THE DAILY EVENING TELEGRAPH .- PHILADELPHIA, WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 9, 1867.

8 STATES THAT

Speech of Hon. James M. Scovel, Delivered in Camden Jan. 1, 1867, at the Concert for the Benefit of Friendless Children.

Ladice and Gentlement-I have been requested so speak here by the Committee, to whose industry we are indebted for this great demontration on behalf of the noble charity which, thanks to the exertions of self-sacrificing women and generous men, has grown successfully into usefulness and permanence. With liberty to choose my own subject, I have taken for my theme "The American Idea of Liberty," or the principle of human liberty as we understand it. And it, in my ireatment of a subject so vast, and so alive with interest to every patriot heart, I stray into the fields political, I beg you to remember that fidelity to liberty made some amongst these helpless children orphans, to be tenderly cared for, because those who gave them life set death with fatal determination, bayonet in hand, boldly facing eternity and the death that led them there, that you and I and our latest posterity might enjoy the inestimable and incalculable blessings of liberty, civil and political.

And thus American liberty, the idea of which I will endeavor to present, is not without an in-timate relation to an immediate object, and to the present occasion. Your home for the triendthe present occasion. Your home for the friend-less is more than an asylum for the orphan-it is a school also. Not only a place for shelter and protection, but a home for culture and advancement in learning. The education ne-cessary to qualify for the duties of citizenship will here begin, and no man can properly esti-mate the good influence here exerted. And from this home for the friendless may come some to take a front rank in battle at a time of some to take a front rank in battle at a time of peril to the country. They at least, over whose graves a thrice-returning spring has scarcely made the grass as yet grow green, have taught us that patriotism and self-sacrifice and the sove of humanity go side by side; that

"Self-reverence, self-knowledge, and self-control, These three alone lead life to sovereign power." The price our unreturning braves have paid for liberty teaches us that-

"To live by law, Acting the law we use by without lear, And, because right is right, to follow right Were wisdom in the light of consequence."

It is true that the battle is over. Military pageants no longer fill our streets (unless the "Boys in Blue" chance to parade); no list of killed and wounded is now read with eager eyes and thrilling hearts. Fair hands no longer wipe the death damps from the hero's dying brow; yet none the less do we moarn the dead for whom a nation yet has laurels and tears, remembering that fidelity to the nation's dead is loyalty to the living. Banners are furled; muskets stacked; the

solder weaves his gossamer threads athwart the old fortress gun; and stalwart arms, but lately swing the hammer, tend the loom, or clasp in grateful tenderness the forms of their beloved and unbereaved !"

And we can devoutly, and with national thanks-giving, rejoice that in the republic, floating out on the ensanguined sea of civil commotion, there was intelligence, integrity, and patriot-ism enough to anchor sale to Liberty. No dic-tater, thank God! shall ever build, from the shattered elements of our greatness, a throne, or com a diadem from the pure gold of Ameri-can patriotism. No! For while our idea of inberiy makes no room for despotism in the United States, we do do not even purpose to permit the Man of December to people Mexico with a French army, or to create in Latin America a colony for the empire of France.

"Jam the State" was the favorite formula of a weak and vicious king (Louis XIV). But these words come to have a new meaning to the American citizen, who feels, alter four years of strife,

AMERICAN IDEA OF LIBERTY. | rays of this very period:-"The feeling of pa-triotism, restricted as it was at first, was the only prelude that was then pussible to the recog-

nition of homanity. "From this narrow nationality there arose in the middle ages the feeting of universal brother-hood as soon as military life had entered on its defensive phase, and all supernatural creeds had spontaneously merged into a monotheistic form. The growth of chivalry, and the attempt made to effect a permanent separation of the two social powers, announced already the subordination of politics to morals, and thus showed that the conception of humanity was in direct course of preparation.

Breparation." Here we have the Arcarican idea of liberty spinning from the seed-corn of culture in the modele ages—the idea that politics should be-come moral by a union with natural justice. And of this idea, old John Brown, of Osan-And of this idea, old John Brown, of Usan-wattomie, who, with something less than fifty men, frightened Virginia and her militia out of their propriety, is amongst the noblest and grandest apostles. His memory will live forever as the type of heroism and of self sacrifice. His death "tolled the knell of old formalities,"

and henceforth the world's knights are self-consecrate. We love his deathless memory, not because he offended against the unjust laws of Virginia, but because he died to make all men free. And to-day at sunset, the English soldiers of Queen Victoria, as they unsling their rifles beside the river Thames, slug—

"John Brown's body lies a-mouldering in the dust, But his soul is marching on.

And some great painter, hungering for im mortality, will catch inspiration as he paints that scene which will never die, where the grand old man, condemned to death for bate to slavery, on the road to that gallows where he died to make all men free-

"Stooped between the jeering ranks, To kies the negro's chi d."

Hallam, the historian, thinks that the three powerful spirits which have from time to time moved over the face of the waters, and given a predominate impulse to the moral sentiments and energies of mankind, are the spirits of re-ligion, of liberty, and of honor. It was the principal business of chivalry to animate and cherish the last of these three. And whatever high magnanimous energy the love of liberty or religious zeal has ever imparted, was equalled by the exquisite sense of honor which this in-stitution preserved. And if we had opportunity, we could readily trace how much the faith, the courage, and the patriotism of the nineteenth century owe to the influence of chivalry. And the same writer thinks that the most beautiful picture of the true spirit of enivalry was the Achilles of Homer, the representative of this influence in its most general form, with all its sincerity and unyielding rectitude, all its cour-tesies and munificence. Calmly indifferent to the cause in which he is engaged, and contem-plating with a serious and unshaken look the premature death that awaits him, his heart only

beats for glory and riendship. This is, indeed, a winning character, but there is no moral purpose there; there is not in Achilles any of the fanaticism which made Ulyssus S, Grant's march from the Rappahannock to Richmond greater than the travels of the ancient Ulyssus across the Western seas, and mightier than all the exploits of the Greeks in front of Troy. Standing over the graves of three hundred

thousand of our bravest and best, victims to the rapacity, to the avarice, to the murder of Rebellion, I dare to think, when the future historian of our deadly streggle paints with immortal pencil the heroes of the nineteenth century, he will take old John Brown as the bright consummate flower of our civilization. and put him in the temple of tame above the Achilles of Homer; and if any aristocratic skeptic would gaze at another triumph of the new evangel of liberty, I will ask him to witness the fulpiment of the aream of the great Italian statesman, Cavour. Italy and Venice are at last united. Trace

chivalry back to Charlemagne, and you will find no grander scene than the fifty thousand patriots in this land of song. Italy redeemed-shouting vivas to liberty and to Victor Emanuel in the Square of St Marks, till the very pigeons, that had ied there for a century, like the dove of ancient Scripture, could find no resting-place for their feet! Or if any American is still skeptical, I will point him to the central figure of lialy; the man before whom the pictures of the past yield to the brilliant pages of her history; the hero of the most splendid biography human integrity or human fidelity will ever give the world. There he stands! the patriot soldier, Garibaldi, whose only welcome for his soldiers, in front of battle, was in these words: "soldiers! for the love you bear your country I offer you war, hunger, thirst, cold, and death. Who accepts the terms, let him tollow me." No longer will Italy, conquered or conquering, be still a slave, her fields trodden down, and her energies wasted in the strite of rival factions. She takes her place beside regenerated America. Italy is complete, and as after the lapse of two centuries Marston Moor across the ocean clasped hands with Gettysburg, because in both these battles the enemies of the human race went down before the forces of righteousness, of loyalty, and of liberty, so we share the joy over the fall of despotism in the land of Tasso and Dante. It is in national life, as in the life of widely separated communities, jequally true that the iforces go with the victors. Truth soon vanquishes a lie, though the latter travel the switter. Macauley tells us that a mad tailor (no allusion to the occupant of the White House), named Doomick, solemnly asserted that the Supreme Being was six teet high, and that the sun was only four feel from the earth. But the world did not believe thim. And we have what ought to be high authority asserting that any decision of the Supreme Court is reater than the will of the people. When John Brown was hung for treason to the State of Vir-ginia (there has not been a single traitor hung since!). William H. Seward declared from his place that he was "justly hung," But, for my part, I had rather be John Brown dead than the Secretary of State alive, and making every day the worst investment ever made by man-infi-delity to human liberty and the rights of man. Daniel Webster, on his death-bed, said his 7:h of March speech was the greatest mistake of his ite, and the Sage of Auburn, on his death-bod, will not fail to bewall the day when he consigned a race 4,000,000 strong, the dark-skinned sols of the republic—who had committed no crime, save in this, that God made them black—who had won their rights bayonet in hand-Isay the venerable and once-beloved Secretary of State will never forget the day when, worshipping. I fear, no God but ambition, he mercilessly yielded an oppressed and loyal race to the remorseless, kindless, treacherous care of 71,000 men who, having committed every crime in the calendar, made a Rebellion and murdered our Pre-sident, were then politely requested to take the highest seats in the political synagogue, because it had pleased God to create these men and bels white! If this be statesmanship, if this be the American idea of liberty, then God pity the republic! for it will need it; and besides pit/, it will need salvation from on nign, and delierence from wicked and unjust rulers, who, apparently (conscious of superior wisdom, add other to Thomas Jefferson's enumeration of the inalienable rights of man-the right of every man to a master ! No 1 no ! We spurn such an interpretation of laberty. The Su-preme Court of the United States may make this interpretation in the interest of the great criminals who are yet unbroad for the States criminals who are yet unking-for the Su-preme Court, since the days of Dred Scott, can do anything-but the popular heart, throbbing with the impulse of the Divine law which usserts the equality of man, scorns the deci-sions of any court, when such decisions are purely political, and made in the interest of iraud and injustice. iraud and injustice. The American people know, and they can never forget the lesson, as they look into the faces of these children, a legacy left us by our loyal dead; they know that for "Justice every place a temple is, and all seasons summer." They know that, if a Government would last, it can never (and the last bitter lesson of the war said "it shall never") be founded on political falsehood or baseness or fraud, but that its foundations must be always just and true. That oundations must be always just and true. That foundation, then, must recognize the absolute equality of man, and bead before the absolute

truth that God never made any man a slave, but created all men tree and equal. The American idea of liberty demands that the interty of all shall be limited by the like interty of cach. And if the Supreme Court, as it is darkly 51sted in certain quarters, is deter-mined, znded by the ideas of associations generated by a long course of events-ideas of asso-ciations which have given the arguocracy of the South immense power-li the Court means to public the will of the people, then the will of the American people will public that Court with the same terr ble celerity with which the conscience of the North swept away the Dred Scott inquity.

Scott in quity. A possamer web would sconar stand before the scimitar of the Saracen Saladin than another Supreme Court decision, in the interest of slavery, would stand before the fierce, hot breath o' a popular tornado. "Ah i" said a great painter who hung breath-

"An l" said a great painter who hung breath-less over the creation of his magic pencil, "I paint for eternity." And so may the statesmen of this day say, with clenched hands and stubborn hps, over the graves of our dead, "We are building a republic upon justice, and we are building it for eternity." "A republic," says John Milton, "ought to be the great stature of an honest man." And this is what we propose to make the republic of America. And it is a more magnificent struggle than the Missourl Compromise; or the annexation of Texas; or the acquisition of California; or the bloody strife of Kansas; and it is a con-

er the bloody strife of Kanses; and it is a con-flict of ideas for immortality, and for universal liberty, and thus for a better Union, vitalized by the principles of equality and liberty. Before the splendor of that struggle which is upon us now, whose thunders to-day can be heard in the Senate chamber; before that con-flict, in the heart of which lies the destinies of which lies the destinies of your millions yet to be; big with the destinies of your children and mine to the latest generation, the clash of resounding arms reaching through four terrible years vanishes into thin air, because the triumph or disaster of this conflict will decide whether liberty shall go forward or shall fail, whether that principle shall die, or outlast time and live forever; and the pairlot heart dwells in screne faith while it contemplates the advancing triumph of the right. As the great author of the "History of Civilization" nobly

sayst-"Cruelty to-day produces sympathy to-mor-row. A hatred of injustice contributes more than any other principle to correct the in-equalities of life and to maintain the balance of affairs. It is the loathing at tyranny which, by stirring to their inmost depths the waimest teelings of the heart, makes it impossible that tyranny should ever finally succeed. This, in sooth, is the noble side of our nature. This is that part of us which, stamped with a godlike beauty, reveals its divine origin, and providing for the most distant contingencies, is our surest guarantee that violence shall never ultimately triumph; that sooner or later despotism shall always be overthrown; and that the great and permanent interests of the human race shall never be injured by the wicked counsels of unjust men."

We would not, and indeed could not speak disrespectfully of the highest legal tribunal of the land, but I cannot forbear giving you Jeremy Bentham's idea that a too close devotion to the law parrows a man's mind by sharpening it, and, in his opinion, "all great lawyers were great rascais," and it does just now occur to us that a greater than Jeremy Bentham did pro-

But there is a brighter side to the picture. The world has advanced. I have endeavored – faintly, I know, and imperfectly—to trace how religion, from out of which grew liberty, built a bridge over chaos and connected ancient and modern eight state. modern civilization.

Personal independence, with its leaven of barbarism, strengthened by a rude morality, gave way to culture, and with culture rose poli-tical Liberty, strengthened by the principles of Religion and Honor expressed in the sentiment, with the scienced hende with the Sciences "title "The Arts clasped hands with the Sciences," till we reached the days when-

Science struck the thrones of Earth and Heaven. Which shoos, but fell not; and the harmonious

mind Poured itself forth in all prophetic song; And music dits up the listening spirit, Until it waks, exempt from mortal care, Godike o'er the clear billow- of sweet sound, And human hands; first mimicked, and then

mocked, With moulded limbs, more lovely than its own, The human form, till marble grew divine."

But, ladies and gentlemen, before I have done beg your indulgence while I speak of a noble

"It is by such a resolve that the American people, coercing a reluctant Government to draw the sword, and stake the national existdraw the sword, and stake the national exist-ence on the integrity of the republic, are now anything but the tragments of a nation before the world, the scorn and hiss of every petty tyrant. It is because the people of the United States, rising to the height of the occasion, dedicated this generation to the sword, and, pouring out the blood of their children as of no account, and vowing before high Heaven that there should be no end to this conflicts but ruin absolute or absolute triumph, that we are now what we are; that the banner of the r. sublic, still pointing on ward, floats provide the fore of the enemy: that Yast regions are

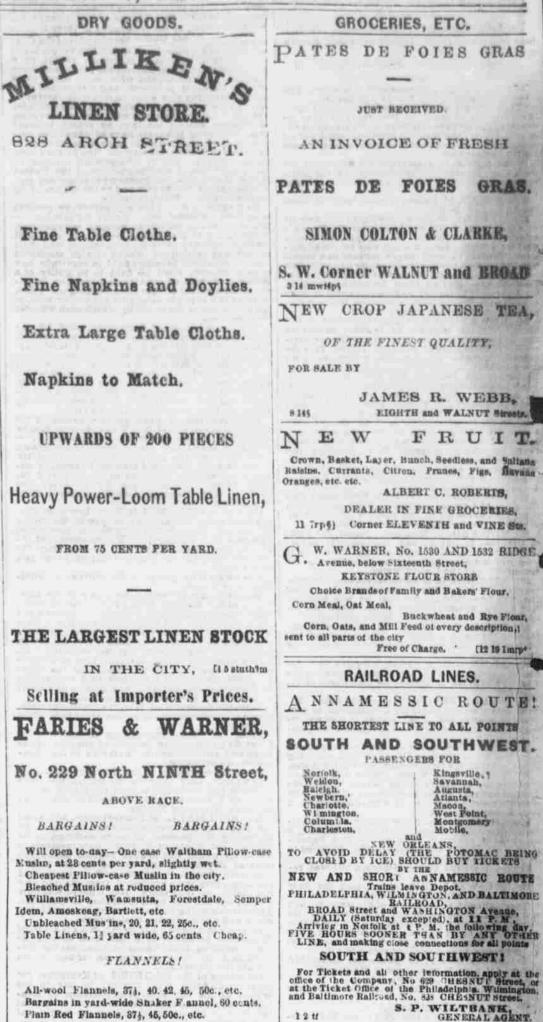
in the face of the energy is that vast regions are reduced to obedience to the laws; and that a great host in armed array now presses with steady step into the dark regions of the Rebellion. It is on y by the earnest and abid-ing resolution of the people that, whatever shall be our fate, it shall be grand as the American n stion, worthy of that republic which first ; rod the path of empire, and made no peece but under the banners of victory; that the american people will survive in history, and that will save us. We shall succeed, and not fail. I have an abiding confidence in the firmness, the have an abiling confidence in the firmness, the patience, and the endurance of the American people; and having avowed to stand in history on the great resolve to accept of nothing but victory or ruin, victory is ours. And if with such heroic resolve we fall, we fall with honor, and transmit the name of liberty com-mitted to our keeping untarnished, to go down to future generations. The historian of our decline and fall, contemplating the ruins of the last great republic and draging ruins of the last great republic, and drawing from its fate lessons of wisdom on the waywardness of men, shall drop a tear, as he records ness of men, shall drop a tear, as he records with sorrow the vain heroism of that people who dedicated and sacrificed themselves to the cause of freedom, and by their example will keep alive her worship in the hearts of men till happier generations shall learn to walk in her paths. Yet, sir, if we must fall, let our last hours be stained by no weakness. If we must fall, let us stand amid the crash of the failing Republic, and be buried in its ruins, so that history may take note that men ligad in that history may take note that men lived in the middle of the nineteenth century worthy of a better fate, but chastised by God for the sins of their forefathers. Let the runs of the Republic remain to testify to the latest generations our greatness and our heroism. And let liberty, crownless and childless, sit upon the of the world-'I nursed and brought up chil-dren, and they have rebelled against me."

dren, and they have rebelled against me." Let the young nien of our land who sneer at the rights of mankind, who have no weapon but rioicule for the services and suffer ngs of the "bondmen's two hundred and fifty years of unrequited toil—"Let those who think it "la-justice" to enter the lists for the rights of the many against the oppressors of the few—let all who hesitate to side with the nation in her struggle for a purer life, bend low before the mame and fame of Henry Winter Davis, whose whole life was an example of devotion to liberty. whole life was an example of devotion to liberty. But, ladies and gentlemen, the American Ides

of Laberty, of which, doubtless, you have now heard enough, means to reconstruct these rebel-hous children. There shall never be any more

We have but this one country. It is the heritage of every man and woman who loves and walks beneath the nation's flag. There must be walks beneath the nation's has. In the must be and there will be no distranchized class. The moment you sanction the principle that there shall be a disfranchised class, that moment you sanction a principle fatal to the peace and per-manence of the republic. The Bible and the Dedoration of the republic. Declaration of Independence will give the mapping provide the spiration by which we will construe constitutonal liberty. As these little children are taught to love their country, let them be taugat that in America the human law is only a reflex of that divine law which proclaims the equality of man; that in God's sight there is neither Jew nor Greek, barbarian nor Scythian, bond or free.

And as the rising sun kisses the banner of our country, everywhere, eager eyes will open, and longing hear's will yearn towards us from Ire-land under the voke, from England cursed by privlege, for Italy rising from the long years of retribution from the tyranny of Rome; and the prayers of the oppressed in every land will ascend in ti ankfulness to God that in all the world there is one land, and that land America, where there is neither coffle, nor shackie, nor slave-mart, or any other symbol of human bondage, but where "the voice of the oppressor



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how near and dear to him 18 his native land, with all its proud memories, its traditions, its triumphs, and its coming stroggles.

To that citizen whose heart throbs with love of country there is deep significance in these simple words, "I am the State." The sense of civic responsibility has been and ever is the grand moral distinction of upright rulers, giving pure dignity and self-abnegation to their rule. It was the great redeeming feature, the being, or inspiration of Cromwell; it lends a sublime charm to the career of William of Orange; it keeps lofty and isolated the fame of Washing-ton; and it sheds a pathetic grace over the memory of Lincoln.

Every genuine nationality owes much to the noble natures, to the men of rare endowments, who are at the same time ambitious and pru-dent in their patriotic impulses, and who would risk for their country far more than they would receive from her. This class of men did much to save this mation. I know none more illustrious than

James Wadsworth, of New York, a man of great simplicity of mawner, a gentleman, a scholar, and a soldier, who left his broad patri-monial acres to die for his country at the head of his brigade. He is the type of thousands. But though we are no longer roused by the "car-piercing fife" or the "spirit-stirring drum," it becomes us in time of peace (for the Empire of Liberty is peace) to take our bearings and distances, that we prenare for calm or storm.

of Liberty is peace) to take our bearings and distances, that we prepare for calm or storm. When we commonly speak of liberty, we mean political liberty; but liberty, properly speaking, is a complex idea. So we have natural liberty, which consists in the power of acting as one thinks fit, without any restraint or control, except from the laws of nations. Then we have civil liberty, which is the liberty of man in a state of society, or natural liberty, so far only abridged and restrained as is necessary and expedient

society, or hardrain herety, so har only abridged and restrained as is necessary and expedient for the interest and safety of society. Political liberty is really the fiberty of a nation, though sometimes confounded with civil liberty. Religious liberty comes next—the liberty for which Luther fought; for which liberty for which lot and some suit of or the solution of the solution tender women and brave men, sailing out of Deft Haven, landed upon a bleak and barren shore on the 15th of November, 1620.

In the brief period (a sort of interlude be-tween the more interesting exercises of the evening), I cannot be expected very closely to define, or follow the history of liberty since the middle ages. That alone would be a separate study, to trace how closely connected is the civil and religious liberty we enjoy to-day with the spirit of chivalry, embracing the ideas of the spirit of chivalry, embracing the ideas of munificence and honor and personal indepen-dence. This personal liberty, in its thorough development, is the keystone of the arch of modern liberty, the centre of all the sepa-rates of which liberty in general is com-posed. It would take an evening properly to explain that sturdy idea of religious indepen-dence which eent the Mayfower across the ocean with a more noble freight than the vessel which bore imperial Casar back to his Roman which bore imperial Casar back to his Roman triamph.

It was the rude barbarians of Germany who introduced the sentiment of personal inde-perdence, this love of individual liberty, into European civilization; it was unknown among he Romans and unknown in the Christian Church; it was unknown in nearly all the civili-zations of antiquity. Liberty in the ancient civilization was only the liberty of the citizen. He cared little then for personal liberty. And when we look profoundly into this question, we dind something of a noble and moral character in this taste for independence, which seems to derive its power from our moral nature. It is the pleasure of feeling oneself a man; the sen-

the pleasure of leening oneself a man; the sen-tinvent of personality, of human spontaneity. "The spirit of Christianity wrought a change in the moral character of man, and the mind struggled to extinguish its own liberty, and give that up at the bidding of religious faith, and as civilization advanced, the man was lost the man was lost in the good of the State; or, as the poet ex-presses it, "The individual withers, and the State is more and more." And a great writer

and youthful apostle of the idea I have imperfectly endeavored to explain. He was a son of Maryland. He was remarkable for a heart alive to and in sympathy with the interests of hu manity; for a mind endowed with rare sensi-bility, and so strong in the inexorable logic of common sense, that, by the simple right to command, he led the column in the contest in Mary-land for the ideas of liberty and for equality before the law-a contest for ideas elevating in themselves, rich in enthusiasm, and a part of the elemental foundation of the republic itself. I knew him well. He was the flower of cour-tesy. He has been charged with being arrogant and ambitious. But that character cannot be censured, or thus condemned, which leads its possessor to be stubbornly convinced, in the depths of a mind of no ordinary powers, of the correct-ness of a political principle, and then bids him to adhere to it with relentless tenacity through victory or in defeat. In the battle to emancipate Maryland, Henry

Winter Davis was in the fore front of the light, and the people welcomed him in the words of the kulghtly Andalusian king :-

"Take, then, the leading of the van, And charge the Moors again; There is not such a lance as thine In all the hosts of Spain."

Like Azigleo, he expressed the noblest sentiments and principles in language of simple and earnest vigor. He repudiated statecraft, which, in some high quarters, is mistaken for both patriotism and wisdom, and he maintained that integrity is better than cunning; and held that good sense and good faith are all the true statesman requires to guide him, even in perilous times.

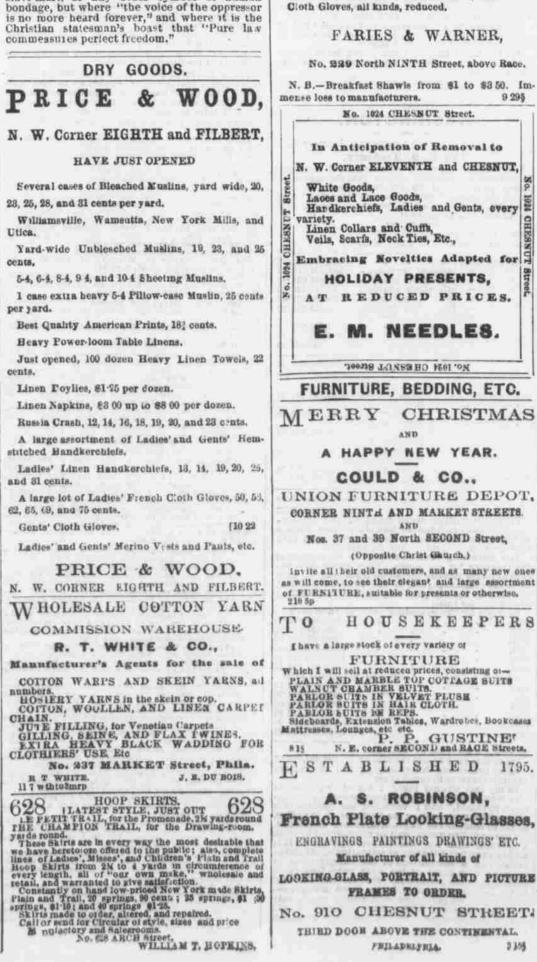
In doing battle for God and liberty, he relied upon the virtue of the people, and upon the absolute power of truth and fidelity.

He will go down with the history of our con-flict as one of America's most accomplished orators, and one of our most cultured statesmen. He was eloquent in saying just what ought to be said, and no more. Voltaire says that the "life of genius is active warlare." The career of Winter Davis proves the truth of the aphorism. But his conflicts are over. He lived til he saw a no-t wicked and causeless revolt everywhere subdued; til the footprint of a traitor in arms no longer desecrated American soli. In the tull vigor and maturity of his mental and physical energies, and just at the time when his services seem to have been most needed in the great cause of human rights, he has been called away from the fray by the flat of that Wisdom which never errs. He is gone with Baker, with which never errs. He is gone with Baker, with Kearney, with Abraham Lincoln; with those we Kearney, with Abraham Lincoln; with table we loved once and whose memories we now revere; the apostles, the soldiers, the triumphing martyrs of liberty; and standing over the grave of Henry Winter Davis, weeping there, we write:—"Here lies one of the maultest and bravest soldiers who ever fought for the liber"tion of humanity."

I will quote a single passage from a great speech of the dead orator made upon the floor of Congress. He was rebuking the attempt made to recognize the independence of the

nation, in the name of every house in the laud where there is one dead for the hory cause, in the where there is one dead for the hory cause, in the name of those who stand before us in the ranks of battle, in the name of the liberty our auces-tors have confided to us, I devote to elernal execution the name of him who shall propose to destroy this blessed land rather than its exemics.

"But until that time arrives, it is the judgment of the American people, there shall be no com-promise; that ruin to curselves or ruin to the Southern Rebels are the only alternatives. It is only by resolutions of this kind that nations can the above great dangers, and overcome them in only by resolutions of this kind that nations can rise above great dangers, and overcome them in crises like this. It was only by turting France into a camp, resolved that Europe might exter-minate but should not subjugate her, that Fisnce is the leading empire of Europe to-day.



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