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OLD GUARD,

A MONTHLY JOURNAL;

DEVOTED TO THE PRINCIPLES OF

1776 AND 1787.

FEBRUARY, 1863.

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Engr'd by W. G. Jackman, N.Y.

C. S. Wallandigham

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

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, \$500,000,000 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
	35.07
Charges.....	35.07
Cost of sugar...	\$39.07

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, inprescriptible 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 entrenched 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 Cæsar 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-m 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 Troas: 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!

C. C. B.

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 fur lough 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 *amalgum* 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 in to 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 case-mate 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 deranged; 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 ran 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 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 thoyal members of Congress on all important questions.t 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, could'nt 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.

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CONTENTS:

A FINE STEEL ENGRAVING OF THE HON. C. L. VAL-
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FINANCIAL RUIN OF THE COUNTRY.

THE HORRORS OF THE ABOLITION BASTILES.

REMARKS ON THE FRENCH DECLARATION OF RIGHTS.

BEECHER, BLASPHEMY AND NEGRO PATRIOTISM.

DUTY OF THE PEOPLE TO STOP USURPATION.

GREEN BACKS AND YELLOW BELLIES.

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