OLUME 4.

EBENSBURG, PA., THURSDAY, JULY 14, 1870.

NUMBER 24

ANEW THING, 1870 A BIG THING, da GOOD THING in EBENSBURG. ROYALTY SUPERCEDED !

"House of Tudor" Surrendered

W STORE! NEW GOODS! New Inducements!

Lew Prices !

A. G. FRY ssion of the rooms on High three doors from Centre Street,) ently occupied by R. H. Tudor, into which he has just introduced a mammoth assertment of

& DRESS GOODS rocerles, Hardware, &c., sing of everything and much more than dealer in this " neck of timber " has

eter pretended to keep, and every VERY CHEAP FOR CASH IN EXCHANGE FOR COUNTRY PRODUCE. EALER KEEPS BETTER GOODS

DEALER KEEPS MORE GOODS! NO DEALER SELLS CHEAPER! NO DEALER SELLS MORE!

FRY! TRY FRY!! TRY FRY! Buy from Fry! Buy from Fry!! FRY IF YOU WANT TO BUY

hest Bress Goods at the fairest prices.

FRY IF YOU WANT TO BUY Checks, (linghams, Tickings, Shirt-Denims, Drills, Jeans, Cloths, Caseres, Satinetts, Delames, Lawns, Prints, &c., &c., and wish to get the full worth of your money.

FRY IF YOU WANT TO BUY | to talk about. war spexcelled in quality and nowhere undersold in prices.

FRY IF YOU WANT TO BUY e, Queensware, Glassware, Carpets. Oil Cloths, &c., of the handsomest styles at the lowest figures.

FRY IF YOU WANT TO BUY lifes, Shoulders, Mess Pork, Fish, Salt, d. Butter. Eggs. Cheese. Coffee, Sugar, Teas, Soaps, Candles, Spices, or anything else in that line.

BY IF YOU WANT TO BUY and everything worth buying, and be dut at all times you will be supplied the LOWEST CASH RATES.

hmy! my eye! It is no lie at the Dry Goods Store and Grocery list opened by A. G. Fry, in the street called High. fere for your money you can buy

from any one else, far or nigh. l design to keep a full line of DRESS GOODS of the most DRESS GOODS of the most desirable styles and textures, I am determined to sell as CHEAP AS REAPEST, I respectfully solicit a call ave been in the habit of visiting other ant to buy, be sure first to try the store ensburg, May 27, 1869. A. G. FRY.

OOD, MORRELL & CO,. WASHINGTON STREET

Pa. R. R. Depot, Johnstown, Pa., Pholesale and Retail Dealers in

MILLINERY GOODS,

UEENSWARE, BOOTS AND SHOES. HATS AND CAPS. IRON AND NAILS.

ETS AND OIL CLOTHS, READY-MADE CLOTHING. WARE, YELLOW WARE, WOODEN AND WILLOW WARE, ISIONS and FEED, ALL KINDS, with all manner of Western Produce, FLOUR, BACON, FISH, SALT, OIL, &c., &c. Wholesale and retail orders solicited

unply filled on the shortest notice and sonable terms WOOD, MORRELL & CO. betown, April 28, 1869. 1y.

C.K. ZAHM JAS. B. ZAHM.

ZAHM & SON, DEALERS IN

HARDWARE, QUEENSWARE,

ts, Caps, Boots, Shoes, DALL OTHER ARTICLES

All Kept in a Country Store.

OLAND COUNTRY PRODUCE THEN IN EXCHANGE FOR GOODS!

ORE ON MAIN STREET,

Next Door to the Post Office,

EBENSBURG, PA. ANK D. STORM, PRACTICAL SUR-

HON. J. S. BLACK'S LETTER. HISTORY AS WRITTEN BY BUCHAN-

AN'S ATTORNEY GENERAL. A MOST CAUSTIC ARTICLE.

Senator Wilson and E. M. Stanton,

[From the Galaxy for June.] TO THE HONORABLE HENRY WILSON, Senator from Massathusetts :- In the February number of the Atlantic Monthly appeared au article of yours, entitled "Edwin M. Stanton." It contains some statements which are very wonderful, if true; and if false they ought to be corrected. I ask you to review this production in the light of certain facts which I shall now take the liberty to men-

My principal object is to satisfy you that you have wholly misunderstood the character of Mr. Stanton and grossly injured him by what you supposed to be panegyric .-But, before I begin, suffer me to correct some of your errors about other persons.

In your vituperative description of the Buchanan administration, you allege that "the President and his Attorney General surrendered the Government's right of selfpreservation" and "pronounced against its power to coerce a seceding State." You reney General, dated the 20th of November, 1860, defining the duties and powers of the President, and to the public acts of the President, which show that he took the advice of the Law Department and squared his conduct accordingly. Upon this ground mainly, if not estirely, you denounce that administration as not only weak and unpatriotic, but willfully wicked and treasonable. I propose to show that you have committed a cardinal error, if not something worse. The coarse way in which you charge the dead as well as the living with the highest crimes, would justify a reply in language much plainer then I intend to use,

Your modes of thinking and speaking on subjects of this kind are so loose and inaccurate that it is necessary to furnish you with an idea of certain elementary principles, which, to most other men, are too familiar

1. The Government of the United States is the Constitution and laws. 2. The preservation of the Government consists in maintaining the supremacy of the Constitution and laws.

2. For this purpose certain coercive powers are delegated to the executive, which he may use to defend the laws when they are

4. But in this country, as in every other except where the Government is an absolute despotism, the authority of the chief magistrate is limited, and his hands are tied up by legal restrictions, to prevent him from using physical force against the life, liberty and property of his fellow-citizens, unless in certain prescribed ways and on proper occasions.

6. He is bound by his inaugural oath to keep within those limits; if he breaks the laws he destroys the Government; he cannot stab the Constitution in the back because he is afraid that somebody else will strike it in the face.

8. The Government of the United States, within its proper sphere, is a sovereign, as much as the States are sovereign within their sphere. It acts immediately upon the people and claims their direct obedience to to its laws. As a State cannot make war on a city, county or town, and put all its inhaball the ladies, and especially from those | itants to the sword, because some of them have acted or threatened to act illegally, so to make their purchases. Whatever the general Government is also restrained from exterminating the whole population of a State for the offences, actual or intended, of some who live among them.

7. The so-called ordinances of secession in 1860-61 were the declarations of certain persons who made them, that they intended to disobey the laws of the United States. It was the duty of Congress and the President to see that forcible resistance to the laws, when actually made, should be met by a counterforce sufficient to put it down; but neither Congress nor the President had authority to declare war and begin hostilities, by anticipation, against all the people at ouce, and put them all in the attitude of public enemies, without regard to their personal guilt or innocence.

The opinion of the Attorney-General, which you have garbled, and the messages of President Buchanan, assert these principles in plain English words. We held that the whole coercive powers of the United States, delegated by the Constitution to every branch of the Government, including its milthe appointed way, to be used to maintain circumstances of the country, would be, not only usurpation, but destruction of the Union.

Of course you cannot be so ignorant of the fundamental law as not to know that our exposition of it was perfectly sound and correct. You never pretended—no man with that you approved of his determination to sense enough to know his right hand from keep the peace? Perhaps your approval of and deal out your denunctations upon nearhis left ever will pretend —that the President his conduct is not very powerful evidence of had constitutional or legal authority to make its justice or legality. But here is the point: an aggressive war against the States by his How can you have the face to denounce a own act, nor had Congress any such power. man as a criminal, after he is dead, for pub- national credit. Upon whom does this fall? But you think I ought not to have answered lic acts which you consented to by your Was it Cobb, or Thomas, or Dix that comthe President's questions truly, and that he silence at the time they were done? ought not to have been influenced by consti- But this is not all. You give your un- untrue, whether made against one or anoth--about the law; but Mr. Buchanan's wick it, (for I believe the evidence is extant which You tell your readers that the Secretary edness and treason consisted in obeying it when you think he ought to have broken it, lauded it as strong and faithful. Mr. Lin-munitions to the secessionists. Whatever For this cause you try to excite against his coln adopted precisely the same legal prin- Mr. Floyd may have done in his lifetime, it memory those bad party passions by which ciples with regard to the coercion of the is well established that he never did this .-

I will make no thort to convince you that Mr. Buchanan was right in standing by the Constitution which he had sworn to preserve, profect and defend. That, I know, would be altered for sense and decency by citing the assisted you to rake the sewers in selecting one which is well known to be unformed. The declared admirer. The declared admirer. The declared admirer to convince you that your aphold you to strict proof; hearsay evidence the claims of partisanship." At will not be received; least of all will the fact be admitted upon the second-hand statement of a person who thinks, as you manifestly do not be unformed.

Constitution which is well known to be unformed. The declared admirer to convince you that your aphold you to strict proof; hearsay evidence the claims of partisanship." At will not be received; least of all will the fact be admitted upon the second-hand statement of a person who thinks, as you manifestly do not be unformed.

Constitution of a person who thinks, as you manifestly do not be unformed. The declared admired to convince you that your aphold you to strict proof; hearsay evidence the claims of partisanship." At will not be received; least of all will the fact will not be received; least of all will the fact will not be received; least of all will the fact will not be received; least of all will the fact will not be received; least of all will the fact will not be received; least of all will the fact will not be received; least of all will the fact will not be received; least of all will the fact will not be received; least of all will the fact will not be received; least of all will the fact will not be received; least of all will not be received be altogether hopeless. The declared admirer | tional authority to commence aggressive and | You inform the country that the Secretaof John Brown, the political ally of Jim Lane, general hostilities for any cause then exist. ry of the Navy rendered that arm powerless. tences are an honor to the man who practiced of John Brown, the political ally of Jim Lane, the partisan of Baker, the advocate of general kidnapping and special murder by military commissions, the open supporter of itary commissions, the open supporter of measures which abolish the right of trial by jury and build up an Asiatic despotism on secessionists. He promised to continue the met by such evidence of Mr. Toucey's perpury and build up an Asiatic despotism on the ruins of a free government—such a man mail service in the seceded States if they fect integrity that every respectable man would entirely misunderstand the reason would permit him. He went further still, among his political enemies must acquit him

your righteous indignation.

regarding the violation of an oath with inex- The man who involves himself in such inconpressible horror; whether it be committed sistencies, whether from want of information, ject of it be to destroy the character of a po- not qualified to write on an historical subject. tion of expediency and self-interest, varying apologize for not violating a sworn duty, fer, manifestly, to the opinion of the Attor- with circumstances. Mr. Buchanan being a some circumfocution is necessary. man of this class, I submit the question, entitled to some little respect.

for ourselves and our posterity?

Another thing: All his predecessors govcountry.

ought to violate it.

committed no sin against it, even in thought. ly. His life's life was literally lied away. world would have loaded his memory.

Further still : You know that the general

South would be a settled fact. Moreover, as you and your party friends any foundation or not. in Congress did not call for a war, the Pres-

he was hounded and persecuted during all States that Mr. Buchanan had acted upon, Numerous charges have been, and others

perhaps I can excuse him. I will offer some where it would be specially offensive to of the ninth commandment. apologies which may possibly disarm your them. All these were concessions to the censure, or at least mitigate the severity of South which Mr, Buchanan had steadily refused to make, and if he had made them, In the first place, then, Mr. Buchanan was you would no doubt have pronounced them declared to be not weekness, but the "begin- The President, if he did not yield to the ma-England never reached him. He was sim- | authorities to be informed that the fort would |

a party, or to enslave a State. All kinds of intended to this part of your paper, but I stubbornly reject the reasoning which seeks To a person whose moral perceptions are to convince them that the observance of oaths | healthy and natural, I could make my deby magistrates and legislators is a mere ques- fence in a breath; but being required to

Your mere railing accusations against Mr. whether his prejudices against perjury (un- Buchanan are hardly worth a reply. The reasonable as you may think them) are not place he is destined to occupy in history does not depend on anything you can say or for-Apart from the religious obligation of his bear to say. You have no knowledge, whatoath, he loved the constitution of his country | ever, of his character. Morally, intellectuon its own account, as the best government ally and politically, he was altogether too the world ever saw. I do not expect you to much of a man for you to comprehend. The sympathize with this feeling; your affections | world will look for its information concernare otherwise engaged. But can you not ing him to the acts of his life, and to the make some allowance for his attachment to testimony of men who knew him and had that great compact which was framed by minds large enough to take in his dimenour forefathers to secure union, justice, peace, sions. I would not offer you the word of state independence, and individual liberty a Democrat; but among those who were with him continually during the last weeks of his administration, are some who have erned their conduct by similar notions of since supported Radical measures with zeal fidelity to the constitution. In peace and warm enough to make them good witnesses. war, in prosperity and disaster, through all Let General Dix speak his knowledge and changes, in spite of all threats and provoca- say whether he saw anything of the treason. tions, they had kept their oaths and assumed | the weakness, or the wickedness which you no ungranted power. It was the most nat- impute so boldly and so recklessly. Mr. King, the Post Master General, cannot be to follow the example of such men as Wash- ignorant of any important fact which bears the precepts of those small but ferocious pol- several occasions, delivered his testimony, against your praise. iticians who thought their own passions and It is a fervent tribute to the "wise statesmaninterests a "higher law" than the law of the ship and unsullied patriotism" of Mr. Buchanan, as well as to "the firm and generous Again: All his advisers-not I alone, but support" which he constantly gave to men att of them-expressed the clear and unhesi- and measures approved by his conscience, tating opinion that his view of the law on | The proofs of his great ability and his emithe subject of coercing States was right .- nent public services are found on every page His legal duty being settled, not one among of his country's history, from 1820 to 1861. them ever breathed a suggestion that he During all that long period he steadily, faithfully and powerfully sustained the prin-Besides, there was a question of natural ciples of free constitutional government .justice as well as legal propriety involved in | This nation never had a truer friend, nor its making war upon the States at that time. laws a defender, who would more cheerfully Nine-tenths of the Southern people were have given his life to save them from violathoroughly devoted to the Union and had tion. No man was ever slandered so brutal-

Would it have been well to bring the visit- In the last months of his administration he ation of fire, sword and famine upon whole devoted all the energies of his mind and communities of innocent persons? You will | body to the great duty of saving the Union, probably answer this in the affirmative.— if possible, from dissolution and civil war. You think that no opportunity to shed the He knew all the dangers to which it was blood and plunder the property of men, exposed, and it would, therefore, be vain to women and children who live beyond the say that he was not alarmed for his country; Potomac ought ever to be lost. Mr. Buchan- but he showed no sign of unman'y fear on an might have seized that occasion to imi- his own account. He met all his vast retate John Brown on a large scale, and thus sponsibilities as fairly as any Chief Magismade an "heroic character" in your eyes .- | trate we ever had. In no case did he shrink But you must be aware that he would have from or attempt to evade them. The accubeen regarded by the mass of men as a moral sation of timidity and indecision is most monster, and the admiration of yourself and preposterous. His faults were all of another your party in Massachusetts would have been | kind ; his resolutions, once formed, were genbut a poor compensation for the eternal erally immovable to a degree that bordered weight of infamy with which the rest of the on obstinacy. On every matter of great importance he deliberated cautiously, and sometimes tried the patience of his friends in chief of the army had reported five com- by refusing to act until he had made up an panies as the whole available force in the opinion which he could live and die by .-South, and you never proposed to increase it. These characteristics explain the fact that Yet you wanted war. Why? You must his whole political life, from the time he enhave desired the Union cause to be disgraced | tered Congress until he retired from the and defeated, for nothing else could have re | Presidency-all his acts, speeches and papers sulted from such a war as you now abuse | - have a consistency which belongs to those Mr. Buchanan for not making. You and of no other American statesman. He never your party in Congress were strictly non- found it necessary to cross his own path or committal. You did not recommend peace, go back upon his pledges. His judgment nor offer your support to war. You would was of course not infallible; and in 1861 he take neither the olive branch nor the sword. announced a determination with reference to You refused to settle, and you made no pre- the South Carolina Commissioners which I paration for a contest. But you reveal now and others thought erroneous but unchange- gan to be practically carried out by the kid-

what was then the secret desire of your heart able. Most unexpectedly, and altogether -that the administration, in defiance of law, contrary to his usual habit of steadfast selfand without means, would declare war on rellance, he consented to reconsider and of the press, he imprecated the vergeance of itary and naval force, might and ought, in its own responsibility. This would have materially alter his decision. This change, the appointed way, to be used to maintain been an expulsion of the Southern States the supremacy of the laws against all oppo- from the Union, for it would have placed about, were alike honorable to his undersers, to hold or retake the public property, their people beyond the protection of Fed. standing and his heart. I admit that you and to collect the revenue. But we asserted, eral law; they would necessarily rise in self- were not the first inventor of these slanders; also, that powers not given ought not to be defence; our little army of five hundred but you ought to know that it does not beusurped, and that war upon a State, in the men would perish in a fortnight; before the come a man in your station to take up an fourth of March the independence of the evil report and repeat it, like a parrot, without stopping to consider whether it has

> You are not content with traducing Mr. ident had a right (had he not?) to suppose Buchanan himself; you take up the heads The Secretary of the Treasury, you say, was deranging the finances and sinking the

> > mitted that crime? The charge is equally

perjure himself. But, if I cannot justify, ing to execute the Federal laws at any place ness against your neighbor, in flat violation

But perhaps the most extraordinary of all your averments is, that the Secretary of the Interior permitted the rebbery of trust funds. You did not mean it to be understood that a born of Christian parents and educated in a treasonable. But the Lincoln administration robbery occurred which he knew nothing Christian community. All his lifetime, and did not stop there. That cabinet voted six about, and of which he was, therefore, as at the moment of his death, he felt that fear to one in favor of surrendering Fort Sump- innocent as any other man. You intended of God which a respectable authority has ter-Mr. Blair being the only dissentient. to make the impression that he wilfully gave his permission to the criminal asportaping of wisdom" and the only source of true jority, must have wavered a considerable tion of the funds in question, made himself greatness. The corruptions introduced into time. The Secretary of State was so sure an accessory to the felony before the fact, the church by the political preachers of New of him that he caused the South Carolina and was as guilty as if he had done it with his own hands. You could not possibly have ply a Christian man and a firm believer in be given up. You will not deny these facts, believed this, unless you perversely closed the morality taught by the New Testament. but will continue, as heretofore, to say that your eyes against the light of plain truth. Now, you know, (at all events you must the Buchanan administration weakly and All the circumstances of the transaction to have heard.) that persons who adhere to that | wickedly favored secession, while that of | which you refer are as well understood as kind of religion always contract a habit of Lincoln was firmly and faithfully opposed. anything in the history of the country. A committee of Congress, consisting of members opposed to the Secretary, examined the by an officer or a witness; whether the ob- want of judgment, or want of veracity, is evidence when it was fresh, and reported upon it. The correctness of their judgment litical opponent, to promote the interests of I have given more time and space than I has never been impugned. In the face of these recorded and well known facts, you defalse swearing are alike to them. They am addressing a man of peculiar character. liberately sit down and write out, or get somebody to write and publish to the world on your authority, the accusation that Mr. Thompson has committed an offense which should make him infamous forever. The force of mendacity can go no further. I admit that you are a loyal man, in the modern sense of the word, and a Senator in Congress from a most loyal State; and it is equally true that Mr. Thompson was a rebel; that he was for years an exile from his home and country, pursued wherever he went by an Executive proclamation which put a price on his head. This gives you an immense advantage over bim. But the fact is still true that no department of this government was ever managed more ably or more faithfully than the Interior while he was at the head of it. You may have all the benefit of loyalty, and you may weigh him down with the huge burden of the rebellion; nevertheless, his mental ability, good sense and common honesty put him so immeasurably far above you, that you will never in this life be able to get a horizontal view of his character. I come now to the more important part

Stanton. Your attacks upon Buchanan, in order that you, the enemies of the American Stanton both, it is only necessary to recollect Toucey and Thompson might be safely pass ed in silence, but the character of Stanton ington, Madison and Jackson, rather than on this question. Mr. Holt has already, on must utterly perish if it be not defended

You give us the first information we ever had that Mr. Stanton, though acting with the Democratic party, was an abolitionist at heart almost from his earliest youth. For this fact you youch his declaration to Judge Chase more than thirty years ago, at Columbus, Ohio; and you attempt to corroborate it by citing his association at Washington with Dr. Bailey and other abolitionists. If you tell the truth, he was the most marvelous imposter that ever lived or died .-Among us, his political principles were thought to be as well known as his name and occupation. He never allowed his fidelity to be doubted for one moment. It was perfectly understood that he had no affinities whatever with men of your school in morals or politics. His condemnation of the abolitionists was unsparing for their hypocrisy, their corruption, their somity to the Constitution, and their lawless disregard for the rights of States and individuals --Thus he won the confidence of Democrats. On the faith of such professions we promoted him in his business, and gave him office. honor and fortune. But, according to your account, he was all the while waiting and hoping for the time to come when he could betray the Constitution and its friends into the cruel clutches of their enemies. For this cold-blooded and deliberate treachery you bespeak the admiration of the American people. You might as well propose to can-

onize Judas Iscariot. I maintain, on the other hand, that he was what he seemed to be, a sound and sincere friend, political and personal, of the men who showered their favors on his head. He had, at least, the average amount of attachment for "the Constitution of the United Scates, and for the peace, good order and happiness of the same." As a necessary consequence, he dreaded the dishonest and destructive rule which he foresaw that you would be sure to establish as soon as you could. His Democracy did not cease when the war opened. In the summer of 1861, when your anti-constitutional principles becapping of innocent citizens, by the suppression of free speech, and by the enslavement those crimes with as much energy as any Democrat in the nation. Only a short time before his appointment as Secretary of War his love of liberty and legal justice impelled him to curse Mr. Liccoln himself with bitter curses, He called him by contemptuous names, and with simian, if not with "swinish phrase soiled his addition." I admit that he changed these sentiments afterwards, but I deny that he had adopted your way of thinking while he pretended to concur in ours. His conversion was a real one, produced by what he regarded as "good and sufficient reasons him thereunto moving," and it was accompanied, or immediately followed, by a corresponding change of his

party attitude. He was not what you make him out, a mere fawning hypocrite. The issue is plainly made. The friends of Mr. Stanton will not permit you to gibbet tutional scruples. That was the rub. There is no dispute—never was and never can be You must prove the injurious allegations you make, or else accept the just consequences. If the Chief Justice will say that he knows Mr. Stanton to have been 'in entire agreement" with the abolition party thirty years ago, his testimony may silence denial. and carried the policy of reconciliation far might be, made against that officer with some But you must not trifle with us; we will

Next in chronological order is your assertion that Mr. Stanton, while yet a private citizen. seceding States; that is to say, to make war against all the inhabitants of every State in He denounced Mr Toucey a false to the counagainst all the inhabitants of every State in He denounced Dawes' resolution against him. Thos. STORM, Practical Surthos. Expansions, Pa. Office on Centhose Opposite Colonade Row. (my.5.)

Those Storm of the Storm of the Storm of the Colonade Row. (my.5.)

Those Storm of the Storm of t

was consulted on that subject until after he was Attorney General; and he never at any time gave such advice as you put into his mouth He never entertained any opinion of that kind, for he was a lawyer of large capacity and could not believe an absurdity. He had too much regard for his professional character to maintain a legal proposition which he knew to be false. He certainly would not have so debased himself in the eyes of the administration with time, to stand well.

On this point I wish to be very distinct. I aver that Stanton, thoroughly, cordially and constantly approved of and concurred in the constitutional doctrines which you denounce as timid and treasonable. He indersed the opin ion of his predecessor with extravagant and undeserved laudation; he gave his adhesion to the annual message in many ways; and the special message of 8th January, 1861, which expressed the same opinion with added emphasis, was carefully read over to him before it was sent to Congress, and received his unqualified assent. The existing evidence of this can be easily adduced; it is direct, as well as circum stantial, oral as well as documentary, and some of it in the handwriting of Mr. Stanton himself. If you are willing to put the question into a proper form for judicial investigation, I will aid you in doing so, and give you an opportunity to make out your case before an im-

If your statement be true that Mr. Stanton disbelieved in the principles to which the administration was unchangably pledged, how did he come to take office under it? Was he sented to give up his own firm convictions judgment condemned as the off-pring of timidpredetermined intent to betray it? Either way mind you make him guilty of unspeakable meanness.

But conceding that he would accept, why did the President, with the consent of his advisers, give the appointment to a man whom vital not only to the public interests but their own characters? That at such a time they would invite an undisguised enemy into their counsels, is a tale as wildly improbable as any Salem witch finders. Your own consciousness of this compels you to explain by attributing it to a special intervention of Divine Providence. Your impious theory is that Almighty of your article, which directly concerns Mr. | God procured this appointment miraculously, might have a spy in the camp of its friends. This will not serve your turn -Reason never refers a human event to supernatural agency, unless it be impossible to acount for it is any other way. The mystery of that you have misrepresented it from beginning to end; which is no miracle at all, but quite in the natural order of things.

The truth is, Mr. Stanton was in perfect accord with the administration, before and after he became a part of it, on every question of fundamental principle. He had unlimited conidence in the men with whom he was acting, and they confided in him. For his chief and some of his colleagues he professed an attachment literally boundles; for all of them who stayed during the term, and for Thompson. who did not stay, he was warm in his friendship. You would now have us believe that these were merely the arts of an accomplished imposter: that while he was, in appearance, zealously coaperating with us, he was reporting to you that he saw treason in every part of the Government;" and that he was secrely using all the means in his power to stir up the vilest passions

Some overtacts of the treachery you ascribe to him are curious; for instance, the Sumner story, which you tell with singular brevity and coolness. Mr. Sumner called on him at his office, for what purpose you do not disclose .-Mr. Stanton did not receive his visitor either with the politeness of a gentleman or the courtesy due to a Senator, much less with the cor diality of a friend, but hastled him out of the building as if ashamed to be seen with him in daylight. He told him expressly that he did not dare to converse with him there, but would see him at one o'clock that night. The hour came, and then, when the city was wrapped in where, under the cover of darkness, he whispered the tales which he DID NOT DARE TO UTTER in the hearing of the parties they were intended and benefactors! Into what unfathomed gulfs

of moral degradation must the man have fallen who could be guilty of this! But remember, not a competent witness. We will trouble you to call Mr. Sumner, if you please. Let him testify what treason Stanton disclosed, and explain, if he can, how this midnight and secret information against men whom he was afraid to confront is consistent with Mr. Stanton's character as a courageous, outspoken and hou

He said nothing whatever to us about the treason which he saw in every part of the Government. He made no report of his discoveries to the President. He maintained unbroken God and the law upon the guilty authors of his fraternal relations with his colleagues. By your own account, he admitted to Mr. Sumner that he did not DARE TO SPEAK of such a thing. even in his own office, lest it might reach the ears of his associates in the administration .-Among the members of Congress whom you name as the recipients of his secret communications, not one of moderate views is included; much less did he speak to any friend of the parties accused. He cautiously selected their bitterest enemies and poured his venom into hearts already festering with spite. The House raised a committee to "investigate treasonable machinations and conspiracies," upon which there were members of both parties. Stanton did not go before it and tell his story; nor did he mention the subject to Cochrane, Reynolds have coolly indited a letter, even though he or Branch, but he "made an arrangement by never sent it, filled with foolish brags of his which Messrs. Howard and Dawes were informed" of whatever they wanted to know .-It appears, too, that a committee of vigilance ther with his prudence, veracity or taste. Bewas organized by the more active Republican members of Congress; in other words, the extreme partisans of both houses got up a secret he manifest the slightest disposition to misunbody of their own, not to perform any legal | derstand or misrepresent them. On the conduty pertaining to their offices, not to devise trary, when a statement recembling yours public measures for averting the ruin which about the Cabinet scene was published threatened the country, but to prowi about in London paper, I suggested that he aught to the dark for something to gratify personal contradict it; and he replied, emphasing how malice or make a little capital for their party. and by whom it had been fabricated, but said You were a member of that party, as it was it was not worth a contradiction, for every fit that you should be, and Mr. Stanton gave man of common intelligence would know it to you "warnings and suggestions" how to pro-ceed. This is what you call "rising in that

sideration." It was thus that, in your estimation, "he consecrated himself to the LOFTY duties of an EXALTED patriotism."

us some samples which deserve examinationed

To Mr. Toucey's face Mr. Stanton breathed no syllable of censure upon his off rial conduct as head of the Navy Department. To the President or Cabinet he expressed no doubt of his honesty. He met him every day with a face of smiling triendship. Torcey certainly had not the remotest idea that Stanton was defaming him behind his back, or conspiring with abolitionists to destroy his reputation .-He would as soon have suspected him of an whom he was particularly desirous, at that intent to poison his tood or stab him in his sleep. Can it be possible that Stanton was the author of the Dawes resolution?

That resolution is found in the "Cougressional Globe," second session, Thirty-sixth Congress, 1:60 6t, part second, pp. 142-24 -The proceeding was begun, no doubt, in the hope of finding something on which the charge could be founded of scattering the navy to prevent it from being used against the South .-But that failed miserably; and the cummittee reported nothing worse than "a grave error" of the Secretary in accepting, without delay or inquiry, the resignation of certain naval officers. Even this had no foundation in law or feet. Its truth was denied and the evidence called for; none was produced The right to explain and defend was demanded, but the gag of the previous question was applied before a word could be said. The accusers knew very well that it would not bear the slightest investigation. Mr. Sickles said truly (amid cries of order) that "censure without evidence dis graces only those who pronounce it." Mr. Toucey's reputation was never injuriously affected by it in the estimation of any fair-minded man. But you fish it up from the oblivion so anxious for public employment that he con- to which it has been consigned, and try to give it decency and dignity by saying that Stanton and assist in carrying out measures which his inspired it. You do not appear to perceive the hideous depth to which your assertion, if true, ity and treason? Or, did he accept the confidence of the President and the Cabinet with a whole business bears the impress of a different whole business bears the impress of a different

Mr. Stauton also suggested that his colleague and friend, Toucey, organ to BE ARRESTED -This could not have been a proposition to take him into legal custody on a criminal charge they knew to be how ife to them upon points so regularly made. That would have been utterly impossible and absurd. The Dawes committee itself could find nothing against him but an error of judgment. The suggestion must have been to kidnap him, without an accusation or that ever was swallowed by the credulity of the proof of probable cause, and consign him to some dungeon without trial or hope of relief. If Stanton attempted to get this done he was guilty of such perfidy as would have shocked the basest panderer in the court of Louis XV, But to confute your libel upon Toucey and the fact that kidnapping of Amelican citizens was at that time wholly unknown and absolutely impossible. We were then living under a Democratic administration-the country was this case is easily cleared up by the hypothesis | yet sunk its bloody langs into the vitals of the national liberty. The systematic perjury which afterwards made the Constitution a dead letter was not then established as a rule of political Your whole account of the "Cabinet scene"

at which Floyd, "raging and storming, ar-

raigned the President and Cabinet," and "the President trembled and grew pale," and "Stanton met the baffled traitor and his fellow conspirators with a storm of fierce and fiery denunciation," is a pure and perfectly baseless fabrication. It is absurd to boot Floyd's arraignment of the President and Cabainet for? You say for violating their pledges to the secessionists; and the charge against he es was predicted solely on the fact that Colonel Anderson had removed from Fort Moultrie to Fort Sumpter; and FLOYD WAS DISAFFOINTED IN COLONKI ANDERSON, whom he "had expected," as a Southern man, to "carry out his purposes in the interest of treason." driveling at best, and it is completely exploded by the record, which shows that Colonel Antrie to Fort Sumpter was in literal obedience to orders from the President, which Floyd himself had drawn up, signed and transmitted. Moreover, Floyd at that time was not in condition to arraign anybody. He, himself had just before that been not only arraigned but condemned, and the President had notified him that he would be removed if he did not resign, Was it this broken down and powerless man who made the President tremble and grow sleep, he skulked away to the meeting place, pale by complaining that a subordinate had where, under the cover of darkness, he whis- unexpectedly obeyed his own orders? You are not silly enough to say so. Was it Stanton's 'storm of fierce and fiery denunciation?' to ruin. And those parties were his friends | Stanton was no stormen in the presence of such men as he then had to deal with. His language was habitually deferential, his who'e bearing decent, and his behavior at the counthis is another second-hand story, and you are | cil board was entirely free from the insolence you impute to it. Your tales do not hold together. No one can give credence to your report of bold and stormy denunciation by Stanton in the presence of his chief and his colleagues, and at the same time believe what you say of him at another place, where you describe him as a dastard, skulking about in the dead of night to find a place of concealment remote enough to make him safe, and conlessing that he did not dare to breathe his accusation in the face of day. The crawling sycophant-the stealthy spy-who bargained so carefully for darkness and secreey when he made his reports, must have been wholly unfitted to play the part of Jupiter Tonans in a square and open conflict. It is not possible that the fearless Stanton of your "Cabinet scene" could be the same Stanton who, at one o'clock at night, was 'squat like a tond' at the ear of Sumner,

Essaying by his devilish arts to reach
The organs of his fancy.

I take it upon me to emphatically deny that Mr. Stantop ever "wrote a full and detailed account of the Cabinet scene," by which you can have the least hope of being corroborated. I cannot prove a negative, but I can show that your assertion is incredible. That he should own prowess, which half a dozen men living could prove to be false, was not consistent elsides, he often spoke with me about the events of that period, and never, in my hearing, did Some busy and insimuating rogue, Some cogging, cozening slave, to get some office.

Hath devised this slander.

What cargoes of defamatory falsehood he Your history of his appointment to the War advised Mr. Buchanan that it was the duty and right of the Federal Government to coerce do not break the foul bulk, but you have given of his conduct while Attorney Gen. eral. You say that he cordially indor-ed Mr. Cameron's recommendation to arm the more be