M. P. Orton. In every respect this change was most fortunate. The school itself was one of the last of a class of institutions which, prior to the advent of the common school system, afforded to students the means of thoroughly mastering the groundwork of classical, mathematical, and scientific knowledge. While the course of study was not greatly extended, it was thorough as far as it went. And certainly no equivalent for the old system of academical education is now in existence, except in the few schools of a polytechnic character, where a scholar can be trained in and for a specialty and nothing else. Dr. Orton himself entertained adequate conceptions of the value of his own position, and a conscientious sense of his responsibility to his pupils. The Academy under his charge was successful for a long period of years, and in 1828, young Woodward left it with an education which, in thoroughness, clearness, and finish, he could not have elsewhere readily acquired.

Leaving school, Judge Woodward entered the office first of the late Thomas Fuller, of Wayne County, and then of the Hon. Garriek Mallery, as a student-at-law. Mr. Mallery had long been the leading lawyer in northern Pennsylvania, and was at that time a member of the State Legislature. In April, 1831, he was appointed by Gov. Wolf President Judge of the Berks Judicial District, and Judge Woodward, who had been admitted to the bar in August, 1830, became the occupant of his office, and succeeded to his business.

His success at the bar was very rapid and very great. His intellect was one of those which mature early. He had great capacity for labor, a fine person, and both physical and moral courage. He was an eloquent and impressive speaker, and his weight of character, as well as his abilities, soon gave him the influence which character always secures both with courts and juries. He was in full practice in Luzerne, Wayne, Pike, Monroe, and Susquehanna Counties, and in the Supreme Court of the State, within a very short time after the transfer of Mr. Mallery to the bench. He was a thoroughly bred lawyer, laboring every question and every cause with unflinching energy, and his success in practice was in proportion to the expenditure he bestowed upon it.

His political connections, as well from his own instincts as from inherited influences, had always been with the democratic party. From the foundation of the government his family had been always democrats. Belonging to the yeomanry of the State, whigs during the Revolution, and soldiers in the Continental Army, they had no sympathy with, and nothing to hope from, the class of men who, forming the federal party of that day, proposed to establish a government in form with the precise characteristics of that which Mr. Lincoln has succeeded in inflicting, in fact, upon the country now. His father had been elected Sheriff by the democracy of Wayne County, and commissioned by Governor McKean, and his commission as Judge had been given him by Governor Snyder, one of that staunch race of German Governors who impressed sound views of public questions

upon the people of Pennsylvania in a way that art, sophistry, falsehood, violence, and terrorism have in vain sought to disturb. His brothers were also democrats, and were prominent in the politics of the northern part of the State. One of them died in 1825, holding the offices of Register, Recorder, Prothonotary, and Clerk of the Courts in Wayne; and another of them subsequently represented the Northampton district, to which the county was then attached, in the Legislature. Devoted as he was to the profession, he always exhibited a warm and abiding interest in the political issues then pending. The struggle between the Administration of General Jackson and the United States Bank was going on with all its virulence, and the position of Judge Woodward in support of the Administration was taken promptly and firmly, and maintained with unyielding courage and vigor. In 1835, in the unfortunate division of the party between two rival candidates, which resulted in the disaster of the election of Governor Ritner, he took strong ground in favor of Mr. Muhlenburg and against Governor Wolf. The influence of Mr. Ritner's administration upon all the interests of Pennsylvania was evil in an inexpressible degree. It brought into power for the first time a class of dangerous men, whose infinite capacities for mischief have been hourly illustrated since the commencement of the present war. It led also to the introduction into the government of the State of maxims and practices previously unknown, which, fostered by one party and tampered with by the other, have tended to subvert all safe theories, to demoralize large numbers of the

people of the State, and to destroy in many politicians all sense of personal honor and public virtue. The chartering by the State Legislature of the United States Bank in the session of 1836; the avowed and shameless profligacy in the management of the public improvements; the encouragement given to corporations; the introduction of the system of controlling the discretion of the citizen in the management of his private business, and in the education of his children by law; the open use of money for political and legislative ends; and, above all, the adoption of the doctrines of the old federalists in the treatment of the tariff and cognate questions, preparing as it did, in an insidious way, the public mind for that tendency to centralized despotism in the national government which is so lamentably manifest now, were all fruits of this original misfortune. The history of mankind does not afford so marked an illustration of rapid political degeneracy in a similar period, as that which was furnished by the three years of Mr. Ritner's rule. From that time to the present, there has been no single hour when the public interests have not required at the hands of every Pennsylvania patriot the most patient and vigilant watchfulness, and the most energetic and unrelaxing effort to defeat the selfish schemes of speculators and jobbers, and to arrest the tendency which has been uniform and constant towards the subversion of all democratic institutions. In this duty, it is but justice to Judge Woodward to say, that he has been always ready to make the sacrifices and to assume the burdens which patriotism required of him. Acting steadily with the democratic

party, watching anxiously the course of public events, and always ready with his pen, his voice, and his vote to vindicate safe principles, he has shrunk from none of the occasional odium and none of the local inconveniences which all men who keep unflinchingly in the path of duty must at some period encounter.

In 1836, Judge Woodward was elected a delegate to the Convention called by the Legislature to reform the Constitution of the State. In May, 1837, the Convention met. It embraced the most experienced and able men of the Commonwealth. Its numbers included lawyers in the leading ranks of the bar, judges who had been long upon the bench, and gentlemen who had held high positions in the State and National Governments. When it assembled, there was a small majority opposed to any reform whatever, and that majority included almost every member of established reputation. Judge Woodward was then an obscure and unknown lawyer from the north, and one of the youngest men in the Convention, and with defined and strong views in favor of reform, the prospect of success seemed disheartening and unpromising enough. But the feelings of the people of the State were distinct, and soon came to be distinctly announced. One step after another was gained, and in the end every object which had been sought by the call of the Convention was gained. In the debates, Judge Woodward soon took high rank.—These debates covered in their range all the leading and vital questions involved in the theories and practices of representative government. Under the old Constitution, the Judges of the

State had been appointed by the Governor for life. A leading struggle in the Convention was to limit this tenure, and it resulted in a provision for the appointment of Judges of the Supreme Court for fifteen, and of the Judges of original jurisdiction for ten years. Inferior magistrates had been appointed for life also. It was provided that they, as well as the executive officers of the different counties, should be elected by the people. The power of corporations to appropriate the private property of the citizen under legislative grant was restricted, and in all cases of such appropriation, security to the citizen was required. In order to settle a question, which had even then become a source of anxious and angry controversy, by constitutional enactment, the right of suffrage was limited to the *white* inhabitants of Pennsylvania. In the earlier Constitutions of the State, no necessity had occurred to their framers for the insertion of this limitation. No man had dreamed that the rights of political citizenship would be ever claimed for negroes. But after New England found slaveholding unprofitable, and they had been debarred from the slave trade, the New England conscience had grown tender. The Missouri question had been the first occasion for an open development of this tendency, and in 1837 the maudlin and muddled sentiment of Yankee "philanthropists" had found some foothold in Pennsylvania. The argument of Judge Woodward upon this question in the Convention was the clearest, ablest, and most convincing vindication of the proposed amendment which the debates contain. In all that has been written and spoken upon the subject since,

there has been no such satisfactory discussion of the peculiar *status* of the negro in this country. It was proved that his race was a *caste*, and that for their benefit, as well as for the benefit of the white population, his position of political and social inferiority must be recognized. It was shown that any attempt to inculcate practically the theory of the equality of the races, would involve the inevitable necessity of leveling not the negro up, but the white man down. It was demonstrated that in all the history of the world, the order of Providence had been that in the struggle of races the weakest should depend on the strongest; that the development and civilization of mankind had been thus always promoted; and that all efforts founded on the morbid, uneasy, impatient, and restless conscientiousness of extreme men, must end in incalculable injury to the superior race, and in the almost certain annihilation of the inferior and dependent caste. It is graveley to be regretted that principles so sound and salutary have come to be abandoned and derided by our present rulers, and that the whole enormous power of the federal government is being exercised for the purpose of Africanizing this Republic.

During the session of the Reform Convention, an amendment to a whig proposition relating to foreigners was offered by Judge Woodward, which, deriving its significance from events subsequently occurring, became the foundation of a good deal of calumny and misrepresentation. Many years afterwards, while a candidate for election to the Supreme Bench, certain gentlemen of the Pittsburgh Bar addressed him a letter, requesting him, in justice to him-

self and friends, to put on record an authentic and final answer to these calumnies. This was in the fall of 1852. Judge Woodward was then sitting in the Supreme Court at Pittsburgh, under the appointment of Governor Bigler, and his official duties left him little time to attend to political correspondence. But this letter came from gentlemen of such high character, and was written from such friendly and admirable motives, that he felt constrained to give it a prompt and full answer. This correspondence explains so clearly the nature of the slanders referred to, as well as their origin and utter falsity, that we insert it, in preference to attempting a statement of our own :

DEAR SIR—The undersigned, members of the democratic party, beg leave to call your attention to certain charges now frequently made by the whig press against you in regard to your views upon the naturalization laws, and alleged hostility to the rights of naturalized citizens. We are aware that you may justly regard your life and conduct, in the high station you have occupied, and the boundless confidence of the democratic party which you enjoy, as a sufficient answer to such calumnies.

But the charges are intended to operate on and mislead persons to whom the truth is unknown. We would therefore solicit from you an expression of your views on the subject, if your time will permit, not doubting that every candid mind will thus be satisfied, that by no act of your life have you been justly chargeable with having entertained men or measures favoring illiberal or proscriptive policy towards adopted citizens, on account of the place of their birth or their religious opinions.

Very respectfully yours, &c.

Charles Shaler,	James May,
H. S. Magraw,	S. Jones,
H. Hepburn,	John Anderson,
Herman Gross,	J. B. Guthrie,
J. Roth,	Samuel W. Black,
Wm. Rothacker,	J. S. Sabita,
James C. Richey,	Charles Billharz,
H. Veerheller,	J. H. Cassiday,
Jas. Blakely,	Bernard Burns,
Wm. Wilkins,	David Campbell,
James Gray, 4th st.	George R. White,
Thomas Wynne,	Andrew Burke,
Daniel Rogers,	Edwin M. Stanton,
Thos. Blackmore,	John McCarthy,
Eli Burford,	Joseph Baner,
Thos. Barnes,	M. C. Milligan,
Jacob Barnett,	Charles Purnell,
Andrew Burke,	William Craig,
Th. Umbstædter,	J. Ross Snowden.

JUDGE WOODWARD'S REPLY.

PITTSBURGH, Sept. 14, 1852.

GENTLEMEN—The official duties which brought me to Pittsburgh keep me constantly engaged. My answer to your letter must therefore be brief.

From my earliest youth to this present moment I have been an earnest and hearty supporter of the democratic party, and an equally jealous opponent, so far as my political action could decorously and properly go, of whatever has opposed it. I am not and never have been a "Native American" in any political sense, no more than I am or have been a Whig, Anti-Mason, or an Abolitionist.

The charge of "Nativism" is attempted to be sustained by a motion which I made in the Reform Convention of 1837. That was simply a limitation of a motion made by Mr. Thomas, a Whig member from Chester County, and was calculated to compel his party (who were in majority in the Convention) to come up to the mark or back out. They chose the latter branch of the alternative, and my motion, having answered its purpose, was withdrawn. The sin of introducing this subject into that body lies at the door of a Whig, and not at mine. The speech so often

quoted against me I am not responsible for. It was introduced into the Debates by a Whig reporter, in violation of the rules of the body, which required him to submit it for revision before publication, and which he never did. I made some observations explanatory of my amendment of Thomas' motion, but that speech is not a fair report of them. My other speeches were submitted for revision. This one I never saw till the book was printed, and I have never ceased to condemn it.

During the session of the Convention, namely, on the 10th day of January, 1838, a member in debate alluded to the motion—not the speech—as indicative of hostility to foreigners. I promptly denounced the imputation there in the face of the Convention, as I have done many a time since, as a gross misrepresentation.—*See Debates of the Convention, vol. IX, pp. 33, 34.*

I have retained the undiminished confidence of the Democratic members of the Reform Convention, several of whom were adopted citizens, and all of them opposed to "Nativism." Would this have been possible, if the Whig reports of my sayings and doings had been true?

The Native American party itself is my witness. Seven years ago I was the caucas nominee for United States Senator. The county of Philadelphia was represented by Natives. They asked me whether, if elected by their votes, I would favor their measures for changing the naturalization laws. I answered them, No; and they threw every vote they could command against me, and raised a shout of triumph over their victory.

You refer to statements in the Whig papers of this city. One of them was shown me a few days ago, in which was a garbled extract from a letter written by me about a year ago, in which I repelled the imputation of Nativism as distinctly as I deny it now. Yet the Editor told his readers that the letter contains an admission that my sentiments were, at that time, adverse

to the rights of foreign-born citizens. A copy of the letter thus misrepresented by the *Pittsburgh Gazette* I send you herewith in the *Keystone* of Sept. 23d, 1851.

When men will allow their political passions to get the better of their veracity so far as to impel them to acts and assertions like this, it is easy enough to understand how and why I was misrepresented by a reporter of the Convention, whose motives for doing so were just as strong as those which actuate my political opponents now.

Another allegation, that I opposed Judge Campbell last fall, is as false as any other of the numerous misstatements recently made against me. I never opposed any nominee on account of his birth or religion, and I supported no nominee last fall more heartily than I did Judge Campbell.

It is with infinite reluctance I appear before the public at this time, even in self-defence. A candidate for judicial office is, perhaps, more than any other candidate, required to await quietly the decision of the people. I am sensible as any man can be that politics ought to be kept away as far as possible from judicial elections, but the terms of your letter leave me no choice but to answer. I have answered by giving you briefly the truth. I give it because it is the truth, and I accompany it with no appeal to party passion or prejudice.

If industrious defamation can succeed in representing me as ever having sustained any illiberal or proscriptive *ism*, then the *truth* and a *life* are powerless against slander.

There are some presses and many men opposed to me in political sentiments who are disposed to treat me fairly, and who will not descend to base appliances to accomplish a party purpose. Such men and presses command my respect. Against others, who are less scrupulous, I have no shield but the truth and my life, and relying on these, I can afford to wait in patience the verdict of the people.

Thanking you, gentlemen, for the kind feelings manifested in your letter,

I am, with great respect,
Your obedient servant,

GEO. W. WOODWARD.

After the close of the Reform Convention, Judge Woodward returned to Wilkesbarre, and resumed the practice of his profession. In the autumn of 1838, after a vigorous contest, David R. Porter, the democratic candidate for Governor, was elected. He was supported by Judge Woodward most ably and efficiently. In April, 1841, a vacancy having occurred in the office of President Judge of the Fourth Judicial District, composed of the counties of Mifflin, Huntingdon, Centre, Clearfield, and Clinton, he was appointed to that office. Shortly after his appointment, a division of the district was made, leaving the counties of Centre, Clinton and Clearfield to compose the Fourth District, in which he remained until the expiration of his term, in April, 1851. He discharged the duties of this office acceptably to the people of the district, and with great ability and great energy.

From the time of his appointment to the Bench, in 1841, Judge Woodward was debarred, by the public opinion prevalent in his party, from active personal participation in political contests. His interest in public events, however, was maintained, and he watched their progress with an observant eye, ever ready to counsel and

advise those who were charged with the responsibility of the government. He supported Mr. Polk for President, and Francis R. Shunk for Governor, in 1844, and after the election, as soon as it was ascertained that Mr. Buchanan was to become a member of the Cabinet of Mr. Polk, the minds of leading members of the party throughout the State were turned to him as the candidate for United States Senator, to be selected in order to supply the vacancy thus created. He received the nomination of the caucus of the democratic members of the Legislature, and by every rule regulating the action of political parties in the State was entitled to an election, which the majority of democrats in the Legislature was large enough fully to ensure. Influences, however, were brought to bear upon several members of the majority, whose votes secured his defeat, and the election of Simon Cameron, the candidate of the Whigs and of a faction representing for the first time in the politics of the State a Native American party. In the case of every democrat who voted against Judge Woodward, his motives, and the manner in which he was controlled, were well known, and, in most instances, fully disclosed at the time. But the pretext by which they attempted to justify their conduct was common to them all. They placed their justification on the ground of the original and often explained motion made in the Reform Convention in relation to foreigners; and this

notwithstanding the fact that the votes of the Native American members of the Legislature would have elected him; that these votes were actually cast for General Cameron; that the price of their support was the assent of Judge Woodward to the principles of the Native American party; that his assent to these principles was asked and was refused by him; and that General Cameron gave to these members the assurances they required, received their support, and, with the aid of the merchantable democrats he had secured, was thus elected!

But although bad men thus gained a temporary triumph over Judge Woodward, by a base and slanderous representation of his feeling toward foreigners, our adopted citizens themselves have come to understand his position in relation to them. They know that he has been more truly and earnestly their friend than any of the demagogues who have successively courted, used, abused, and spurned them. Whenever they have been the victims of popular prejudice—in 1844, when the Native American party was first founded; in 1854, when the Know-Nothing organization swept the Northern States with the pervading ruthlessness of an Egyptian plague—he has been foremost in denunciation of the efforts of bad men to trample on their rights. And the support which he received from foreigners when a candidate for Judge of the Supreme Court in 1852, proves that they recognize and realize the falsity of the charges which bad men, from time to

time, make pretexts for defamation. Mr. Polk was inaugurated in March, 1845, and Congress met on the first of the following December. In the interval, the Hon. Henry Baldwin, a Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States for the circuit composed of the States of Pennsylvania and New Jersey, had died. On the 23d of December, Mr. Polk appointed Judge Woodward to fill the vacancy. This was done without consultation or communication with him. In conferring the appointment, undoubtedly, Mr. Polk was influenced by the result of the senatorial election, and by the purpose to rebuke the unprincipled and unscrupulous intrigue by which that result had been attained. Unfortunately for the success of Mr. Polk's object, the appointment had been made without consultation with Mr. Buchanan, the Secretary of State, and his opposition to the confirmation, in connection with the hostility of General Cameron, led to the defeat of Judge Woodward in the Senate. But although Cameron succeeded in seducing some three or four democrats to unite with him in this scheme of personal vengeance, Judge Woodward had the proud satisfaction of receiving an immense majority of the democratic vote, including all the most illustrious Senators of our side.

Judge Woodward thenceforth devoted himself to the discharge of the duties of his office during the remainder of his term, which expired in April, 1851. He then resumed the practice of law in his former office in

Wilkesbarre, and was thus employed until May, 1852, when Governor Bigler appointed him a Judge of the Supreme Court, to fill a vacancy caused by the death of the Hon. Richard Coulter. By a constitutional amendment adopted in the year 1850, this office had become elective, and the appointment, therefore, extended only to the first of December, 1852. He was nominated as the democratic candidate by the Convention of the party by acclamation, and thus for the first time was able to submit his merits and his claims to the decision and discrimination of the people of the State. He was a candidate in the year of the Presidential election, and that was at that time dependent upon the result of the general election in October. It was found in his case, as it has been often proved in other cases, that the man who is apparently the last choice of the political managers, may well be the first choice of the mass of the voters. In the county of Luzerne, where he had spent his life, and in several adjacent counties where he was intimately known, he received a larger vote than had ever been polled for a candidate in a contested election; and he succeeded by a majority in the State that vindicated most amply his professional fitness, his political position, and the integrity of his character.

During the last eleven years, Judge Woodward has been discharging the duties of this responsible and laborious office, and throughout the whole period his reputation as a Judge has been deservedly high. With unusual powers of concentration and great capacity for labor, his style of discussing legal ques-

tions is singularly forcible, distinct, and clear. Avoiding all affectation of fine writing on the one hand, and all tendency to epigram on the other, he says of a case just that which it is necessary to say in English that is always simple, elegant, and racy. There are no opinions in the Pennsylvania Reports more intelligible to plain and unlearned men, and there are none more thorough, able, and exhaustive. The judgment of the Supreme Court upon the question of the Constitutional right of soldiers to vote, was prepared and entered by him. It was decided that this right did not exist, and the plain letter of the Constitution was a sufficient warrant for the judgment. It is to be regretted that some safe provision for allowing to legal voters in the army this privilege had not been devised. By this it is not meant that any regret should be wasted on the failure of the frauds and tricks sought to be perpetuated in 1861. No people would deserve to enjoy free institutions, who would suffer the right of suffrage to be tampered with and abused in the way in which political managers were shown to have tampered with and abused it then. But some adjustment could readily be made, by which the honest voters of a regiment could be permitted to return to their homes long enough in advance of an election, to make themselves familiar with the merits of candidates and the character of the issues at stake. That this could be done without Constitutional interposition, the country has experimental proof. Three thousand republican soldiers could be spared to carry Connecticut for the republican party, and the infamous order of the War Department, dismissing Lieutenant Edger-

ey from the service for "circulating copperhead tickets" in New Hampshire, proves that the Administration have ample leisure and peculiar taste for becoming familiar with the minutest details of a State election. It is greatly to be desired that the practices adopted in New Hampshire and Connecticut, will not be applied, or attempted in Pennsylvania next October. In a variety of ways, it would prove a most unwholesome experiment.

The political position of Judge Woodward is perfectly familiar and perfectly intelligible to the people of Pennsylvania. Resolute in his opposition to any dismemberment of the Union—ready to sustain the national government in every legitimate and constitutional effort to subdue the rebellion—with two sons connected with the Northern Armies in the East—with two nephews from the outbreak of the war in the Armies of the West, and with multitudes of relatives in the military service of the nation everywhere, he insists upon the maintenance of the institutions of the government in their spirit and integrity—upon the supremacy of the law—upon the preservation of the liberty of the citizen—upon freedom, within clear, legal limits of action, and thought, and speech. He insists upon the maintenance of the constitutional immunities of the States. He is hostile to the whole theory of centralization. Upon this subject, in a letter written on the first of July, 1852, he said: "The great lesson taught us is, that the Union itself, the product of the States, is to be preserved only by maintaining the just rights of the States. This truth, as old as our Constitution, is too often forgotten. That the States were pre-existent

to the Union, as sovereignties absolutely free and independent, accountable to no power on earth for their domestic institutions and internal economy; that they exist still in all the plenitude of their original sovereignty, save in the few particulars, and to the precise extent of their voluntary surrender of it in a written constitution, are first principles, to which we do well often to recur." He is opposed to the exercise of every form of arbitrary, discretionary, and despotic power, and will be found prepared to resist it at the very earliest moment, when it shall be ascertained that forcible resistance can only repel its aggressions. That the existence of a war justifies a President in governing peaceable communities by martial law; that a temperate discussion of political questions, involving even criticisms of the policy of the Administration, may be punished at the mere whim of a subordinate military officer; that for such offence punishments may be *invented* by a President which are unheard of in our jurisprudence; and that the life, liberty, and property of the citizen of a State containing no armed enemy, may be in-

vaded upon a government official's theory of "military necessity," are heresies to which Judge Woodward will never assent, in any position which the accidents of life may call upon him to fill.

It is believed that his election to the office of Governor of Pennsylvania is almost a certainty. Certainly, in order to prevent it, changes must occur which are now unforeseen and unanticipated. If he be elected, no man who knows him will doubt that he will serve the Commonwealth with zeal, integrity, ability, and prudence. And he will serve her with due courage also. He will shrink from no responsibility which duty shall require him to assume. He will stand steadfastly beside his friends. He will resolutely and unflinchingly face his enemies; and if, in the course of events, the safety of the State shall force her people into positions still more deplorable than any in which she has been yet involved, they may feel confident that their destinies will have been committed to the guardianship and guidance of a patriotic, bold, able, and just man.

NATIONS, once fallen, seldom rise again. The innate vigor of a people, when once it is exhausted, rarely recruits itself for a second youth. Nations, like individuals, have their periods of growth and decay; and when the symptoms of decline or disintegration manifest themselves, it is usually hopeless to arrest their inevitable progress. This sad history has been repeated in many of earth's noblest people. The culminating point in the national development is but a moment; and the same law of progress which had forced it upward, by the effort of successive generations, now, as by an ebb, relentlessly draws it downward, when once that moment is past. In most cases, the backward movement cannot be stayed: the nation sinks irrecoverably to its fall. "For nations," it has been said by a great author, "there is no resurrection."

Why do these reflections—these awful words—fall upon us like a funeral-bell at the present moment? Our nation, though in the throes of revolution, is neither worn out nor exhausted. It is not old, and can have none of the decay of age about it. But there have been nations which, like individuals, have grown old in their youth, and perished ere middle age. There is such a thing as breaking down a nation's constitution in its youth; and what but inevitable decay and ruin lies beyond it then? The very forces of youth, when once the constitutional framework of government is shattered, hurry the whole body of state on to swifter destruction.

We need not go back to hunt up the histories of the fall of constitutional governments to find illustrations. They are here, alas! before us at the present moment. Not even after the fall of the

Roman republic did constitutional liberty suffer so rapid a decline, during the reign of the first two Cæsars, embracing a period of more than sixty years, as we have suffered in a single year. Under the great usurper, Julius Cæsar, who destroyed the Republic, and founded the Empire upon its ruins, the people endured no increase of taxes, and there was not the least restraint imposed upon the personal liberty even of his enemies. There was the largest liberty of speaking and writing. When the abuse of his enemies became unendurable, instead of locking up the offenders, he answered them. Thus, when Cicero published his "*Cato*," which was designed to show up Cæsar as a usurper, he met it with the "*Anti-Cato*." Instead of punishing, he endeavored to refute. When all Rome was full of the most shocking scandals against his deeds and name, and even when he was terribly chagrined to find his own soldiers singing these scandals up and down his own camp, he came out with a public contradiction of them, but he imposed no restraint upon the largest freedom of uttering them. Instead of punishing those who wrote the most bitter lampoons in relation to his connexion with Cleopatra, he caused his friend Oppius to answer them.

The same unrestrained liberty of speech was continued under Augustus Cæsar. Said this great emperor, "Let us not punish words, but deeds only. Let men's words be free." Even caricatures and epigrams on some of the most delicate personal affairs of the monarch were unvisited with punishment. Augustus knew that none but a nation of slaves and cowards would long submit to have their freedom of speech restrained, as that is a point at

which the people most easily realize their loss of liberty. The policy of the Cæsars seems to have been to slide the Republic into the Empire so gracefully and imperceptibly, that the people could take no timely alarm by perceiving the least abridgement of their liberties.—Such is the difference between great and sagacious usurpers and small and foolish men. After the fall of the Roman Republic, and during the first five decades of the Empire, there was little perceptible change in the constitutional structure of the government. It is safe to say, that for fifty years, embracing the fall of the Republic and the beginning of the Empire, the constitutional shocks and changes were not so great as we have permitted in a single year. More men and women have been imprisoned in America within two years, for exercising the right of speech, than have been imprisoned in Austria, for the same cause, in the last quarter of a century, or than were imprisoned under the tyrants of Rome during the first fifty years of the Empire. And yet we are the sons of those noble sires who, only eighty-six years ago, proclaimed the sacred right of self-government, and established liberty on this continent. Eighty-six years ago! Have we thrown it all away in a single year? A little while will answer that question, and settle the business for us, and for our children, for all time to come.

We are on trial for our national life at this moment. The principles of the right of the people to self-government, on which our nation was founded, are now passing a crisis, in which they must triumph or perish for ever. Each nation has first a period, dating from its birth to its bloom, in which it unfolds its own peculiar principle, and contributes it to the common stock of civiliza-

tion. Then it has its period of decay, in which it admits a foreign principle, loses its inner life, and fades away. Tremblingly we ask, if this nation has already arrived at the fatal turning point, when it must give up its own life-principle, to be reanimated only with a foreign and an antagonistic principle of government? Our nation was born out of the principle that "*governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed.*" Is there an end of this principle now? This principle gave our nation an individuality—a *soul*, as well as an external form of its own, that distinguished it, and marked it out from all others. Is this soul of self government now passing out of it? Nay, we may well ask, if the very form of our government is not passing away? The South, we are told, is to be "conquered," "crushed out;" its institutions "swept away," the property of its citizens "confiscated," the inhabitants "destroyed," or "held as colonies." And what does that imply? It implies not only the killing of the free soul of our government, but it also implies the destruction of its very form. When the people cease to have the right of electing their own governors and of making their own laws, and, instead, have military governors sent among them to enforce the laws only at the point of the bayonet, what becomes of the great *voluntary* idea on which the nation was founded—the sacred principle of self-government? "*Military Governor*" is an odd-sounding phrase in a republic erected upon the grand foundation, that all "governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed." Our Constitution makes no provision for such an officer, and contains no principle out of which such an officer can be created. "Military Governors," "conquered States," "States held as col-

onies,"—these are the very things which our forefathers fought against, and conquered. They supposed that they had formed a Constitution that forever banished such names of despotism from the land they left to their children. Where these names have life, the Constitution is dead; and Liberty is dead—dead not only among those States which we attempt to govern with the sword, but dead also with ourselves; for it involves us all in the common destiny of a military government. We cannot govern them with despotic military power, and preserve the old forms of constitutional liberty for ourselves. We must either consent that a military despotism shall take the place of the government which was formed by our fathers, and spread over the whole land—ourselves as well as them—or we must give up this scheme of conquering and holding them as colonies. Suppose we could subjugate or destroy them, it would all end in the subjugation of our own liberty. Would that pay? A divine author asks, "What shall it profit a man, if he gain the whole world, and lose his own soul?" What shall it profit a nation, if it gain all territory, and loses its own soul? What shall it profit us, if we regain our lost territory, and lose our own distinctive national life—the free soul of our government?

The very proposition to subjugate, and hold one-half of the States of this Union as conquered colonies, is itself the announcement of a revolution, a thousand times more dangerous and destructive to liberty, than even the mad rebellion of the South; for *that* may leave us our liberty, and the whole sublime temple of our laws untouched, while *this* crushes the soul—the vitalizing principle of self-government—out of our institutions, and substitutes the Austrian prin-

ciple in its place. Suppose we should succeed in "destroying" the South, would not that be the most terrible defeat of ourselves? Would it not be the establishment of a principle of government destructive of the very genius of the immortal voluntary principle, which alone has most distinguished our institutions from the bloody tyrannies of the old world! In one word, would it not bring to an end the *spirit* and *form* of the government established by Washington? Who dare come into the field, and attempt to answer this question? The fashion has been of late to lock men up when they could not be answered. Alas! what other proof do we seek to convince us that the European principle of government is now fairly launched against the American principle, and is determined to bring to naught the work of our fathers? We know that, for daring to ask this question, the Republican papers will demand that we shall be deprived of our liberty, in imitation of the blackest hour of Spanish despotism. But still we dare to ask it; because we dare to be free, and because we know how to despise and denounce the tyrants who would murder liberty on this continent, and strangle our glorious Republic in its very infancy.

The mighty sentiment of the Revolution, "Give me liberty, or give me death," has not, we pray God, quite perished in this land. In one soul, at least, it has not perished; and, therefore, there is no terror so great as that of being afraid to speak the truth, and of meanly hiding out of sight when the foes of our country are abroad.

But this, we shall be told, is "aiding rebellion." No doubt there is many an honest fool who will think so, and many a dishonest knave who will say so; but no truthful wise man will admit that free

discussion will do harm to anything but tyranny and wrong. The man who will not allow free discussion, is both a tyrant and a coward—more fit for a dungeon himself, than for a post of office among a free people. No! he *aids rebellion* who denies the right of free discussion; for he teaches the people to disregard the Constitution, and himself sets the example of rebelling against the very soul of its existence. If we cannot suppress rebellion without destroying liberty, and abolishing the constitutional form of our government, then rebellion has an indefeasible right to succeed.

But, “have we not a right to preserve the Union?” Yes: that right is sacred—it is eternal—and no man, who loves his country, will count his own life too great a sacrifice for its salvation. If you are saving the Union—if you are preserving the glorious old Constitution which was the bond of our Union—then we shall stand by you in life or in death for the accomplishment of that great end. But, if you are trampling upon that Constitution—if you are making the salvation of the Union an impossible thing—if you prefer the enlargement of negroes to the reconstruction of the “Union as it was”—then we shall not go with you—no, not even though you fill this once free land as full of prisons as perdition is of fiends! Your tyranny we denounce, and your threats we despise. We hold you as *traitors*, more to be condemned than the abhorred rebellion of the South; because you aim, not like it, at the mere territorial integrity of the Union, but at its fundamental life—at the very soul of liberty and self-government. To “destroy” the South, is not to save the Union. To sweep over the territory of revolted States, with all

the savagery of unrestrained vengeance, is not to bring them back. To “exterminate” them, is not to *enforce the laws*, for there are no laws for the extermination of States. Let us understand this matter: once establish the right to *destroy—to hold as colonies*—and the government which was established by the great men of the Revolution, perishes forever. This is a thousand times worse than secession; for that makes no war upon either the *spirit* or *form* of the government. To *secede* from a government, is not to *destroy* it. But this thing, that the abolitionists propose to do, sweeps down the whole temple of the Constitution and laws together, and leaves upon its ruins a gigantic despotism, which inaugurates its advent by threatening to cut the throats of all who do not adopt their degrading notions of negro equality with the white race.—Suppose these men should succeed in destroying slaveholders, how long may it be before they will begin to destroy some other portion of the people, who hold opinions different from their own? If we have not a right to differ with them on the subject of negroes, do we not lose the right to differ with them on any subject? If we allow them to strike down our liberty in this matter, where is our liberty in any thing else secure?

To preserve this Union, then, the people have not only to overcome the crime and folly of secession, but they have also to strike down this bloody, liberty-destroying monster of Abolition. The crimes of the secessionists are territorial and external—those of the abolitionists are *fundamental*, striking at the heart of the Constitution, and sweeping away the whole edifice of popular self-government.

DISGRACE OF OUR ARMY.

THE following extract from a letter written by one of our officers the day after the great slaughter at Fredericksburg, will be read with mingled shame and indignation by every Northern man, except the abolitionists, who appear to delight in such theft and plunder :

“I went over the Rappahannock this morning, (the 13th,) and such a scene as I witnessed cannot possibly be described. The men had emptied every house and store of its contents, and the streets, as a matter of course, were filled with chairs and sofas, pianos, books, and every thing imaginable. The men were beginning to make themselves appear as ridiculous as possible. Some had hauled pianos to the front doors, and were making hideous noises on them. Others were in silk dresses, with beaver hats on, parading the streets. Others were reading letters; while others turned their attention to obtaining tobacco, of which there was an immense quantity in the town. I have seen hundreds of men with from fifty to one hundred pounds of it. I saw one man with a canary bird, and another with a banjo. A more disgraceful scene I have never witnessed. If Richmond suffers the same fate that this town has, no wonder that the whites fight so. The shelling was a military necessity; but after the town was in our possession the pillaging should have ceased. I think our army has been disgraced to-day by this act. * * * Yesterday was an eventful day. I fired some four hundred and fifty rounds from my battery. None of my men were hurt. Just before dark we opened a terrific cannonade on the houses where the sharp-

shooters secreted themselves, while a number of our men crossed in boats, and, at a signal, we ceased firing, and they rushed up the banks from boats and bridges, driving the enemy before them, and taking some prisoners.”

A Federal officer, corresponding for the *Chicago Times*, gives an account of Gen. Grant's progress in Northern Mississippi, which shows that our soldiers under that command are horribly demoralized :

“Straggling through the country, and stealing every thing that they can lay their hands on, (says the correspondent,) whether of use or not to them, goes on. Helpless women and children are robbed of their clothes and bedding, their provisions taken from them, and by men who have no earthly use for them whatever.”

[FROM ANOTHER CORRESPONDENT.]

“A private letter received here not long since, from a soldier in one of our western armies, states that their march South was characterized by acts of vandalism, and wanton outrage, and fiendish cruelty disgraceful to a civilized people. Burning houses, desolated fields, and homeless households marked their path; while unlicensed robbery, indiscriminate plunder, and, not unfrequently, assassination completed the woeful picture presented by an invading army, which appeared to be without restraint, and whose only purpose would seem to be, as thus manifested, to burn, pillage, and destroy as it went.”

Men who behave in this manner are not soldiers, but brigands. The officers

who allow such crimes deserve to be execrated by the parents whose sons are under their command. It was one of the real causes of abolition complaint against Gen. McClellan, that he forbid marauding and plundering. It is painful to publish such things; but the people ought to know them, in order that they may understand why it is that the Southern people fight with such unnatural desperation, and why they have

come to entertain such a sincere horror of Northern people. Generals who allow these crimes on the part of their soldiers, it is certain, are not fighting to restore the Union—they are doing the barbarous will of the abolitionists, to drive the South so far out that it can never get back. We are sorry to say that Gen. Grant has won for himself a most inglorious notoriety in this particular.

BY JUDGE SPRAGUE, OF MASSACHUSETTS.

WE copy some extracts from a recent decision of Judge Sprague, of Massachusetts, in the final disposition of the questions arising in the case of the *Amy Warwick*. The authority of this distinguished Jurist has been invoked in favor of the power of Congress to confiscate the property of rebels on the land. It will be seen that he entirely repudiates any such doctrine, and also any power in the National Government to destroy the States. Nothing can be more explicit than the following language :

UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT,
APRIL, 1862.

THE AMY WARWICK AND CARGO.

Belligerent Rights of the Government as against its own subjects in civil war.

SPRAGUE, J.—These claimants (Dunlop, Moncure & Co.) having been permanent residents of Richmond, Va., before and ever since the sailing and capture of this vessel, are in the same condition as were Edmond, Davenport & Co., claimants of the 400 bags of coffee, which have already been condemned. If the opinion given in that case be adhered to, this claim must be dismissed.

An objection to the prize decisions of the District Courts has arisen from an apprehension of radical consequences. It has been supposed that if the Government have the rights of a belligerent, then, after the rebellion is suppressed, it will have the rights of conquest; that a State and its inhabitants may be permanently divested of all political privileges, and treated as foreign territory, acquired by arms. This is an error—a grave and dangerous error.

Conquest of a foreign country gives absolute and unlimited sovereign rights. But no nation ever makes such a conquest of its own territory. If a hostile power, either from without or within a nation, takes possession and holds absolute dominion over any portion of its ter-

ritory, and the nation, by force of arms, expels or overthrows the enemy, and suppresses hostilities, it acquires no new title, but merely regains possession, of which it had been temporarily deprived. The nation acquires no new sovereignty, but merely maintains its previous rights.

Another objection to those decisions of the District Courts is founded upon the apprehension that they may lead to or countenance cruel and impolitic confiscations of private property found on land. This apprehension is unfounded. No such consequence can legitimately follow. Those decisions undoubtedly assert that the United States have the rights of a belligerent. But the extent of those rights on land, or the manner in which they are to be exercised, were not discussed. They were not even adverted to, except to say that enemy's property, found by a belligerent on land, within his own country, on the breaking out of a war, will not be condemned by the Courts, although it would be if found at sea. This distinction, so far as it goes, tends to show that the doctrine of maritime captures is not to be applied to seizures on land. But the danger upon which this objection is founded does not arise from the administration of the prize laws by the Courts, or from the exercise of belligerent rights by military commanders upon military exigencies. The objection really arises from fear of the legislation of Congress. It is apprehended that they may pass sweeping or general acts of confiscation, to take practical effect only after the rebellion shall have been suppressed; that whole estates, real and personal, which have not been seized during the war, may be taken and confiscated upon coming within reach of the Government, after hostilities shall have ceased. This, as we have seen, would not be the exercise of belligerent rights, the war being at an end. Belligerent confiscations take effect only upon property of which possession is taken during the war. As against property which continues unc

the control of the enemy, they are wholly inoperative. If possession be acquired by or after the peace, then previous legislation may take effect, but it will be by the right of sovereignty, nor as an act of war. Under despotic governments, the power of municipal confiscation may be unlimited; but under our government, the right of sovereignty over any portion of a State is given and limited by the Constitution, and will be the same after the war as it was before. When the United States take possession of any rebel district, they acquire no new

title, but merely vindicate that which previously existed, and are to do only what is necessary for that purpose.—Confiscations of property, not for any use that has been made of it, which go not against an offending thing, but are inflicted for the personal delinquency of the owner, are punitive; and punishment should be inflicted only upon due conviction of personal guilt. What offences shall be created, and what penalties affixed, must be left to the justice and wisdom of Congress within the limits prescribed by the Constitution.

DANIEL WEBSTER A PROPHET!

WHEN the “great Expounder of the Constitution” read the speech of Mr. Seward, which announced “*the irrepressible conflict*,” he exclaimed—

“If these infernal fanatics and abolitionists ever get power in their hands, they will override the Constitution, set Supreme Court at defiance, change and make laws to suit themselves, lay violent hands on those who differ with them in their opinion, or dare question their infallibility; and, finally, bankrupt the country, and deluge it with blood!”

We beg, with due respect, to call Mr. Lincoln’s attention to these words of terrible prophecy, uttered by the immortal Daniel Webster. The flowers have blossomed over the grave of the great statesman but a few summers before his awful words are more than fulfilled. Will Mr. Lincoln deny that abolitionism has already wrought the work of destruction and death then foretold?

OMNIUM.

Lincoln and Louis XIV.

A Washington Republican letter-writer says that Mr. Lincoln reminds him of Louis XIV. But he does not tell us why he reminds him of Louis the Fourteenth. Is it because Louis was a great tyrant and a great fool? Or is it because he was surrounded with pimps and plotters and rascals, who practiced every mean and detestable vice known to the catalogue of base crimes? Or is it because the monarch's affected greatness bore the same relation to real greatness that bombast does to sublimity, or that the *simulacræ* of Epicurus did to real bodies? that is, that shadows bear to substance. Is that the reason? Or is it because the letter-writer is himself a fool? Nothing more likely. Louis XIV was a great libertine; but, notwithstanding the notorious obscenity of Lincoln's jokes, we do not believe he is that. Louis XIV was a man of elegant manners; but, in his controversy with Douglas, Lincoln said, "I am not, and never expect to be a gentleman." There is no doubt that Lincoln can speak the truth if he has a mind to, and perhaps this is the likeness our letter-writer discovers between him and Louis. It is a similarity to be contemplated with pride and satisfaction. Louis' flatterers really persuaded him that he was a great man, and they gave him golden medals, setting forth glorious exploits, which he never achieved. Perhaps Lincoln's flatterers, the contractors and the brave knights of shoddy, have persuaded him that he is a great man, and they have at least attached the glory of medals to his numerous negro proclamations. Evelyn said that Louis's flatterers were made up of a class of writers who *blaspheme for bread*. Lincoln's are of an order who *blaspheme for greenbacks*. One of the medals presented to Louis represented the monarch as standing between the cities of Genoa and Luxemburg, holding the world on the point of his sword—*victori perpetuo, ob expugnatas urbes ducentas; not ob servatos cives*, for preserving citizens and promoting human happiness; but for laying whole cities and countries in desolation and ashes Lincoln should have a medal representing him

self as standing between a dungeon and a grave yard, holding a white man's skull on the point of a sword with a negro baby resting in his bosom. Another medal was made for the French tyrant on the revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685—*vicies centena millia Calviniana ecclesiarum, &c.*, that is for having converted two millions of Protestants by dragonading and destruction. On the same principle Lincoln ought certainly to have a medal, for he has slain nearly half a million of white men in trying to establish the doctrine of negro-equality. Another medal of the king had this motto—*quod libet licet*, that is, "what I list is law." That we confess does sound really *Lincolnish*. And here is another—*stat pro ratione voluntas*, that is, "the cause is in my will, I will." And yet another—*nusquam meta mihi*; that is, "I have no boundary." These all sound like Lincoln, and it is possible, after all, that the Washington flunky is not to be laughed at for discovering parallels between a French Bombastes and an American Furioso.

CARLYLE ON THE REBELLION.—Thomas Carlyle's estimate of the Southern rebellion and the efforts for its suppression is given in the following brief article in the August number of *Macmillan's Magazine*:

ILIA (Americana) IN NUCE.

PETER of the North (to PAUL of the South).—“Paul, you unaccountable scoundrel, I find you hire your servants for life, not by the month or year, as I do! You are going straight to hell, you ——!”

PAUL.—“Good words, Peter! The risk is my own: I am willing to take the risk. Hire you your servants by the month or day, and get straight to heaven; leave me to my own method.”

PETER.—“No, I won't. I will beat your brains out first!” (*And is trying dreadfully ever since, but cannot yet manage it.*)

The *New York Times* thinks that by this Mr. Carlyle will forfeit the good opinion of every body in this country whose good opinion he would value. For the benefit of the editor of the *Times* we can tell him that the great English author entertains for the abolitionists nothing but unbounded contempt. In 1849 he wrote a pamphlet entitled, “The Nigger Ques-

tion," in which he lashed the "loud braying philanthropists" with unmerciful severity. When the editor of this journal was in Europe four years ago, he heard Carlyle speak of the abolitionists in similar bitter terms. If it will comfort our 'loud-braying philanthropists,' we can tell them that men of intellect in England and France agree with Carlyle.

Rev. Dr. Tyng, *alias* Higginson.

The Rev. Dr. Tyng is a Yankee from Massachusetts. His real name is Higginson, a family which, more than half a century ago, was notorious for its bad passions and moral violence. Col. Higginson who commands the Massachusetts negro regiment is of this family. He was the leader of the abolition mob at Boston, in 1854, which murdered a United States officer, who was doing his duty under the law. In 1857 he headed a call for a "Disunion Convention" at Worcester. Afterwards he signed a circular for a disunion convention which was called at Cleveland, Ohio. He is a proper tool for the work of the abolition army. His relative, Dr. Tyng, should be with him, doing the business of congenial murder, instead of disgracing the pulpit of a religion of peace.

The Weapons of the Administration.

The Boston *Courier* thus paints the face of Lincolnism:

"The Administration has two methods of dealing with those who oppose its plans. The first is, if possible, to intimidate them into silence by threats, and, whenever they can, by the practice of illegal persecution and military terrorism. The second, applied to those who know their rights as citizens, and dare to assert them, is, to defame and abuse them through a subsidized press, to ruin them by false and malicious slanders, so cunningly worded as to be within the law, and so numerous as to defy contradiction."

Negro blood in the veins of Hamlin, Sumner and Lincoln.

Ever since we were a boy we have known that Hannibal Hamlin, the Vice President, has negro blood in his veins. When he first came before the public in Maine, as a Democratic candidate for the Legislature, the opposition published numerous depositions in the Whig papers to prove his negro origin. His great-grandmother was a negress, and his great-grand-

father a mulatto. His grandfather was a quadroon, who commanded a company of negroes and Indians in the last war. So the Vice President, according to this chronology, is one-sixteenth negro. But then that is no reason why he should act like a full-blooded one.

Senator Sumner, it is also said, is part negro. It is charged that his great-great-grandmother was a rich negress from Demarara. When his father was a candidate for High Sheriff of Boston, thirty years or so ago, this fact of his origin was brought out by his political opponents. Sumner had a sister whose skin was of that peculiar lily-whiteness, which indicates the presence of negro blood; and many years ago she was snubbed at Newport by some Southern ladies, who felt sure that she was not a pure Caucasian.

A Western author has issued a pamphlet adducing evidence to show that Old Abe is also "part negro." Of the truth of his *facts* we know nothing. Hamlin and Sumner, to the scientific eye, show the presence of negro blood, but we cannot say the same of Old Abe. Nature, however, sometimes disguises herself so effectually as to elude even the quick gaze of science.

On the whole we are not sure that it would not redound to Lincoln's honor to have it proved that he is part negro. For then, on the ground of a natural sympathy with his own race, we might find excuses for acts which we could never pardon in a white man.

Lincoln's Bullocks.

The victims of the Conscription bill are now called "Lincoln's bullocks." In his letter to Gov. Seymour, Lincoln justifies his own unjust and inexorable enforcement of the conscription by declaring that Jeff. Davis forces the men of the South into his army "as butchers do bullocks into slaughter-pens." Therefore, he, Abraham Lincoln, has made up his mind to do the same thing. The figure is entirely worthy of Lincoln and his cause. He is forcing men, who were once free, into his negro-liberating army as butchers force bullocks into the slaughter-pen. It is a *slaughter-pen*, and the wretches who force men into it are *butchers*. How long! O, how long shall the people be butchered to glut the hellish rage of the abolitionists! How long

will the people allow themselves to be so ingloriously butchered? How long will they allow themselves to be slaughtered like bullocks

Conscription the Death of Liberty.

In the city of New York, on the morning of the 31st of October, 1765, the day before the Stamp Act was to take effect, the *Weebly Post Boy* came out, headed with the following prologue: "A Funeral Lamentation on the Death of Liberty, which finally expires on the 31st of October, in the year of our Lord, 1775, and of our Slavery." Now we have not only the Stamp Act, a thousand fold more grinding than the British act of 1775, but we have the Conscription Bill, which does indeed open an era of slavery.

William D. Kelly in love with a negro.

William D. Kelly, a member of Congress for Philadelphia, in a recent speech, said :

"Yes, sneer at or doubt it as you may, the negro is the 'coming man' for whom we have waited."

We have no doubt that W. O. Kelly is just the kind of a man to wait for a negro, while in his connection with white men, he is a cowardly libeller and liar. Perhaps he is right in waiting for negroes, as few white men, who know him, would willingly accept his company. He is a wretch whom the very instincts of a gentleman turn from with loathing, and whose face seems to have been deformed by the hand of God, that all men might shun him.

SONG OF THE ABOLITIONISTS.

O ring the bells, a joyful peal,
And rend with shouts the main,
We've learned that 'freedom means to steal,'
And fire the fruitful plain.

A burning wheatfield is our pride,
A pillaged home our joy;
And then a stolen nag to ride
Is bliss without alloy.

Old Abe, a merry man is he,
And we are merry all;
To swim in blood is to be free—
Roll on the fiery ball!



Eng^d by W. G. Jackman, N.Y.

Brown

"We want a union of sovereigns, not of subjects."

Engraved expressly for the "Old Guard"

Who began it?

That is a question which candid men ought to settle very definitely in their minds, while endeavouring to find out the origin, and to estimate the guilt of the unnatural war which has sundered the Union. To know who began it, is the directest course to find our way out of the labyrinth of horrors that environ us.

Who is responsible for the bitter, burning hatred which has sprung up between the Northern and Southern sections of our country—between those who were brethren and friends until within a quarter of a century back?

Who started this tide of hate, which has rolled on until it has inundated the whole land?

Who began the "outrages" which have for a long time now formed the staple of Republican editorials?

Last winter, when the legislature of Massachusetts was ineffectually trying to repent in proposing to repeal its unconstitutional negro liberty bill, a document of thirty-six pages, entitled "Southern outrages," and signed by three men and three women, was laid before that august body, which was published by the legislature as a regular state document, number 121.

That three old women and three old men of Boston should get up such a pamphlet, surprised nobody.

That the Massachusetts legislature should publish such a thing as a state document, surprised nobody.

But it is a standing insult to the intelligence of the Northern people to pretend that there is either justice or truth in saying that these "outrages" began with the South.

The North began them, in its unconstitutional and incendiary warfare upon the institutions of the South.

The oldest "outrage" recorded in this Massachusetts state document is located only eighteen years back, but it is more than a quarter of a century since the North began *its* "outrages" upon the constitutional rights and domestic peace of the South, by permitting and fostering the organization of Abolition societies, and the publication of incendiary tracts, for the avowed purposes of *forcing* the South to give up its property in "slaves," or to influence the negroes to cut their masters' throats.

As long ago as 1835 the organ of the Abolitionists, the *Emancipator*, said: "Slavery must be abolished, if not by the *fear* of the sword, then *by the sword itself!*"

In 1834 another organ of Abolitionism, *The Human Rights*, said: "Be the consequences what they may, say the slaveholders, we will not give up our property. *Then you must take the consequences.*" The second annual report of the New England Anti-Slavery Society, published 15th of January, 1834, declared that there were then in existence *two hundred and fifty* publications advocating such principles as these.

The *Emancipator* of August, 1836, stated that there had been formed, during the month of July, in the New England States, and in New York, Pennsylvania and Ohio, twenty-six new anti-slavery societies, pledged to this same bloody business. The following statement we copy from the work above referred to: "This number of the

Emancipator is the first of a monthly series. It will be issued to a great extent gratuitously. Already 50,000 copies of the small paper entitled *Human Rights* have been sent forth, and 50,000 copies of the *Anti-slavery Record* for July. Next month the same series will be repeated."

The following statement was made up by the *Emancipator* of the number of papers distributed in the month of July, 1836 :

Human Rights	50,000	copies.
A. S. Record	50,000	"
Emancipator	50,000	"
Slave's Friend	25,000	"
Total	175,000	"

Which would be *two millions one hundred thousand* annually of these incendiary documents. The *Slave's Friend*, in this list, was professedly a child's paper, was written in a very simple style, full of shocking narratives, and was evidently designed to circulate among the "slaves," as small quantities of them were repeatedly seized in various parts of the South. In this work the slaveholder was represented as "a robber," "a pirate," "a tyrant," "a scoundrel who ought to die in agonies."

In 1837, the Anti-Slavery Society advertised a list of over seventy different publications, besides various prints and other articles of similar design. The following is a specimen of advertisements which appeared in the papers at that time :

"Picture of a slave in chains, with a negro's complaint in poetry. By J. G. Whittier."

"Anti-slavery handkerchiefs, ornamented with four cuts, and extracts from the *Slave's Friend*, printed with indelible ink, price 50 cts. per dozen."

"Anti-slavery seals, giving a fair impress of a slave in chains, on sealing-wax ; price, single, 20 cents."

"Plaster image of a slave in chains ; price, single, 50 cts."

And the object of all this was to inflame the passions of the more ignorant of the northern people, to stimulate them to open "underground railroads," to steal negroes, and to put into their hands the means of arousing them to slaughter their masters. This *Emancipator*, from which we have already quoted, admitted that the Abolitionists had sent missionaries and school-teachers into the South for the purpose of propagating their hellish doctrines. It said, "Let them drive out our missionaries and school-teachers, we will use that as an argument to rouse the Christian world against the sin of slavery."

A very enlightened morality, truly, to send missionaries to inspire the negroes with a thirst for their masters' blood ! and then, when the masters drive out such "missionaries" from their midst, to hold them up as "tyrants" to the Christian world !

And we send money to convert the heathen of foreign lands, while we have such revolting "heathenism" at our own doors ! In the name of a righteous God, if we have either prayers or money to spare, let us spend them in trying to convert the incendiaries and assassins who for twenty-five years have been allowed to carry on these plots of revolution and blood in our midst. And there are those among us who, after all this, have the effrontery to talk about "Southern outrages !"

Four years last August, *nine* Yankee ministers and *twenty-one* Yankee pedlars were harged in the State of Texas, because it was clearly proved that they were arming the blacks with pistols, and furnishing them with small vials of strychnine, with which to slaughter and poison their masters. And we have not yet forgot-

ten how the entire Republican press howled, like an army of wolves, at the "outrage" which sent thirty *assassins* to answer for their crimes at the just bar of the Almighty! Nor shall we ever forget what a hullabaloo was raised over the just hanging of an old Kansas horse-thief and burglar, who went with a murderous crew into the State of Virginia, with a long-matured plan for the indiscriminate slaughter of the white men, women and children! The execution of these assassins was called a "Southern outrage" by thousands of worshipers of the Abolition fiend, who filled a hundred churches nightly with cries of praise to their newly-canonized "Saint Assassin," and his lovely band of "martyrs!"

In the enumeration of "outrages" which we have now named, we have hardly given an introduction to the long list of crimes and insults which Abolitionists of the North have been practising against the South for a period of nearly a third of a century.

We have this question for the Republican editors: Can you produce an instance where the South has permitted the organization of societies for the purpose of interfering with the domestic affairs of the North? Have they ever allowed madmen in their midst to expend millions of dollars a-year in the publication of documents to render *life* and *property* in the North insecure?

And, if innocent Northern men may sometimes have suffered from unjust suspicions, as is very likely they may, is it any more than happens frequently in our courts of justice, where, by unfortunate mistakes, the innocent are made to suffer for the guilty? And there is this for the North to reflect upon—if we had never permitted nor fostered the Abolition incendiarism, none of our innocent citizens would

ever have suffered, by mistake, for its crimes.

If we had never permitted Abolitionism to array Northern opinion and Northern legislation against the institutions, against the vested rights, against the constitutional rights of the South, the devil of secession would never have been born, and the Union would at this day have been prosperous and happy.

This fact tells the whole story in a single sentence.

This tells us who is to blame.

This shows who began it.

And it shows the way to end it too.

No intelligent man supposes that the sword ever can restore the Union.—For in every possible event, the sword is powerless for reconstruction. To conquer and crush is not to *restore*, but to *destroy*.

We may keep on conquering and crushing to the end of time, and if we offer nothing else, we shall never bring back our severed Union. While the sword is doing *its* work of vainly enforcing obedience to law, let the whole North at once and for ever recede from its hostility to the institutions of the South—let Abolitionism be thoroughly crushed out, and that will prove the heaviest blow we can deal at rebellion; that will be crushing the head of the Dis-union serpent. But to talk of restoring the Union while Abolitionism is left howling rampant through one-half of it, is as foolish as to think of drying up a flood by attempting to dam up its mad waters, while all its fountains are left open. How vain! How foolish! While the sword tugs uselessly at the throat of rebellion in the South, let the ballot, let public opinion, let speech and press everywhere tug at the throat of the real author of all the mischief, Abolitionism in the North!

Many were the delusions which led the Republican members of Lincoln's first session of Congress to reject every proposition which was offered as a means of saving our country from the terrible calamities of civil war; but among these incentives to folly, none was perhaps more general than the idea that the South was everyway our inferior in all the attributes of greatness and power.

Even Mr. Seward, in his Astor House speech, prophesied that there would be an end of the rebellion in sixty days.

Republican senators curled their lips and turned up their noses, and said the Southern people were "braggarts" and "cowards," who would dare to do nothing but "boast" and "swagger" and "lie." They were called "barbarians," "paupers" and "scullions."

Republican governors, senators, statesmen and editors educated the more ignorant class of the North to believe all this; and flushed with the hopes which fanaticism so easily inspires they plunged into the war as recklessly as the unthinking horse rushes into battle.

Oh, it was to be all over in sixty days.

The people were amazed and struck with admiration at the President's stupendous plans when he called for 75,000 men.

Everybody knew that 50,000 would be more than enough, but still approved of the President's sagacity in calling out the overwhelming force of 75,000 to "crush the rebellion at once."

Democrats counceled moderation and compromise as the wisest things to be tried, even to the last stretch of forbearance before we made the final irretachable plunge into the whirlpools of blood.

Democrats said from the beginning

that five times seventy-five thousand men would not be enough.

And there was a time when it was called "treason" to say as much as that.

If any man dared to suggest that our Southern fellow-citizens would prove themselves neither cowards nor fools, a shout instantly went up about his ears from ten thousand brainless throats that he was a "traitor" and a "secessionist in disguise."

Ah, yes, to have one's brains in one's head was to be a "traitor."

To tell the truth was to be a secessionist. To foresee the calamity which must follow the scornful rejection of the Crittenden amendment, and afterwards of the proposition for a Convention of the States to settle all our difficulties, was to be an "enemy of the government," and it was a piece of remarkable good luck if a military prison was not the reward of so much honesty and sagacity.

Now see what a lesson thirty months of bitter experience has taught our "sixty days" fanatics?

There are the battles of "Bull Run," "Springfield," "Lexington," "Edwards' Ferry," and "Belmont"—look at them, and learn the consequences of the folly of underating the prowess of the rebel foe!

Think of the millions of treasure already spent, of the thousands of lives already sacrificed, and then answer, if it would not have been well for us if we had not suffered ourselves to be deceived in relation to the strength and skill and inveterate determination of the enemy.

Has not this delusion lasted long enough?

Elder Leland, whose name is illustrious in the revolutionary history of our country, once prayed, at the installation of a talented but vain and pompous young minister—"O, Lord, do thou prick him and let the wind out." It might conduce to our own safety, and to the placing of us in a more honorable light before mankind, if somebody would perform a similar operation upon the Republican editors of the United States, who have made themselves believe, and made their readers believe, that the people of our Southern states are absolutely inferior to us Northerners in all the attributes of a vigorous and powerful nationality, and that it would be an easy thing for an army of our young "Wide-Awakes" to go down South some morning and eat the whole of the inhabitants up for their breakfast. Our ability to accomplish this pleasant little gastronomical feat is based, in the first place, upon an alledged natural inferiority of Southern to Northern nations.

To which baseless assumption it may be replied that, even if such a rule existed, it is in no way applicable to the people of the northern and southern portions of the American Republic.

But no such law does exist. The assertion is one of those impudent and senseless maxims which sometimes gain an almost universal currency, without having a single grain of truth for their foundation.

It may, perhaps, prick our vanity a little and let out some of the gaseous accumulations that are by no means conducive to our intellectual and moral health, to be reminded that the latitude of our Southern states is precisely that of Western Asia, which is not only the geographical centre of the human race, but is, moreover, the intellectual centre—the cradle of man's moral nature.

It was from this spot that went out all the divine forces which have spread civilization, light and liberty over the world.

It was here, in these southern plains of Iran and Bactriana, that the earliest civilizations were born, and from here they started forth to overcome the darkness of the barbarous people of the North.

If we must draw inferences from climate, and take lessons from history, here is something which we may study profitably, and it is devoutly to be hoped that it may improve our wisdom, if it does not correct our manners. One of our cotemporaries tells us that "southern nations have never been conquerors, but, on the other hand, are easily subdued," and that, therefore, we shall find it easy work to conquer the South.

In twenty-four hours after this stupendous piece of ignorance was delivered, thousands of young Wide-Awakes were repeating it at the corners of the streets, in restaurants, bar-rooms, and the next day it became one of the sacred lessons of the Republican confession of faith, to dispute which was to be a "traitor," and "deserve hanging."

This is the way impostors and ignoramus make history.

Southern nations have done far more than their share of the conquering business, since history began.

The Greeks, led on by Alexander to conquer the world, were southern slaveholders. The Romans, whose victories, under Cæsar, extended over nearly the whole southern world, were southern slaveholders. So were the Arabs under Mahomet, and the Spaniards under Philip. The southern Moors penetrated the North to Vienna, and but for the valor of Sobieski, would have mastered all Europe. And if we want a modern

example, see what southern men in Italy, under Garibaldi, have just done to the north men in Austria.

The lesson of history is, that southern nations have done their share of the conquering business.

The fact that Rome was conquered by the Northmen, is the standing example to prove that southern people are no match for northerners. But the truth is, it was the Roman legions themselves, siding with Alaric, the leader of the Germans, who conquered Rome.

We refer to these histories in order to reduce our vanity and expectations within the safer boundaries of reason and possibility. There is no greater danger to a nation, going to war, than a blind contempt for the prowess of the enemy. This was the greatest source of England's weakness, and therefore of America's strength, in the war of the Revolution.

Napoleon declared that "no nation attached to its institutions and its form of government can ever be conquered."

His own invasion of Russia, and his Peninsular wars in Spain, had severely impressed this lesson upon his mind.

The Spanish Armada of Philip II. gives a strong hint in the same way.

The Peloponessian civil war of thirty years, or of Hannibal's sixteen years invasion of Italy, might, one would think, teach our madmen something, if they would sit still long enough to think about it.

Then, there is the Spanish invasion of the Netherlands, which gives a lesson too.

All history is full enough of lessons, if men would only get their senses long enough to think about them. Ask England what her experience was in "conquering" the few poor and scattered colonists on this continent, and she will tell you that those few men who stood up in the House of Lords and said:—"My Lords, you cannot conquer Ameri-

ca," were the only sane men in England, while all the rest, the king included, were mad.

In all the Republican organs, which are supposed to speak for the Administration, we read plenty of such words as "conquer," "subjugate," "exterminate," "war to the knife," "no quarter for slaveholders."

We talk like savages.

Is that the way to quell so gigantic a rebellion? What have we done thus far but to cause them to hold on to the sword of rebellion with a firmer grasp?

Do we read histories standing upon our heads, in order that we may see every thing backwards and wrong end up?

If we hold the sword of Agamemnon in one hand, it is not the less important that we hold the olive branch in the other. In no other way was so great a rebellion ever quelled. We must learn to realize that we have to meet men as brave and intelligent as ourselves—men who are our equals on any battle-field—our peers in every conflict.

If we fight to restore the Union we may at length triumph; but if we try to subjugate, to exterminate our brethren, to destroy their institutions and property, we shall fail.

If we would bring them into the fold of the Union again, we must appeal to something nobler than their fears; and, while we cease to push them with the bayonet, strive to win confidence and respect by guarantees of justice and equality, of which we have sought to deprive them by Chicago platforms, Liberty bills, and sectional legislation.

Time will work this truth into us at last, that in no other way can we stop the rebellion and save our country

Oh!—not with legions in overwhelming force!

But rather, with offers of justice and equality, and guarantees of a return to the principles that administered the government before the seven-headed devil of abolitionism was born.

The leading organ of the administration, in referring to the questions of law involved in the privateer trials, says: "The question involved is altogether of too delicate and subtle a character to be disposed of by jury. It can best be determined by the Government."

If we had not for thirty months been gradually growing familiar with such monstrous ideas as are embraced in this statement, we should have hard work to persuade ourselves that we were reading an American newspaper.

In no free government in the world where trial by jury is recognized, was such an abominable idea ever avowed before. It strikes at once at the very heart of American liberty. It breaks down the fundamental principle on which the Republic was founded.

The Executive has no more right to constitute himself a judge of law as against the decision of the courts, than Francis Joseph of Austria has to proclaim himself a judge of the laws in our land. The Executive takes a solemn oath, administered by his judicial master, the Supreme Court of the United States, to obey and execute the laws *as they are*. He has no discretionary powers. He is sworn to execute and obey the laws. It is no more a part of his duty to *make* laws, or to assume the office of judge, than it is of the United States Court to usurp the functions of the Executive or of Congress.

Whenever either of these three co-ordinate branches of the government are permitted to usurp the duties constitutionally belonging to the others, there is the *beginning* of the *end* of the

government and of the *principle* of American liberty.

Here sits scowling before us a worse foe than even secessionism. Secessionism, when it has done its last and its worst, may leave us still in possession of the principle of self-government and freedom. It may leave us the right of trial by jury—freedom of speech—freedom of the press—and the whole splendid theory of constitutional law which we inherited from our fathers. If these laws are administered by us over a less number of states, the *principle of freedom* on which they are founded still survives in all its purity and glory. Secessionism is an ugly devil of the singular number which we can and *will* cast out into outer darkness and everlasting destruction; but the doctrines of the Republican party are a whole legion of devils, full of all uncleanness and rebellious lusts against the eternal principle of liberty itself.

It looks now as though there was a political night approaching—a period of "Republican" darkness, in which the people will have to work out again the great problems of self-government and popular liberty, which our fathers vainly thought, alas! that they had solved and established forever.

It is true that we boasted of being the most free and powerful nation on the face of the earth—that we did refer with pride to our commerce, increasing and swelling like the waves of the sea on every shore in the civilized world. And were we not acquainted with the mutability of human affairs—was history itself anything but a register of national calamities, of empires and republics sunk forever—we might conclude that so stupendous a structure as

our government was secure ; and while we admire the beauty of the work, pronounce upon the cternity of the pile. But alas, there are the pages of history, standing out like pillars of fire on the dark background of ruined republics. And it is the grossest folly to imagine that there is anything in the soil or climate of our country more peculiarly adapted to the preservation of freedom than any other. Heaven has not distributed its blessings with so sparing and partial a hand. The noble tree of liberty will thrive in every portion of the globe where its roots are watered and its branches protected ; and in every climate will it droop and wither when deserted by its natural sources of life. If we cast our eyes over the nations of Europe which are now overwhelmed with the most unrelenting despotism, we shall hardly find one which did not once boast of a *constitution* and *freedom*. Spain has had her Cortez ; France her revolutions and republics ; Germany her independent electors ; Sweden and Denmark their senates ; Bohemia, Poland and Hungary their elective franchise. If these are now forgotten, lost and swallowed up in the vortex of despotism and military ambition, it becomes us to take warning by their fate, and steer the public vessel far from a shore which is already covered with wrecks. While the spirit and manners of the Roman people remained free from despotic ambition—while union and peace reigned in all parts of the commonwealth—neither the invasion of Phyrrius, the victories of Hannibal, nor the bloody irruptions of the Gauls, were able to shake it on its firm foundations ; but when the spirit of faction crept in ; when one portion plotted against the other ; when fanaticism and ambition depraved the common patriot-

ism—then it went, where the same influences have buried so many states, to a grave from which there is no resurrection. None dare say that the Roman commonwealth was not reared and cemented by republican wisdom and republican valour ; and yet we have seen how the factious spirit of ambition first tainted the common patriotism, then severed one part from another, until the mighty fabric, which it had taken the labour of ages to rear, fell in an instant, and left behind no traces of its former greatness. The laws that govern the rise and fall of states, like those of nature, are immutable. We can claim no happy exemption for our country from the inevitable *effects* which belong to given *causes*. There they are frowning over ruined republics, and the wise patriot will not fail to take warning in time to avert the terrible doom which fanaticism and sectionalism have visited upon every experiment of popular freedom. Those men in our midst are mad who habitually assail the constitution—who have fomented jealousies between the North and South—who have stirred up the fires of fanatical prejudices, and arrayed one portion of the Union against the other. Unless all history is a lie—unless the laws that guide the progress of states belong only to the atheistic doctrines of *chance*—those men are mad, who would sacrifice their country to their own fanatical prejudices and passions.

Can the public mind be made familiar with doctrines which strike down the right of trial by jury, the freedom of the press and of speech, and the sacredness of the *habeas corpus*, without becoming tainted with principles that are incompatible with freedom ? If we say “no,”—if we believe “no,” then is the end of all our greatness near !

"I cannot stand it; and if I never enter a church again, I will not!"

So we heard a man exclaim, who assured us that he had of late been to seven different churches, and in every one of them, instead of hearing Christ and Him crucified preached, he was compelled to listen to savage and bloody disquisitions on war and politics; so this man was going to church no more.—Sadly, we fear that there are a good many thousands getting into that way of feeling just now.

Alas, was it not enough that the streets, the market-places, and every nook and corner of our worldly life, should be turned into camps, full of the profane and mad spirit of war, without also dragging the religion of the "Prince of Peace" down from its high and holy mission of spreading "peace on earth and good-will to men," to make it wallow about in strife and carnage, and all the savagery and crime of private and public war!

Could the madness of the hour leave us no spot, not even the altars of religion, free from the embattled elements of the world?

Is there, then, no place left from which the Divine voice is heard, saying to sinful, despairing man, "Come unto me, and I will give you rest?"

When the six' days work is done, and the Sabbath of the Lord is come, shall man seek communion with his Maker only to find His professed minister clothed with ensigns of slaughter and destruction, pouring forth from his mouth words of fire and revenge?

Are these blustering, raging disciples of blood "followers of the Lamb?"

Are these ranting advocates of revenge the disciples of Him who preached, "I say unto you resist not evil?"

Are these the men of whom it was prophesied, "They shall beat their

swords into ploughshares, and their spears into pruning-hooks?"

Hear how these belligerent saints shout and pray when they get tidings that our neighboring fields are strewn with the bodies of the slain, and their soil drenched with their blood!

Oh, heavens! are these the followers of that divine Being who commanded, "I say unto you, love your enemies, bless them that curse you, do good to them that hate you, and pray for them that despitefully use you and persecute you, that ye may be the children of your Father in heaven?"

No. Is there not another text that better defines their character and position—"Ye are of your father the devil, for his works ye do?"

There is certainly a very strong family likeness between many a belligerent parson of our day and that old Apollyon who went up and down seeking whom he might devour.

Do we call the Beechers and Cheevers, and Tyngs, and all the smaller fry of the same bloody temper, "the children of Christ?"

Who, then, shall be called the children of the devil? Let us be careful how we name these fighting parsons, or we shall leave old Apollyon childless.

It is a remarkable fact that the early Christians not only refused to fight, but they manifested their sincerity by offering up their lives rather than violate what they deemed an injunction of their Divine Master.

There was a notable instance in the case of Maximilian, a Roman youth, who, on being brought before the tribunal to be ennobled as a soldier, refused, saying to the Proconsul, "I am a Christian, and cannot fight."

He remained firm to his principles, and was led to execution.

The primitive Christians not only re-

fused to take up arms, but those in the army who embraced Christianity immediately abandoned the profession of a soldier, without regard to consequences.

Marcellus, a Roman centurion, on being converted to Christianity, promptly resigned his commission, declaring that having embraced the religion of Christ, he could serve no longer; "for," said he, "it is not lawful for a Christian to bear arms for any earthly consideration."

We have also the record of Cassian and Martian, two Roman notaries, who, on being converted to the doctrines of Christ, chose to suffer death rather than continue the profession of a soldier.

Tertullian informs us, that after Christianity was widely spread over the world, "not a Christian could be found in the Roman army." Clement of Alexandria described the Christians as "followers of peace," and declared that they "used none of the implements of war."

Ireneus and Justin Martyr bear abundant testimony to the same fact.

It was one of the objections which the enemies of Christianity brought against its followers that they would not bear arms.

Celsus, who lived towards the close of the second century, accuses the Christians of his day "of refusing to bear arms, even in cases of necessity." Origen admits the same fact, and justifies it on the ground that war was unlawful. And Lactantius said, "It can never be lawful for a righteous man to go to war."

But why multiply evidences, since no well-informed person will deny that Christ and His disciples, and His followers for several hundred years after His death, absolutely refused to countenance war in any shape, as being utterly incompatible with the Divine principles of the Gospel.

Now, see how the professed ministers of this religion have fallen away from the Gospel as preached by Christ, and practised by His followers for many hundred years after His advent!

We, of course, are not discussing the right or wrong of public war—that is another question; but we are showing what were the principles and practices of Christ and His ministers on this subject.

The Divine Founder of Christianity declared that His "kingdom was not of this world;" that it was "a kingdom of peace," into which men might enter from the profane battle-field of the world, for the purpose of seeking forgiveness of their sins, and finding communion with their Maker.

That appears to have been the sublime and beautiful office of the Christian ministry as it was established by their Master.

But, alas! how low has this once sacred ministry fallen in our day!

What profanity!—what profanation of the very name of those sacred altars which were established to draw man's heart nearer to his Maker!

Oh, sin! oh, shame!

How dare that ignorant, ranting, roaring advocate of revenge and slaughter—that blustering disciple of the flesh and the devil—how dare he call himself a "minister of Christ?"

Wait!

Wait, oh hypocrite, for the dreadful sentence that will come—"Depart, ye cursed!"

If there is truth in the Gospel which these *fighting parsons* profess to teach—they will one day hear these words of doom ten thousand-fold louder than *they* have shouted for the slaughter of God's ~~human~~ family.

While we, in the North, are in the habit of denouncing negro slavery, and of applying all kinds of indignities and threats to slave-owners, it is, nevertheless, true that we have statutes of our own, which are based upon the principle of African slavery, and by which not only free blacks, but whites, are forced into involuntary servitude.

Our statutes against vagrancy are of this description.

The law of New York is, that—

“All idle persons who, not having visible means to maintain themselves, live without employment, are declared vagrants, and forced into hard labor for the term of six months, and for which they receive nothing but food sufficient to keep body and soul together; and on the expiration of their slave term, are cast penniless adrift, to shift for themselves the best way they can, until hard fortune returns them into slavery again.”

In some States, this class of persons are sold at public auction to the highest or lowest bidder, as the case may be, for a certain length of time, and the proceeds, if there be any, go into the town treasury.

The writer has often witnessed this kind of public slave-auction in New England.

“In the State of Pennsylvania, all persons who live idly and without employment, and refuse to work for the usual and common wages given to other laborers in the like work, are sent to the workhouse of the county, if such there be, otherwise to the jail of the county, there to be kept at hard labor by the keeper of such workhouse or jail.”

“In the State of Iowa, such idle persons are, in the first instance, required to give a good and sufficient bond to refrain him from idleness, and in default they are sent to jail. Then the District Court authorizes (unless discharged) the Judge of the County Court, to bind such idle persons, if minors, to some lawful calling, as ser-

vants or apprentices, or otherwise, until they shall be of full age respectively; or to contract for the services of such vagrants as shall be of full age, with any suitable person, as laborers or servants, for any time not exceeding one year; which binding out and contracts shall be as valid and effectual as the indenture of any apprentice with his own consent, and the consent of his parents, and shall subject the person so bound out or contracted for to the same control of their masters respectively, and of such court, as if they were bound apprentices.”

This may seem a hard law. To take the man of three score years and ten—perhaps one who has fought the battles of his country on the tented field—one guilty of no heinous crime, but idle and living without any visible means of support,—to take such a person, and force upon him the relation of master and servant, really looks severer than negro slavery.

This, however, is a matter which belongs to Iowa alone, and does not call for an irrepressible conflict between her and sister States.

The great principle underlying all these statutes is perfectly right and just. They are all based upon that great and obvious law of humanity, that every one owes useful labor of some kind to the race at large; and that the non-performance of such labor is a wrong to society, and may be rightfully enforced when not freely bestowed by voluntary servitude. It is in strict accordance with the sentence pronounced by God on man, at the time of Adam's disobedience, that he should earn his daily bread by the sweat of his brow; and hence no fault is found with these vagrant laws of the free States, for in principle they are admitted all right.

The involuntary servitude of idle vagabond whites is considered to be all right, while the involuntary servitude

of the idle vagabond Africans is considered all wrong.

Is not the great law of labor as binding upon the black man as the white? Does he not owe the same duty to the world at large in this respect as the other? Surely the most inveterate enemy of African slavery will not deny this proposition. He will not say that the mere color of skin exempts him from this great law of humanity. In fact, if to draw a conclusion from the physical organization of the negro—his capabilities of endurance under circumstances which are impossible for the white man, it is that he owes more labor of a mere corporeal nature to the world than the white race does. He is fitted by his very organization to labor where the white man cannot work.

Now, is it a fact that the African in his normal condition is discharging with fidelity this great law of humanity incumbent upon him? No honest man will pretend for a moment that such is the case. Although master of a continent of unsurpassed fertility, and which his race has inhabited from time immemorial, yet he has never contributed anything valuable but his involuntary servitude to the common stock. In his native condition he is a barbarian—a pagan of the grossest sensualities—an idle, lazy vagabond. He makes war on the weaker communities of his race, for the purpose of obtaining captives to sell into perpetual slavery, or to sacrifice to the manes of departed ancestors; drinking the blood, and devouring the yet quivering flesh. The truth of his condition, however, is too revolting to be told.

Now, Slavery is the great vagrant act of the world, and by which this idle vagabond negro is compelled to perform that labour which he owes to the race, and which he refuses to discharge

voluntarily, and by which his own condition, at the same time, is infinitely bettered. He has exchanged barbarism for civilization—paganism for Christianity—idleness and vagabondism for industry and a home.

It is thus seen, that the principle upon which the vagrant acts of the free States are based, and that of African Slavery, are essentially the same. In the one case, the involuntary servitude is effected through the forms of municipal law; in the other from necessity.

Suppose the four millions of Southern slaves were set free and turned off to shift for themselves, would their condition be benefited? would it not be made infinitely worse?

Eight hundred out of every thousand would finally be picked up, and reduced to the meanest of all slavery, by the vagrant laws of the non-slaveholding States.

And such an abolition of Slavery would bring ruin upon the white laborers of the North, by reducing the prices of wages, and degrading their social position down into the descending scale of the negro. Those who talk about elevating the negro to the condition of the white laborer, mean the degradation of the white laborer to the level of Sambo.

Ever it was so.

If we wish to behold the ruin which abolition would bring upon both whites and negroes, look to St. Domingo—look to Jamaica—look to any spot on the face of the earth where a large population of negro slaves have been set free.

Carlyle indignantly and truly says, that "West India emancipation has done nothing for Sambo, but to give him plenty of pumpkin, while it has taken bread and potatoes from the white man."

THE SOUTH.*

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

LETTER FROM A LADY.

To the Editor of the "Old Guard:."

IN the present unhappy state of our once-united country, when each section is devising means to injure and traduce the other, reflection reverts to the old colonial time when sympathy and goodwill reigned supreme. Turn with me to that impressive first meeting of the General Congress, when, with closed doors, representatives from the East and South met to mature plans to insure freedom from the tyranny of England. This Congress assembled at Philadelphia, on Monday, the 5th of September, 1775, in a large room in Carpenter's Hall; there were fifty-two delegates. John Adams, who was present, writes of it:—"It is such an assembly as never before came together on a sudden in any part of the world. Here are fortunes, abilities, learning, eloquence, acuteness, equal to any I ever met with in my life;" "here is a diversity of religions, educations, manners, interests, such as it would seem impossible to unite in one plan of conduct." The first question that arose was, by whom should the religious ceremonies be conducted? Mr. Samuel Adams immediately arose, and said "He would willingly join in prayer with any gentleman of piety and virtue, provided he was a friend of his country." The Rev. Mr. Duche, of Philadelphia, an Episcopalian, was then invited to officiate by Mr. Adams, a strong Congregationalist. It will be remembered that this assembly took place three months after the British government had wreaked its spite against Boston, by closing its port, and removing its officers of customs to Salem. The day previous to the meeting, a report reached Philadelphia that Boston had been cannonaded by the British.

It produced a deep excitement, and unusual warmth in the greeting of the Eastern by the Southern delegates attested their sympathy and indignation. Mr. Wirt, in his "*Life of Patrick Henry*," says a long and deep silence followed the organization of that august body; their deep and death-like silence was becoming embarrassing, when Patrick Henry arose, and launched into one of his eloquent appeals. Richard Lee followed, and the business of the first Congress was begun. South Carolinians and Virginians had met to defend Massachusetts, and express their sympathy for her wrongs. Though all the colonies were to suffer by the recent acts of Parliament, yet Massachusetts had been made an especial mark for royal disfavor. Her charter had been meddled with; no public meetings could take place without the consent of the Governor. British troops had been quartered upon her without the permission of the Assembly, and flaunted their uniforms and planted their cannon in the front of the State House and Faneuil Hall. Massachusetts had been insulted and wronged. South Carolinians and Virginians came to the rescue! Noble and dignified in their bearing, masterly and patriotic in their acts, the first Congress indulged in no crimination and recrimination. George Washington, who was present, was not stigmatized as a barbarian because he was a Southerner and a slaveholder, nor was the New England man ridiculed for his Puritan creed. They had come to discuss the grave affairs of the nation, and not to bandy personal abuse. Mr. Adams says: "Every subject was discussed with a mod-

eration, an acuteness, and a minuteness equal to that of Queen Elizabeth's privy council." The talent and wisdom displayed forced from Lord Chatham the following enthusiastic praise:—"When your lordships look at the papers transmitted to us from America; when you consider their decency, firmness, and wisdom, you cannot but respect their cause, and wish to make it your own. For myself, I must declare and avow that, in the master states of the world, I know not the people or senate who, in such a complication of difficult circumstances, can stand in preference to the delegates assembled in General Congress at Philadelphia."

Since that memorable 5th of September, the growth of the States, in extent, in riches, and in power, has been the boast of every American in the land. Orators and patriots have sprung up on

all sides, and, by giving tone to the public virtue, preserved us a people and a country. Pure and uncorrupted Democracy, holding her sway, has produced results grand enough to startle old Europe from her false theories of government. Wisdom, conciliation, compromise, have marked the course of our public councils, and we seemed to be at the climax of grandeur, when the whole melts like a dream, and we look around with horror and affright to see our coffers emptied of their treasure—to see our Congress a den of thieves—to see ourselves taxed in every necessary of life—to see our fair fields deluged with blood—to find ourselves in the midst of civil war! Oh, for the wisdom, the virtue, of that First Congress, to steer our shattered ship of state to a peaceful harbor!

K. V. C.

DEMOCRATIC POLICY.

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

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

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

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

This same article also says:

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

WHAT ABOLITIONISM HAS DONE.

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

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

THE "IRREPRESSIBLE CONFLICT" VERSUS NORTHERN LABOR.

The "irrepressible" politicians of our Northern States, who, for a quarter of a century, have been in rebellion against the Constitution and laws of the United States, are speculating about the ruin which the South will bring upon itself by secession.

In the meantime have we thought of what will become of *us*, in the event of final dissolution?

Push it one side as much as we will, this is nevertheless a terrible question for us to answer.

But we had better answer it.

Shutting our eyes to the terrible consequences, will not save us from them.

"Look at the South! See how she is going to ruin herself!" I cannot see how that kind of bawling is going to save us. Suppose we look to ourselves, and find out, if we can, what is to become of us.

We have interested ourselves in the affairs of the South too much already.

Let us look at home a little.

Some time ago the *London Times* said:

"The silkworm is not more dependent on the mulberry, the parasitical plan, on the tree that nourishes it, than is this wonderful network of towns and rail ways, with all that it contains, on the health of the cotton plant between the Carolina coast and the Mississippi."

Substitute *New England* for Old England, and these words of the *London Times* are as applicable to us as to them.

Our whole network of manufacturing towns and railways is dependent on the productions of slave labor, and on circumstances necessarily attending it.

Two-thirds of the exports of our country come from the South, and are the surplus results of slave labor.

It is slave labor which has given such a mighty impulse to our commerce, and poured out a tide of wealth that accu-

mulates here with us, and keeps busy the manufacturing capital of the North.

Of our manufacturing and mechanic arts, *a hundred and seventy millions* found an annual market in the slaveholding States.

Now cut us off from our share of two-thirds of the exported wealth of the country, and to what a mean figure should we be commercially reduced, in our Northern Republic?

Deprive us of a market for *a hundred and seventy millions of our wares*, and what would become of the laborers, and the manufacturing capital of the North?

But, replies the "irrepressible" fanatic, the South must have our wares, in any event.

No, she must not; and you may set t down as sure that she will not have them if the Union is not restored. Both revenge and self-interest will prevent them; for, through a system of free trade, she could supply herself from the workshops of the Old World at cheaper prices than she can buy of us.

A Southern Confederation would begin its career by opening its ports nearly free to the Commerce of Europe.

That event alone would utterly ruin New York and the Eastern States, unless the Northern Confederacy followed suit with free trade.

And if it should, what would become of Pennsylvania and the New England States? The coal and iron of Pennsylvania would find, comparatively, no market; and the mills and manufactories of New England would stop after they have done working for the war. Every kind of property would sink ruinously in value, and millions of hands would be turned out of employment in all time to come.

And this would be the end of the "irrepressible conflict."

The *London Times*, in the article

above referred to, ingeniously admitted the dependence of England upon cotton, the slave production of the Southern States, and did not disguise its fears that some day we may plot the ruin of Great Britain by withholding the staple which is the life of its enterprise.

It said—

"They are not bigoted to the doctrines of free trade, and it is quite within the bounds of probability that a fit of hostility to this country, coupled with the prospect of establishing a manufacturing supremacy on our ruin, may one day tempt them to interference with the free export of cotton. Such a step might, perhaps, be the result of some compromise between North and South; the device of some statesman for bringing them together; making them more than ever mutually dependent."

But what if the device of the "irrepressible" demagogues divide us permanently, making the South revengeful and hostile to our interests? and then what if the ruin of which Old England stands in fear should be aimed at New England.

It is possible. God be thanked if it is not probable!

"Irrepressible" madmen will sneer at the idea, but wise men will stand in awe of it.

"What will become of the South if they should succeed?"

That is her business.

"What will become of all of us?" is a question in which we have a partnership interest.

But, "What will become of the North?" is particularly our business.

We had better look to it.

We will not appeal to the patriotism of those who have brought our country down upon this brink of ruin.

We do not seek for life in dead men.

But we can see this plain enough: that those who seek to destroy our conu-

try, do not also plot to abolish their own five hungry senses.

They must eat, and wear clothes.

That also implies wages for millions of men; and wages, here in this Northern country, implies manufacturers, workshops, mills, and millions of spindels

And all these terminate in the grand demand of a *market*. Without a market there is no employment.

Now while this Union lasted we had always a market in the South for a hundred and seventy millions of our wares.

Deprive us permanently of that, and then compute the millions of mechanics and labors who will be turned out of employment here at the very birth of our Yankee Republic!

Working men of the North, this is the result of the "irrepressible conflict" which you have been induced to wage upon slave labor. The "irrepressible conflict" is against yourselves—against the wages labor of the North—against your own pockets.

It is slave labor in the South which makes an annual market for a hundred and seventy millions of the work of your hands.

As long as the Union survives, and slavery lasts, then that market will be continually enlarging, the price of wages will be kept up, and you, here in the North, will be getting better off every year in consequence of the increasing demands for the wares of your production.

But dissolve the Union, and that demand ceases. The South will be supplied from the workshops of the Old World, at prices ranging from twenty to thirty per cent. less than she now buys of us; that alone would bring the wages of labor here in the North down to the starvation prices of the Old World. The "irrepressible demago-

gues" have made you foolishly laugh at the South because she does not do her own manufacturing. Mr. Seward, in the late Campaign, went all over the country laughing at the South, because, as he said, he never saw any boots and hoe-handles in New Orleans that were not made by the Yankees.

Well, mechanics and laboring men of the North, whenever the South *does* manufacture for herself, you will "laugh out of the other side of your mouth."

Whenever the Union forever is dissolved—whenever slavery is abolished there—the ruin and starvation that now crush the mechanic industry of Europe, will fall upon you, and upon the work of your hands!

An "irrepressible" demagogue has set you on to fight yourselves—to fight the food that is in your mouths, and the clothes that are upon your backs.

It is the perfect harmony which exists between slave labor in the South, and wages labor in the North, which has given such unparelled prosperity to the manufacturing industry of the North.

Mechanics, and workmen of the Northern States, let your "irrepressible conflict" be with those who have opened the door of dissolution and of ruin to our common country—who have interrupted the *fraternal relations* between the North and the South on which our passed glory and future prosperity mainly depend.

The beggarly flush of business which now keeps up a poor show of activity is but temporary—merely supplying the army—which will all vanish with the end of the war. Two things the laborers of the North have a vital interest in—

1st. The restoration of the Union to its old fraternal relations, of perfect re-

ciprocity in trad and social intercourse. And this, of course, implies the entire suppression of every form of Abolitionism in the North.

2d. The termination of the war without destroying the institutions of the South, which produce nearly all the export wealth of the country, while they at the same time provide a market for the manufactured productions of the North.

The reconstruction of the Union after the institutions of the South were destroyed would be a useless victory, and would be a mockery to the hopes of the laborers and merchants of the North.

To save the Union by destroying the institutions of the Southern States, and converting them into another San Domingo, would be as foolish as to cut off a man's head to save him from a fever. The North has grown rich and great in connection with the slave productions of the South—a hundred fold richer and greater than we should have been had the labor institutions of the South been the same as our own—and it is this old Union that we want back again.

Not another kind of Union!

Not a Union with a San Domingo—with a dessolated, ruined country, full of lazy, unproductive negroes, of black and lawless paupers, and vagabond abolitionists! God in mercy save us from any such Union!

No. Let the laborers of the North say—"Give us the old Union as it was, before abolitionism broke it up; and talk not to us of a Union which would reduce our white labor to the status of negro labor, by turning four millions of slaves loose to compete with us in the labor-markets of the country."

Say that, O ye people, to the "irrepressible demagogues!"

THE MASSACHUSETTS SCHOOL OF POLITICIANS,

We have often referred to the history of Massachusetts to show that her people have always rebelled against the government of the United States when her own will was in the least contradicted by the Federal Government.

In January, 1809, the people of Massachusetts met in mass convention at Boston to formally repudiate the Embargo act of Congress, which they did in the following resolution :

“ *Resolved*, That we will not voluntarily aid and assist in the execution of the act passed on the ninth day of this month for enforcing the several embargo laws. . . .

“ *Resolved*, That raising a large standing army, with the name and title of ‘Volunteers,’ for the purpose of enforcing arbitrary and unconstitutional laws, and *the attempt to place the military above the civil authority—though it cannot overawe nor dismay this great and powerful people—yet must be considered as dangerous to liberty, and ought to call forth the most pointed disapprobation of all its friends.*”

On the second of February of the same year, the Massachusetts legislature passed resolutions equally condemnatory of the government and laws of the United States, and quite as full of a determination not to obey either.

Three years afterwards, when we were at war with Great Britain, Massachusetts not only refused to obey the laws of the United States—refused to allow a single soldier to defend the

government of the United States—but she tried to induce all the New England States to secede from the Union, and form a separate treaty of peace with our enemy in the very midst of the war.

This was carrying “State Rights” to a pitch which is quite a match for the waspish little State of South Carolina.

In these halcyon days of Federalism, the enemies of the Democracy were quite as rabid and abusive as the enemies of the Democratic party of the present day are. The following specimen toast was drank at a Federalist celebration of the 4th of July at Boston in 1798 :

“ *The torments of political damnation to all those democrats or demons who endeavour to enkindle animosities between the United States and Great Britain.*”

And here is another :

“ A free importation of arms, and a general exportation of democrats.”

The *Monitor*, a paper published at Washington, in its issue of February 1st, 1809, alluding to the attempt of Massachusetts to array itself against the general government, says : “ *In two words, it is a State Government arrayed against the Union.* The subject deserves serious consideration ; for, in a perilous time, such clashing pretensions may operate to the destruction of our Confederation.” The *Monitor* added .

"But we do not speak from any alarm that may be supposed to prevail from the apprehension of any *force* which might be arrayed in Massachusetts against the General Government."

The fact was that the "Essex junto," as the Massachusetts traitorous disunion clique was called, did not meet with the unanimous response that they expected from the rest of the New England States, and they were soon forced to abandon their matured plan for resisting the laws of the United States and destroying the Union. Because the government of the United States would not permit England to seize our ships and destroy our commerce, the State of Massachusetts, rather than go to war with our enemy, proposed to destroy the Union.

The Washington *Mirror*, of Dec. 21st, 1809, thus sets forth the British aggressions which the Massachusetts Federalists wanted the government of the United States to submit to :

"And what are those pretensions which they insist the English are correct in setting up? Why, the seizure and condemnation of our ships and merchandize : the obstruction of our navigation on the ocean : the dictation of maritime law : the taxation of our domestic produce : in a word, the degradation of the American States into British colonies, with the additional humiliation of being compelled to go to England to pay the tribute so rigorously, so imperiously demanded of us. Such is the doctrine of the Essex junto, of which Mr. Timothy Pickering is the chief, and which receives all its instructions from the British cabinet. We talk of war from England ! Alas ! Why should the English make war upon us with mercenary soldiers, when she has a junto in our very bowels to plead her cause, to preach up her maxims of submission, and to threaten our government with civil war and dissolution if the mandates of Britain are not complied with ?"

With giant strength the young Democratic party went to war with England and with their traitorous supporters in this country, and vanquished them both at the same time. Federalism fell, never to rise again.

For a long time it struggled fiercely against the progress of the democratic idea of freedom. But everywhere it was vanquished : everywhere, except in Massachusetts, and there it survived, everywhere sowing the seeds of sedition and disunion, until it has at last witnessed the dismemberment of the Union, which it undertook to accomplish just half a century ago.

To Massachusetts, which has sowed the Western and Middle States with Puritanic abolitionists, we owe the crime of secession in the South, and the downfall of liberty in the North.

The ringleaders of the party in power are students and followers of the traitorous federalism of 1810. Mr. Seward, in a speech in Boston during the last Presidential campaign, declared that he had "always been an admirer of the Massachusetts school of politicians."

That "school of politicians" began their career on this continent by drowning the Baptist, stripping women naked, and whipping them through the streets of Boston, and boring holes through the tongues of Quakers with red-hot irons—all for no other crime than disputing the *dictum* of Puritanism.

The idea of liberty in the Puritan school of politicians was never anything beyond the right which the tyrant claims to punish and destroy all who refuse submission to his arbitrary will.

The Puritans, who began by whipping Quakers and drowning Baptists, have wound up by attempting to dictate to other states and territories the laws that shall govern them, and this warfare upon liberty they have carried on until they have driven co-equal states into the hated slough of rebellion, and are now closing their career by destroying democratic newspapers, and imprison-

ing democrats, in violation of all forms of law.

These are the days of triumph for "the Massachusetts school of politicians."

These are the days when liberty and the Union have, for a season, gone down together under the Chicago platform, built by "the Massachusetts school of politicians."

These are the days when Massachusetts *federalism* has obtained a brief hour of power, and is making such an exhibition of itself as excites the amazement and horror of mankind.

These are the last days of "the Massachusetts school of politicians."

If they are not that, then are they the last days of liberty on this continent.

These are the days when the people must wake up in their might, and bury "the Massachusetts school of politicians" under mountains of oblivious dust, or lose the last remnant of liberty which descended to them from their fathers.

The days have come at last when the people must get rid of "the Massachusetts school of politicians" and of the South Carolina school of politicians

together—must sink the malign influence of Boston and Charleston in the sea; they, and all their seditions, federalisms, abolitionisms, disunionisms, secessionisms, and the whole ugly host of all their devilisms together.

In vain shall we crush South Carolina with the sword, if we do not at the same time crush "the Massachusetts school of politicians" by the ballot, and by such an overwhelming flood of popular indignation as shall sweep them politically from the face of every state in the Union.

Sweep them, as Pennsylvania has just done by an overwhelming majority of its legal voters and as New-York would have done gloriously but for the malignant traitors who plunged, at one leap, from the old Union-defending democracy down into fellowship with the Union-destroying abolitionists!

The great battle for the Union is not alone progressing down in *Secessiondom*, but here in *Abolitiondom* it is going on too—gloriously on!

On with the great Democratic Union column in the North!

WHITEWASHING MR. LINCOLN.

WHY SHOULD any man who really wishes to see the Union restored, or who wishes, while the war lasts, to have it (in the language of Gen. McClellan) "conducted on the principles of civilization," longer attempt to apologize for Mr. Lincoln's misdeeds, by throwing them upon the shoulders of his cabinet and the radicals? Mr. Lincoln is, himself, the responsible party. The members of his cabinet are only his secretaries. It is his own fault if he follows the council of the "radicals," to commit crimes against the constitution and laws of his country. All such apologies as, that he has been "over-awed," "overwhelmed," and "coerced" by the radicals, does not, in the smallest degree, lessen his guilt. He is the acting and the only responsible head, of a faction which boldly proclaims that, "the Union as it was is a farce which is played out." The crimes of the administration are all his own. Several times he has announced that the illegal deeds of which the country has complained were done by his order. What then is the propriety, what the sense in talking about the President's "honesty" and "good intentions"? Does he not know better than to *break* the laws he was elected to administer? Does he not know better than to destroy the constitution he has sworn to preserve and obey? It strikes us that those conservative members of Congress who still profess to believe in his good intentions, should bring a resolution before the national legislature to remove him as an imbecile—as an executive, who is incapable of administering the laws and preserving the government of the Republic. No doubt that the abolitionists, both in and out of Congress,

are traitors, who are determined to destroy the government and constitution of the United States, for the purpose of carrying out their notions about negroes; but they are powerless for this stupendous crime without the President. There is no law to punish them for their guilty *designs*. *Acts*, only, can be reached by the laws; and not one of the illegal deeds, against which the people have pronounced in the late elections, could have been done without the order and approval of the President. He has three times, defiantly proclaimed, "they were done by my order." Let that settle the matter. The thousands of men and women who have been slowly dying in dungeons, in violation of the constitution and laws of the land, must one day demand that Mr. Lincoln, as well as the agents of his guilt, shall be held to a terrible account at the bar of offended justice. What is the use, then, of flattering this man, for whom there can be nothing but an ignominious future, with hypocritical praise? Why deck the deluded joker with honied words, as the stalled ox is set off with ribbons and gewgaws before he is led to the slaughter? Is that friendship to Mr. Lincoln? The way to stop him in his destructive career is to tell him plainly the truth. Hit him in the head with such hard, honest words as shall stop his vulgar joking and laughing, and bring him to a realizing sense of the agonies of a perishing nation. Let the press everywhere thunder at him, as the ballot of the honest masses did on the 4th of November, saying "thou art the man"!

The time when editors had to lie to keep out of prison is past. They would never have been subjected to such humiliation if, from the start, they had

boldly confronted the usurpers, and aroused the people to a just sense of their rights and their dangers. But let us have truth now. Is Mr. Lincoln a usurper?—say so. Is he a tyrant?—say so. Instead of suppressing the rebellion, has he attempted to suppress liberty all over the country?—say so. Has he shown a greater energy in trying to crush democracy in the North, than he has in

crushing revolution in the South?—say so. The people have spoken. Let the press speak. The people have condemned the administration,—let the press not dare to whitewash it. It is abolition all over; it is black all through. All the chalk mountains of the world, dissolved in the waters of the Atlantic ocean, could not make it white.

THE DESPOTISM AT WASHINGTON.

THE following letter sufficiently illustrates the atrocious despotism which reigns at Washington. There are thousands of such cases, which shall, before long, be brought to the attention of the courts of justice, that punishment may be justly administered to all who have been guilty of these crimes against liberty and law, from the President down to the humblest tool of his intolerable tyranny. The victim in this case is a son of the late Major Noah. No wonder that Mr. Lincoln urges his fellow-conspirators in Congress to pass an act to protect him and his companions in crime from the just vengeance of the laws. But the indemnifying act is itself a crime—is a violation of the Constitution, and is, in fact, no law, and will be so pronounced by every court in the Republic. Mr. Lincoln may call upon the mountains to fall upon him, but he must not rely upon *ex post facto* laws, or any other laws, passed in violation of the statute and common law of the land, to shield him from deserved punishment. There is not a county, from Washington to Sangamon county, in Illinois, in which he is not liable to arrest, both in a *civil* and *criminal* suit. It is not in the power of Congress to save him. Nothing but death can

save him—and that will, we fear, send him to a more inexorable bar than that of the offended justice of his country.

MR. NOAH'S LETTER.

NEW YORK, December 9.

Although repeatedly and strongly urged by many friends to bring my case before the public, in the city where I was born, and claim a birthright, I have foreborne so doing until the time should arrive when, by the action of the Government itself, I should be discharged from the illegal arrest to which I have been subjected.

After having served faithfully for a year in the Federal army, worn down by constant exposure in the last winter's Kentucky campaign, feeble health forced the resignation of my commission in June last, and I was permitted honorably to retire from the service. But a few days subsequently I was arrested in Louisville, Kentucky, and, *without knowing or being allowed to meet any charges whatever*, was carried into another State, and thrust into the Jeffersonville (Indiana) Penitentiary, there confined with convicts and felons, the only political prisoner within the dungeon walls.

Through the intercession of George D. Prentice, Esq., of the Louisville *Journal*, I was compelled to accede, *under protest*, to the terms that I should give bonds, conditioned for good behavior, in the sum of ten thousand dollars, and go to the State of New York, there to remain during the rebellion, before I could effect my release from the Bastile. As I had never done or said anything that could be fairly construed, by even the most radical, to be disloyal, it was

rather mortifying to be banished without a hearing, after having thus been rigorously imprisoned.

Mr. Prentice voluntarily became my bondsman, and, in connection with Colonel A. M. Gazlay, of Louisville, furnished me with strong letters to the War Department, protesting my innocence, and demanding that I should be at once liberated. After my arrival in this city, I communicated with Mr. Seward, who referred my application for relief to "the tomb of the Capulets," known as the War Department. No notice being taken of my matter, I addressed a letter last week to the Hon. Henry M. Rice, United States Senator from my own State, (Minnesota,) in which I detailed succinctly the particulars of my case. With a promptitude which should be emulated by others in authority, he addressed me the following letter:

SENATE CHAMBER, }
December 3, 1862. }

Dear Sir: Yours of 2d inst. is just received I will at once (to-day) call the attention of the President to your case, in hopes to get a speedy reply. As a last resort, I will call the attention of the Senate to the same, but I trust and hope the Executive will be able to render the required relief.

Very respectfully yours,
HENRY M. RICE.

Major J. J. Noah, No. 100 2d Av. }
New York City. }

On Saturday last, the 6th inst., I received the following communication from the War Department, which is evidently written to convey the impression that my case had been reached in its due course, and acted upon, in view of its

merits, without the interference of Mr. Rice or anybody else to hurry it on. It is the *first* communication that the Department has honored me with, no response ever having been before made to any of my written demands:

WAR DEPARTMENT, Washington City, }
December 4, 1862. }

To J. J. NOAH, Esq.:

You and your surety, George D. Prentice, are hereby released and discharged from all liability upon a bond in the sum of ten thousand dollars, conditioned, among other things, that you proceed to the State of New York, and there remain during the war.

And you are also at liberty to leave the City of New York, and "go and come" at pleasure.

By order of the Secretary of War,

L. C. TURNER,
Judge Advocate.

So that, after having been imprisoned, banished, and held in duress for five months, with all the attendant miseries and expenses of being alienated from my home in the West, away from the field of my pursuits, I have been at last relieved, and turned loose to beg, borrow or steal my way back home again. Had I been allowed a hearing of *ten minutes*, I could have abundantly proved that the circumstances of my arrest must have been prompted by conspiracy, and that I had, at the very hour of my arrest, tendered my services in any capacity where my military experience would be of use, to repel John Morgan, who was hourly expected to make a raid upon Louisville.

I am, very respectfully,

Your obedient servant,

J. J. NOAH.

IS THE PRESIDENT SLANDERED BY HIS FRIENDS?

We copy below, from the *Anti Slavery Standard*, some extracts from the report of an Abolition convention held at Boston, about ten months ago:

Mr. Pillsbury said: Half a million of the sons of the North have gone to that worse than Ganges crocodile that inhabits the rivers of the South, and now 200,000 more are demanded. Why did not a voice go up from the united North, that not another soldier should go until the war was turned against slavery. (Great applause.) Abraham Lincoln, formerly called the slave-hound of Illinois, has increased and enlarged his former tendency.

Aaron M. Powell said: The great bulwark under which slavery has hitherto sheltered itself he recognized as shattered. The Union is broken—the disruption is complete. With the Union began a downward, demoralizing career for the nation. Even Mr. Buffum yesterday, could offer all his support to the President in his present position. It was another sad proof of the painful results of the attempt to reconstruct the impossible Union.

Mr. Swansey—Do you or do you not sustain the government?

Mr. Powell—I do not, any more than I am compelled to. I should be ashamed to.

Wendell Phillips wished to correct a false impression, possibly arising from the *excellent addresses* of Mr. Powell and Mr. Pillsbury. He knew no anti-slavery body which has declared that the work of abolition is done, or which proposes to support the government at Washington, or to relinquish the old principles of anti-slavery. No such body has proposed to support the government *as it is*. It *advises*, not supports the government.

Mr. Stephen S. Foster, in explanation of his remark yesterday, that *he would fight under the banner of the South, if Jefferson Davis should proclaim emancipation*, said that he made it from his love of freedom everywhere, and his desire to co-operate with all who sin-

cerely aimed at freedom. There is no need to compare Davis and Lincoln, any more than any other two slaveholders. If there were, the uniform past record of the Abolitionists would place Davis above Lincoln; for if slave-catching is worse (as we have declared it) than slave-holding, the latter is a greater slave catcher than the former. (*He (Mr. F.) would rather take his chances with Jefferson Davis at the last judgment, than with the President.*)

Soon after the adjournment of this convention, Mr. Sumner wrote to one of his Abolition friends in Boston, the following letter in explanation of the real sentiments and intentions of the President, which we copy from the *Boston Journal*:

SENATE CHAMBER, JUNE 5, 1862.

MY DEAR SIR: YOUR criticism of the President is hasty. I am confident that, if you knew him as I do, you would not make it.

Of course the President cannot be held responsible for the misdeeds of his subordinates, unless adopted or at least tolerated by him. And I am sure that nothing unjust or ungenerous will be tolerated, much less adopted by him.

I am happy to let you know that he has no sympathy with Stanley in his absurd wickedness, closing the schools, nor again in his other act of turning our camp into a hunting-ground for slaves. He repudiates both—positively. The latter point has occupied much of his thought, and the newspapers have not gone too far in recording his repeated declarations, which I have often heard from his own lips, that slaves finding their way into the national lines are never to be re-enslaved. This is his conviction, expressed without reserve.

Could you have seen the President—as it was my privilege often—while he was considering the great questions on which he has already acted—the invitation to emancipation in the States, emancipation in the District of Columbia, and the acknowledgment of the

independence of Hayti and Liberia, even your zeal would have been satisfied, for you would have felt the sincerity of his purpose to do what he could to carry forward the principles of the Declaration of Independence. His whole soul was occupied, especially by the first proposition, which was peculiarly his own. In familiar intercourse with him, I remember nothing more touching than the earnestness and completeness with which he embraced this idea. To his mind it was just and beneficent, while it promised the sure end of slavery. Of course, to me, who had already proposed a Bridge of Gold for the retreating fiend, it was most welcome. Proceeding from the President, it must take its place among the great events of history.

If you are disposed to be impatient at any seeming shortcomings, think, I pray you, of what has been done in a brief period, and from the past discern the sure promise of the future. Knowing something of my convictions and of the ardor with which I maintain them, you may, perhaps, derive some assurance from my confidence. I say, to you, therefore, stand by the Administration. If need be, help it by word and act, but stand by it, and have faith in it.

I wish that you really knew the President, and had heard the artless expression of his convictions on those questions which concern you so deeply. You might, perhaps, wish that he were less cautious, but you would be grateful that he is so true to all that you have at heart. Believe me, therefore, you are wrong, and I regret it the more because of my desire to see all our friends stand firm together.

If I write strongly, it is because I feel strongly, for my constant and intimate intercourse with the President, beginning with the 4th of March, not only binds me peculiarly to his administration, but gives me a personal as well as political interest in seeing that justice is done him.

Believe me, my dear sir,

With much regard,

Very faithfully yours,

CHARLES SUMNER.

The Hon. Owen Lovejoy, in a speech delivered before the "*Emancipation League*," at the Cooper Institute, on Thursday evening, June 13, 1862, made the same direct and unequivocal declaration as to the President's firm abolition principles, and to his fixed determination to carry those principles triumphantly through, before the end of his administration. He said:

"The President is like a man driving a horse in the thills of a buggy, and leading another behind by a halter-strap.—The one in the shafts is a most superb animal: broad between the eyes, ears small, short around the throat, stifle full and hard, short coupled, and can clear ditch and hedge; high spirited and fast, and in all points just such a steed as the pencil of Rosa Bonheur would delight to trace, and such as Bonner or Vanderbilt never drew line upon. The creature behind is a very different kind of animal: he can do nothing but hold back; he jerks and sags back on the halter; he has a large head, striking auricular development; his ribs are as distinct as hoops on a barrel; his hip-bones are enormously high, and he bears unmistakable evidence of never having made the acquaintance of the oat-bin, and his caudal destitution is precisely that of Tam O'Shanter's mare after she made the convulsive spring that brought Tam safe across the running stream, where warlock and witch could na' follow. It is very awkward managing two horses this way, as I know from experiment. Now, the President knows that the horse Radical that he is driving can go ahead, for he has by him been taken in handsome style into the Executive chair; but he is a little afraid that this mettlesome charger cannot be trusted going down hill, otherwise he would let go of the old rack-a-bones that hobbles along behind. Now, I do not propose to dash ahead, so as to throw the President out, or break the carriage; but to go so steadily, that the Executive can be assured that he is safe with the Radical steed, down hill as well as up, and on level ground, nad then he will drop the strap, and let the

old conservative Rosenante go to grass. I am for putting on all the steam that the machinery will bear; but it is better to get into port a few hours later, than to risk the explosion of the machinery. If the President does not believe all I do, I believe all he does. If he does not drive as fast as I would, he is on the same road, and it is a question of time. The great tide of events sweeps onward under the guiding power of a superintending Providence, bearing with it President, and Cabinet, and Congress."

How do the "conservative" supporters of the President like this flattering comparison to an old rack-a-bones of a horse, who is to be turned out to grass as soon as he is sure that the Radical nag of abolitionism can carry him safely through?

Mr. Lovejoy is a member of Congress from Mr. Lincoln's own State, and has been known from the start as one of his most intimate and confidential friends. The only question is, does he fairly represent the principles and designs of the President? Does Mr. Sumner fairly represent them in his letter? Are we to believe that these intimate friends of the President—one a Senator, and the other a member of Congress—deliberately told falsehoods in relation to his inten-

tions? If they do, it is the President's duty to come out at once with a denial of their slanders. If he is not really deceiving his "conservative" supporters, and does not mean, as soon as it will answer, to let them "go to grass," he cannot too quickly wipe off this stain of seditious and revolutionary abolitionism. On the other hand, if Sumner and Lovejoy do not lie, then the country must be prepared to witness the ripening of the plans of a premeditated revolution, for the purpose of overthrowing our Government and crushing the Constitution, to accomplish the aims of abolitionism. If Sumner and Lovejoy do not lie, then the darkest hour of the Republic is yet to come—then the poverty, and strife, and taxation, and blood have but just begun. If the President can, with truth, clear himself of these charges, uttered by his friends, let him not delay doing it, in order that the thousands of conservative patriotic men who have trusted in him may be relieved of the tormenting doubts and fears with which they have been inspired by these statements.

We shall be among the first to jump at an opportunity of publishing a denial of these charges.

CORRUPTION OF BEN. BUTLER.

THE *Tribune* is grieved at the thieving reputation achieved by the present administration, and seeks to shirk some of the bad notoriety as follows:

"One of the most flagrant cases unearthed by the House Investigating Committee, occurred in connection with the outfit of Gen. Butler's expedition, wherein all the actors were Democrats of the Breckenridge type."

All this only proves that Democrats can learn bad manners and bad morals when they get into bad company. We have heard of Ben. Butler getting drunk, and of his doing many coarse and obscene things, but we never heard of his stealing till now. The party that could corrupt Ben. Butler has much to account for!

DOES MR. LINCOLN WISH TO SAVE THE UNION?

THERE are thousands of honest men, not of Mr. Lincoln's party, who have persuaded themselves to adopt the affirmative of the above question. If they are right in this opinion, we should greatly regret to do Mr. Lincoln the injustice to believe otherwise. But there are several considerations, which, to say the least, throw great doubts upon the subject.

1st. Nearly all the Republican party newspapers boldly declare, in the language of the New York *Tribune*, that a "restoration of the old Union is neither possible nor desirable."

2d. Whenever a resolution was introduced in Congress by some of the border state representatives, that "*the war shall be prosecuted for no other purpose than a restoration of the Union,*" Mr. Lincoln's partizans and confidants instantly, and with perceptible flashes of malice, table such resolution.

3d. If he sincerely wished to bring the recreant States back into the Union, would he have sent his emancipation message to Congress?

4th. If such were his honest purpose, would he have so eagerly signed the bill abolishing slavery in the district of Columbia?

5th. If such had been his purpose, would he have sent the *negro-kissing* fanatics from Boston and New York down to the Southern coast, to teach the blacks the art of running away from, or murdering, their masters?

6th. If he wished to bring the South back, would he have re-appointed Fremont to a forfeited command, and have sent him into Tennessee, when even the Union men of the South regard him with contempt and horror?

7th. Would he have removed the gal-

lant conservative generals, Sturges and Denver, from command in Kansas, for having arrested the notorious Colonel Jennison, the abolition jay hawker, border robber, and field thief, for the crime of mutiny?

8th. Would he have suspended one of the best of our generals—General Abercrombie—from his command at Warranton Junction, because he restrained the abolitionists of New England from the destruction of private property?

9th. If he wishes to bring the South back to its allegiance, why does he do all in his power to alarm and disgust even the Union men of the South, by allowing the very worst type of the red and black abolitionists to have full sway in the civil departments of government, and in the army and navy?

10th. If he wishes to strengthen and encourage the Union men of the South, why does he propose to dress the runaway or stolen slaves in flashing Zouave costume, and arm them to kill the Southern white men?

11th. Does not the President's conduct in all these matters sadly impress real honest Union men, all over the country, that he is more anxious to SAN DOMINGOIZE the South, if he cannot abolish slavery without it, than he is to bring the South back upon the platform of the old Union?

12th. Does not the fact that the President is now fully indorsed by the disunion abolitionists of the Phillips, Garrison, and Sumner school, cause the most unhappy doubts in the minds of all honest Union men?

13th. If the Administration is working, not for the abolition of slavery, but

for the constitution and the laws, why does it disregard the constitution and laws, in every point where they stand in the way of abolition?

14th. Is it becoming, in a lately intelligent and free people, to supinely shut their eyes in unquestioning silence, in relation to measures which concern the liberty and prosperity, not only of the present generation, but of unborn generations of our offspring?

We should regret to do Mr. Lincoln injustice. But a respect for truth, and a feeling of manly independence, compel us to say that, if we were the President, and desired to make the breach so wide between the North and South that the sundered parts could never be brought together again—we should go on very much as Mr. Lincoln has gone on of late. We might not think it prudent to develop our real designs quite so rapidly; but it cannot be fairly denied that the process of abolition and revolution is progressing with a good deal of cunning, and with a remarkable tenacity of purpose—so much so, that we are compelled to pity the intellect of the man who fails to see that, to say the very least, the restoration of the Union to its old foundations is altogether subordinate to the abolition of slavery, in the mind of the administration. To think otherwise, is to accuse Mr. Lincoln and his cabinet, and a majority of both houses of Congress, with absolute dementation.

Many months ago, in his special message, Mr. Lincoln distinctly foreshadowed the abolition policy which is now developing with as much boldness as he deems prudent—he then said:

“Our adversaries have adopted some declarations of independence in which, unlike the good old one penned by Jefferson, they omit the words, ‘all men

are created equal.’ Why? They have adopted a temporary national constitution, in the preamble of which, unlike our good old one, signed by Washington. They omit ‘we, the people,’ and substitute ‘we, the deputies of the sovereign and independent States.’ Why? Why this deliberate pressing out of view the rights of men and the authority of the people?

“This is essentially a people’s contest. On the side of the Union it is a struggle for maintaining in the world that form and substance of government, whose leading object is *to elevate the condition of men; to lift artificial weights from all shoulders; to clear the paths of laudable pursuit for all; to afford all an unfettered start, and a fair chance in the race of life.*

“Yielding to partial and temporary departures from necessity, this is the leading object of the Government for whose existence we contend.”

It will be perceived that, in the first clause of this extract, Mr. Lincoln alludes to the phrase in the Declaration of Independence, that “all men are created equal,” which he contended in his debates with Senator Douglas, means that negroes are created the equals of white men. We thought that Douglas argued and ridiculed this folly out of him, but he seems to be harping on the same old *negro-equality* string still. In the second clause, he says the object of our Government is “*to elevate the condition of men,*” which the connexion shows especially includes *black men*. Again he says the object of this struggle “on the side of the Union is to *lift artificial weights from all men’s shoulders—to afford all an unfettered start, &c.* Here we find him beginning with the doctrine of *negro-equality*, and ending with the idea that the present struggle is to make

him the equal of the white man, by *lifting the artificial weights from his shoulders*, and he winds up the whole by declaring, "this is the leading object of the Government for whose existence we contend."—This is plain enough. If it has any meaning at all it means that the object of this struggle is to free negroes. And to do this he is willing to shed the blood of a quarter of a million of white men, and to tax all the white men who survive to a degree that will be the torture of their existence. That is the programme. By this light of Mr. Lincoln's special message we are able to read all the strange movements of the administration at the present time. We are among those who have not been able to persuade themselves, from the beginning, that this war was to be conducted for the sole or the principal object of saving the Union. We have searched in vain for any sufficient evidence that the leaders of the party in power wished to save it. We have all along declared that the spirit and measures of the administration never would save the Union. And now after they had denounced us

for months as *traitors* for telling the people the truth, they no longer blush to own that "a restoration of the old Union is impossible."—But we shall see. If the people rush to the polls next time and elect a clean democratic Congress—a real union Congress, that shall not have enough *black republican democrats* to spoil the whole thing—we shall see that the Union will be restored, and that, too, upon the precise basis on which it was originally formed. On no other basis can it be restored. On no other basis ought it to be restored. We want no new fashioned Union formed by Abraham Lincoln & Co. on the one hand, or by Jeff. Davis & Co. on the other. Give us the glorious old Union that was formed by our fathers—and let a convention of the States be called to add at least one wholesome amendment to the Constitution, which shall provide for a severe punishment of all abolitionists, and all other mischief makers, who wish to use the poor negro as a means of breaking the unity and destroying the peace of these States

MASSACHUSETTS *versus* SOUTH CAROLINA.

THE Massachusetts disunionists held a grand mass meeting on the 15th of June, 1862, and passed the following resolution :

“*Resolved*, That, as abolitionists, devoted to the great work of overthrowing slavery, we renew and repeat our old pledge, “*No Union with slaveholders* ;” no support of any administration or government that permits slavery on any portion of its soil; and we value this war only as we believe it must lead to EMANCIPATION by order of the Federal authorities, or to a dissolution of the Union, which must speedily produce the same result.”

These are the men whose “support,” the President affirms, “the country cannot afford to lose.” Their flat and defiant position is, that they will have either abolition of slavery, or disunion of the States. By these disunionists, Mr. Lincoln was made President. Carl Shurz, who has been made both a Minister and a General by Mr. Lincoln, in his last party speech in New York city, rejoiced that—

“The old Union is dead. If Jef. Davis and his followers were to submit at the foot of Capitol Hill, and repent in sackcloth and ashes, the old Union could not be restored.”

To say that these men are “fighting for the Union,” is to lie, most egregiously and impudently. The honest among

them have never pretended that they were “*fighting for the Union* :” they are fighting to destroy the institutions of the South. And yet the President tells us that he “cannot afford to lose their support.” The only difference between the disunionists of South Carolina and of Massachusetts is, that the one is fighting to *preserve* her own institutions, and the other is fighting to *destroy* them.

If the President continues of the opinion that he cannot afford to lose the support of these Northern disunionists, let him make up his mind to lose the support of the conservative Union-loving masses of the North. The moment these masses perceive that the war is not for the *Union*, but for the *negro*, there will be such an outburst as will drown the eternal thunders of the deep. Those who do not already hear its startling murmurs, nor feel the rising surges of the coming storm, are deaf and senseless. Woe to the abolitionists! Woe to the *Northern* disunionists, as well as the *Southern*! Woe! woe! to abolitionism and disunionism everywhere. The people have supported this war to *SAVE THE UNION*—not to turn loose the negroes; and let those who conduct it see to it, that they *do* save the Union, or make up their minds to answer for every drop of blood they have shed, and for the billions they have spent.

NORTHERN DISUNIONISM.

IN the New York Tribune of Nov. 8th, a correspondent writes :

"Sir—In your paper of to-day, in the article headed 'The Emancipation Proclamation Abroad,' you do injustice to one of the leading English country daily papers—*The Liverpool Post*—in classing it with *The Times* and others who have not omitted to heap abuse on this country, and advocated the cause of Southern Slave Oligorchy."

To this the editor replies :

"Our correspondent is so far right as that *The Liverpool Post*, unlike many other leading papers of England, continues to profess Anti-Slavery views; but as to its claim to be classed with *The News* and *The Star* among our friends, we have failed to discover any reasons for it. We do not remember any article in *The Post* expressing that appreciation of the object of our war, and that sympathy with it which *The News* and *Star* show in almost every article on American affairs, and, in accordance with this either non-committal or unfriendly attitude, is its unqualified condemnation of the Emancipation Proclamation, in its issue of October 6th."

Here is a flat confession that Mr. Greeley understands "*the object of the war*" to be the abolition of slavery. There is no doubt that this is the object, certainly the principal object of the party in power. It has all the time been foolishness in the people to allow themselves to be cheated with the idea that the war, conducted by Mr. Lincoln, has any other object. Every man in America, who has not lost his senses,

has, all along through the bloody and brutal events of the last year and a half, believed with Senator Douglas, that "war is dissolution, final and eternal separation?" It needs but a very small amount of intelligence to comprehend the fact that war, such as we have been conducting, cannot save the Union. Why should we insist in longer deceiving the people with the idea that it is now directed for the preservation of the Union, when the party in power boldly announces that it neither contemplates nor desires such a result. Mr. Bingham, a Republican leader, standing in his place on the floor of Congress, several months ago, exclaimed: "Who in God's name wants the Cotton States, or any other States this side of hell, to come back, if slavery is to come back with them?" Mr. James S. Pike, who is Mr. Lincoln's Minister to the Netherlands, said: "The Union is not worth supporting in connection with slavery." This atrocious disunionism agrees with the following assertion in a late editorial of the Washington National Republican, Mr. Lincoln's organ at the capital: "The farce of restoring the Union as it was, is played out." The last

Congress passed several acts that are positive proofs that the administration has no expectation of saving the Union. The *Chicago Tribune*, the leading organ of Republicanism in Illinois, in an editorial of a late issue, uses the following language :

“What means this talk of restoring the Union as it was? There can be no ‘Union as it was,’ until the Confiscation Act is erased from the statutes; that’s certain. ‘The Union as it was’ will never be the vision of any pro-slavery fanatic or secessionist sympathizer, and it never ought to. IT IS A THING OF THE PAST, HATED BY EVERY PATRIOT, AND DESTINED NEVER TO CURSE AN HONEST PEOPLE, OR BLOT THE PAGES OF HISTORY AGAIN.”

As early as the 23d of January, 1861, the *New York Tribune* uttered the following words :

“Speaking for ourselves, we can honestly say that for that old Union, which was kept in existence by southern menaces and northern concessions, *we have no regrets*, and we wish for **NO RECONSTRUCTION**. Who wants any Union which is nothing but a sentiment to lacker Fourth of July orations withal?”

Mr. Greeley addressed a letter to Senator Davis, of Kentucky, which was published in the *Tribune*, April 3d, 1862, the object of which was to induce Senator Davis to abandon altogether the idea of saving the Union. The following extract shows the animus of this remarkable letter :

“The truths with which I wish to impress you are two: 1. Such a reconstruction as you desire is impossible. 2. If it could be effected, you, and others like you, would have reason to rue it.”

In his speech in Brooklyn, advertising to the election of Gen. Wadsworth, Gen. Cassius M. Clay said: “Let us hear no more of this talk about the

Union as it was.” On a previous occasion, Gen. Clay exclaimed: “Never, so help me God, will I draw a sword to keep the chains upon another fellow-being.” In a war meeting held at Springfield, Ohio, on the 12th of September, 1862, the Rev. Mr. Childs “brought down immense applause” by making the following announcement :

“The man who desires to have the Union as it was, ought to be hanged up by the heels until he be dead, dead, dead! and the wolves and ravens ought to eat the flesh from his carcass.”

This is the spirit of the abolition party now in power. It frolics in this terrible civil war. It joyfully wades up to its chin in blood. It has emboweled humanity, and driven the voices of mercy and peace from the altars of religion. It screams out “traitor!” to all who want to save the Union. It proposes to “hang” every man who does not willingly assent to the treacherous, bloody, disunion, abolition programme. It says outright, this war is not to save the Union; we will have no more of the Union; we will have an end of the Union. Then let the people say, We will have an end of the war and of the abolition party. If the war is not for the Union, stop it. If we are to have nothing to show for all our sacrifices but the blood and the debt, stop it. If white men are to be enslaved to free negroes, stop it. What better is a Northern war for disunion than a Southern war for disunion? What better is Northern disunionism than Southern disunionism? What better is Sumner than Yancy?

NORTHERN DISUNIONISTS.

FREEMEN OF AMERICA—Friends of the Union—Defenders of the Altars of Liberty—*Wake up!* The Abolitionists, the original disunionists, are about to execute their long-proclaimed threat to destroy so much of the Constitution as relates to slavery, or to destroy the Union forever. They have sworn to disgrace and drive from the field every General who does not lend himself to their revolutionary and destructive schemes, and they assail Mr. Lincoln with the most coarse and unmanly abuse, because he refuses to submit the helm of State entirely to their reckless control.

In one of their late pow-wows at Boston, Wendell Phillips called the President "a turtle," "a broomstick," "an imbecile," and denounced, not merely the administration, but the Government of our country, as "a worthless failure." He proposes to depose the President, and tells his followers that:

"As long as you keep the present turtle at the head of the Government, you make a pit with one hand and fill it with another."

He tries to demoralize our army by destroying confidence in its Generals. Hear him:

"McClellan's balls are not intended to do much damage to the rebels; he could not have done more to help them than he has done. The people need not fear for Richmond: McClellan would not take it. He (Phillips) looked upon the present war, conducted without a reasonable object, as a total loss of blood and treasure. * * * * Men well acquainted, from positive experience, with the Army of the Potomac, affirm that Richmond could have been taken five different times, had the do-nothing at the head of it permitted; but he preferred to dig dirt in the Chickahominy swamps, and then leave

that locality and its dirt heaps ignominiously. President Lincoln, through coward fear of the border States, keeps this man in the position he holds."

This speech to the assembly of pestilent traitors winds up with the following words:

"Better the South should go to-day, than lose another life to prolong the war upon the present detestable policy. * * * *Let this Union be dissolved in God's name.* * * * England ought to recognize the Southern confederacy."

These horrible words were uttered amidst "the most deafening applause of the vast throng," we are told; and we all know that they breathe the cherished sentiments of the whole body of abolitionists. They are the original disunionists, the starters of the secession treason, and they deserve to be punished equally with the mad fools whom they have driven into rebellious crime in the South.

The project of a dissolution of this Union was started by the abolitionists of New England as long ago as 1837. From that time to the present they have labored, with the vigilance and malice of an army of devils, to compass their treasonable designs.

The proceedings of the American Anti-Slavery Society, which met in this city in May, 1844, are now on our table, and the following are the resolutions which are declared to have been "unanimously passed:"

"*Resolved*, That a political Union, in any form, between a slaveholding and a free community, must necessarily involve the latter in the gulf of slavery. Therefore,

"*Resolved*, That secession from the present United States Government is the

duty of every abolitionist, since no one can take office or deposit a vote under its Constitution without violating his anti-slavery principles, and rendering himself an abettor of the slaveholder in his sin.

“Resolved, That fourteen years of warfare against the slave power have convinced us that every act done in support of the American Union rivets the chains of the slave; that the only exodus of the slave to freedom, unless it be one of blood, must be over the ruins of the present American church, and the grave of the present Union.”

This is a proclamation against heaven and earth, and every thing else, except hell itself. And these blaspheming traitors have been allowed to expend, on an average, a million and a half of dollars a year, for a quarter of a century, in circulating books, papers, pamphlets, supporting lecturers, male and female, and in holding public meetings in every school district in the non-slaveholding States.

As a specimen of the kind of patriotism tolerated in New England, we give a short extract from a speech by W. O. Duval, of Massachusetts :

“I sincerely hope a civil war will soon burst upon the country. I want to see American slavery abolished in my time. Then my most fervent prayer is, that England, France, and Spain may take this slave-accursed nation into their special consideration; and when the time arrives for the streets of the cities of this ‘land of the free and home of the brave’ to run with blood up to the horses’ bridles, if I be living, there will be one heart to rejoice at the retribution of Heaven.”

Not only in every school district of the North has this kind of murderous treason been talked, but, with the fewest exceptions, our pulpits have been prostituted to the dissemination of the Abolition sedition. Many of the clergy have, indeed, taken the distemper in its mildest form;

and although they have dispensed the poison in minute doses, it has not been less effectual in medicating the public mind. Vast numbers of them have openly preached treason and rebellion in direct terms. In May, 1837, the Rev. Mr. Foss, of New Hampshire, declared that “if the Angel Gabriel had done what our fathers did when they formed the Constitution, he would be a scoundrel.”

Rev. Dr. Bellows, of New York, in a sermon delivered in 1856, which was afterwards printed as a Republican campaign document, said :

“Considered as a question of policy, it is by no means certain that the dissolution of the Union would be a political evil to us. The Union is great, precious, sacred! but—yes! we must say it!—humanity, duty, honor, religion, are GREATER THAN THE UNION. This, then, is the unyielding ground of the Republican party—there is no evil possible to the country at this crisis as great as the extension of slavery. Dreadful as disunion is, the extension of slavery is still more dreadful. The dissolution of the Union, however deplorable, is not primarily a question of conscience, but of policy. We made the Union, and we have a right to unmake it if we choose.”

A library of a hundred volumes might be made of such pulpit extracts, showing that the crime of disunion has been for a long time urged on by the pulpits. Indeed, every abolitionist, whether in the pulpit or out of it, is a disunionist. Our present Minister to the Netherlands long ago said :

“I love the Union, but the time has come when we must declare we love freedom BETTER THAN THE UNION.”

In 1858 Henry Ward Beecher uttered the following treasonable language to an applauding crowd of traitors :

“The Constitution is the cause of every division which this vexed question of slavery has ever occasioned in this country. It has been the fountain and father

our troubles, by attempting to hold together, as reconciled, two opposing principles, which will not harmonize nor agree. The only hope of the slave is *over the ruins of the Government and of the American Church.* THE DISSOLUTION OF THE UNION *is the abolition of slavery."*

Judge Spaulding, addressing the Convention which nominated Fremont, said:

"In the case of the alternatives being presented, *of the continuance of slavery* or a dissolution of the Union, I AM FOR DISSOLUTION, and I care not how quick it comes."

Senator Wade, of Ohio, addressing a convention of Abolitionists at Portland, Maine, in 1858, said:

"*There was really NO UNION BETWEEN THE NORTH AND THE SOUTH; and he believed no two nations upon the earth entertained feelings of MORE BITTER RANCOR towards each other than these two sections of the Republic.* The only salvation of the Union, therefore, was to be found in *divesting it entirely from all taint of SLAVERY.* THERE WAS NO UNION IN THE SOUTH. Let us have a Union, or LET US SWEEP AWAY THIS REMNANT which we call a UNION. I go for a Union *where all men are equal,* or FOR NO UNION AT ALL, and I go for right."

But it is needless to multiply extracts, for the whole history of abolitionism is one thing, and every step of its progress has been marked by this dark and bloody determination to destroy the Union, in order to free the negroes.

In 1857 these disunionists held a convention at Worcester, which was announced as a "Disunion Convention," a full report of which was published in the *New York Tribune* of January 24, 1857. At this convention, the following resolutions were passed, as the political platform of the Northern Disunionists:

"*Resolved,* That the meeting of a State Disunion Convention, attended by men of various parties and affinities, gives occasion for a new statement of principles and a new platform of action.

Resolved, That the cardinal American principle is now, as always, 'Liberty;' while the prominent fact is now, as always, 'Slavery.'

Resolved, That the conflict between this principle of Liberty and this fact of Slavery has been the whole history of the nation for fifty years; while the only result of this conflict has thus far been to strengthen both parties, and prepare the way for a yet more desperate struggle.

Resolved, That, in this emergency, we can expect little or nothing from the South itself, because it is sinking deeper into barbarism every year:

Nor from a Supreme Court, which is always ready to invent new securities for slaveholders:

Nor from a President elected almost solely by Southern voters:

Nor from a Senate which is permanently controlled by the slave power:

Nor from a new House of Representatives, which, in spite of our agitation, will be more Pro-Slavery than the present one, though the present one has at length granted all that Slavery asked:

Nor from *political action,* as now conducted; nor the Republican leaders and presses freely admitted, in public and private, that the election of Fremont was (politically speaking) 'the last hope of Freedom;' and even could the North cast an united vote in 1860, the South has before it four years of annexation previous to that time.

Resolved, That the fundamental difference between mere political agitation and the action we propose, is this: that the one requires the acquiescence of the Slave Power, and the other only its opposition.

Resolved, That the necessity of disunion is written in the whole existing character and condition of the two sections of the country—in their social organization, education, habits, and laws—in the dangers of our white citizens in ~~Kenneth~~ *Boston*—in the wounds of Charles Sumner and the laurels of his assailant; and no government on earth was ever strong enough to hold together such opposing forces.

Resolved. That this movement does

not seek merely disunion, but the more perfect union of the Free States by the expulsion of the Slave States from the confederation, in which they have been an element of discord, danger, and disgrace.

Resolved. That it is not probable that the ultimate severance of the Union will be an act of deliberation or discussion; but that a long period of deliberation and discussion must precede it; and this we meet to begin.

Resolved. That henceforward, instead of regarding it as an objection to any system of policy, that it will lead to the separation of the States, we will proclaim that to be the highest of all recommendations, and the grateful proof of statesmanship; and will support, politically or otherwise, such men and measures as appear to tend most to this result.

Resolved. That, by the repeated confession of Northern and Southern statesmen, 'the existence of the Union is the chief guaranty of slavery;' and that the despots of the whole world have every thing to fear, and the slaves of the whole world every thing to hope, from its destruction, and the rise of a Free Northern Republic.

Resolved. That the sooner the separation takes place, the more peaceful it will be; but that peace or war is A SECONDARY CONSIDERATION, in view of our present perils. Slavery must be conquered—'peaceably, if we can; forcibly, if we must.'

In 1854, the New York *Tribune* published the following verses, expressive of the sentiments of the partizans of that paper in relation to our country's FLAG:

ALL HAIL!

TO THE STARS AND STRIPES!

All hail, the flaunting Lie!
 The stars grow pale and dim:
 The stripes are bloody scars—
 A Lie, the vaunting hymn.
 It shields a pirate's deck,
 It binds a man in chains,
 It yokes the captive's neck,
 And wipes the bloody stains.

"Tear down" the flaunting Lie!
 Half-mast the starry flag!
 Insult no sunny sky
 With "hate's polluted rag!
 Destroy it, ye who can!"
 "Deep sink it in the waves!"
 It bears a fellow-man
 To groan with fellow-slaves.
 Furl up the boasted Lie!
 Till Freedom lives again,
 To rule once more in truth
 Among untrammel'd men.
 Roll up the starry sheen,
 Conceal its bloody stains;
 For in its folds are seen
 The stamp of rusting chains!

Such have been the sentiments of the abolitionists, from the dawn of their organization, nearly a third of a century ago, to the present moment, when they even threaten to depose the President, because he refuses to gratify their malignant designs against the Union and against the government of our country. In proportion as these traitorous disunionists endeavor to embarrass the Executive, it is the duty of the patriotic masses to stand firmly up to the great work of preserving the Union against every blow that either fanaticism or rebellion can aim at its existence. Let the President preserve a determined hand in rejecting the councils of these foes of the Union, and the democratic masses will, as one mind, rush to sustain him in the glorious work of defending the Constitution and government of our fathers. The President has already had abundant proof that the Democracy of the country will, to the last man, stand up, and face death in defense of the old flag, and for the preservation of the old Union: and he has but to put it to the test, to find that it will defend him from every assault of these Northern disunionists, who are threatening to break down his administration because he will not give himself up entirely to their schemes of

destroying the last hope of preserving the Union as it has descended to us from the great men of the Revolution. Here we stand, and here we will stand, in life or in death, to defend these old altars of liberty, and to preserve the Union whole and complete, as we have received it from our fathers. We are for giving all sections their rights IN the Union, but we have nothing to offer OUT of it.

The abolitionists, the Northern disunionists, are a greater obstacle to the restoration of the Union, than all the armies of the rebels. The most indecent rebel of the South is not in the habit of using such coarse and abusive language in relation to the Constitution, to the Union, to our Generals, and to the President, as the abolitionists use on all occasions. They are the original foes of the Union. Long before Jeff. Davis had a thought of treason towards the Union, these abolitionists were plotting, night and day, for its destruction; and they now send out the infamous cry from Boston—

"LET THE UNION BE DISSOLVED IN GOD'S NAME! ENGLAND OUGHT TO ACKNOWLEDGE THE SOUTHERN CONFEDERACY!"

This is the prayer of every abolitionist, except such as cherish the fiendish plan of cutting the throat of every white man, woman, and child in the South! They hate the Constitution—they hate

the Union—they hate every thing but the negro and themselves.

The Hon. Anson Burlingame long ago made the following bloody threat to "EXTERMINATE" even every Northern man who refused to yield to their execrable disunion schemes:

"When we shall have elected a President (as we will) who will not be the President of a party, nor of a section, but the tribune of a people; and after we have EXTERMINATED a few more miserable 'doughfaces' from the North, then, if the pitiful slave senate will not give way, *we will grind it between the upper and nether mill-stones of our power.*"

Said James Watson Webb:

"If we (the Republicans) fail at the ballot-box, what then? We will drive it (slavery) back, sword in hand; and, so help me God! believing that to be right, I am with them."

These Northern disunionists have for years boldly arrayed themselves against the laws of the Federal Union. Of the act of Congress, known as the "Fugitive Slave Law," Senator Sumner said:

"The good citizen, as he reads this act, is filled with horror. Here the path of duty is clear. I AM BOUND TO DISOBEY THIS ACT. Sir, I will not dishonor this home of the Pilgrims, and of the Revolution, by admitting—nay, I cannot believe—that this bill will be executed here in Boston."

THE HON. BENJAMIN WOOD.

We give in this number an excellent likeness of the Hon. Benjamin Wood, member of Congress for the Fourth district of New-York City, and editor and proprietor of the *Daily News*. Mr. Wood is one of the very few men of high political position who can truly say that he has never, by word or deed, rendered a particle of aid to the abolition war. From the very beginning of this abolition revolution he has stood up against it with an uncompromising and undismayed front. Whether assailed by would-be assassins in the streets of Washington, doing his duty in Congress, or speaking through the columns of his paper, he has fearlessly battled for the constitution and laws, in opposition to every illegal act of the administration. In the last Congress he several times found himself voting with a minority of five against the administration—a record of which he may well be proud; the memory of which he will wear like a Crown when the nature and extent of Mr. Lincoln's usurpations come to be realized by the people of this country.

Mr. Wood has resided twenty-five years in the district which he represents in Congress. He was elected the first time by a majority of 600. Soon after taking his seat, he introduced a resolution for a convention of the States, to consider the means of restoring the Union, which was quickly laid on the table by the abolition disunion majority; but he never abandoned his position of peace and compromise. Near the close of the last session of the last Congress, he made a speech in which he referred to the resolution looking to peace which he had

offered the year before, in the following words:—

“Our fathers gave us a Union founded upon mutual consent, concession, and reciprocal attachment; we would entail upon our children a political connection based upon hatred, suspicion, and opposing prejudices. A nationality thus constituted would be a mockery of republicanism and its bane. It would be as the consummation of a marriage where antipathy usurped the place of love; a political prostitution; the joining of hands before an altar whose divinity could attest the heart's irrepressible loathing and disgust. Had I the faculty to crush with one blow the material power of the South, I would not strike. My pride as an American would revolt at the thought of dragging them, reluctant, helpless, and spirit-broken, into a fellowship that they abhor. Union restored by subjugation would be but the prelude of increasing altercation. It is not enough to affirm that I would not enforce the unnatural connection; sir, I would not consent to it. I would oppose it as a degradation to ourselves, an insult to our institutions, and a violation of our principles of self-government.”

The speech from which this extract is taken produced a universal howl among the abolitionists from one end of the country to the other. It was everywhere said that Mr. Wood could not be re-elected after his persistent peace-course in Congress. But, notwithstanding the administration caused a war-democrat to be nominated against him by the Republicans of his district, and backed the nomination by \$50,000 in greenbacks, Mr. Wood was elected—not by his first majority of 600, but by a sweeping majority of 3,200.

Thus, he was returned to Congress—
notwithstanding the superhuman efforts

to defeat him—by such a vastly-increased majority as was the strongest possible endorsement by his constituency of his peace principles and of his whole course in Congress.

TO OUR SUBSCRIBERS.

These Numbers of the OLD GUARD complete the number of pages promised for the 1st volume of the work.

The subscriber has not been able to devote any attention to its publication, except to edit it. He has written, with two or three exceptions, every article which has appeared in this volume—a labor which had to be performed while absent from New York, traveling to meet engagements to address democratic meetings, in most of the Northern States. On returning from the campaign in Pennsylvania, it was discovered that a faithless clerk, instead of mailing the 8th and 9th Nos. to all the subscribers, had sold them to the paper makers. Another edition of those Nos. was printed, and the deficiency will be

made up to all the subscribers, as will also any other missing Numbers.

To avoid all the difficulties attending the business affairs of the work, its publication will be hereafter conducted by those well-known and esteemed publishers, Messrs. Van Everie and Horton, of the *New-York Day Book*. The subscriber's whole attention will be devoted to the editorial interests of the OLD GUARD, and he hopes to make it the work most needed in this terrible crisis, and in the approaching Presidential campaign. It is the only magazine published in the United States which is devoted to a fearless and uncompromising exposure of the monstrous crimes and frauds of the party in power. It will be filled with such historical and statistical articles, in relation to the rights of the people and of the States, as will enable the friends of the Constitution to meet its enemies with appeals to the official records or documentary history of the Republic.

The work has received a patronage thus far, which proves that it meets the wants of the people.

The editor hopes to increase its value and its usefulness in its future volumes.

C. CHAUNCEY BURR.

