AMERICAN VOLUNTEER.

JOHN B. BRATTON Editor & Proprietor

VIRTUE LIBERTY AND INDEPENDENCE

CARLISLE, PA., OCT. 26, 1865.

☞ WM. BLAIR & SON, Carlisle, would call the particular attention of private families to the superior quality of their Spices and Flavoring Extracts. †

VOCAL MUSIC.—R. A. M'CLURE, a Teacher of vocal music, will be happy to meet the ladies and gentlemen of Carlisle and all others interested in the improvement of vocal music, at Rheem's Hall, on Thursday evening, Oct. 26th, at 7 o'clock. Mr. M'CLURE will sing a few Ballads for the entertainment of the audience. *

THE LATEST DISCOVERY.—The latest discovery which has been made, is a new planet, which adds a new feature to many discoveries already made, but while astronomers are observing everything appertaining to their interest, the ladies of Carlisle and vicinity say that they have discovered the LATEST STAR, and are not to be outdone by anybody. They have visited and are visiting daily the STAR STORE of Mr. M. MAYER, in North Hanover street, formerly occupied and known as Mr. Miller's bakery, one door North of Dr. Dale's, Carlisle, where they constantly find the *best* and *cheapest* assortment of MILLINARY GOODS, such as BONNETS, in straw, silk and velvet, richly trimmed.—Ladies and Missis Hats, in straw, felt, silk and velvet, trimmed with bird's feathers, &c., &c. A large assortment of Cloaks, such as the Chesterfield Coats, Loose Sacks, Circulars, Short or Walking Sacks, Shawls, Knitted and Woolen Goods, Embroideries, Trimmings, &c., &c.

By strict attention to his business, and by constantly receiving fresh supplies from New York, Philadelphia and Baltimore, Mr. MAYER offers rare inducements, and respectfully requests the ladies of Carlisle and vicinity to give him a call. tf.

THE "COMMAN HOUSE."—This well known hotel, on East High street, and for many years kept by Mr. DAVID MARTIN, was sold at private sale, by its proprietor, Mr. CORMAN, to our townsman, Mr. GEORGE W. HILTON, for $19,000. Mr. H. intends on the 1st of April, to take charge of the same, and conduct it in person.

THE TIME TO SUBSCRIBE.—The election being over and the long Winter Evenings at hand, when reading for the fireside will be required to pass away the time, we intend to furnish our readers a choice miscellany of Literature, such as Poetry, Gems of Wit, Select Stories, etc., as well as the current News of the day, Political, Commercial and general, and respectfully urge upon everybody the propriety of subscribing for the *Volunteer*, at least during the Winter. We have one word to say to our subscribers, *do not lend* your paper to any person able to pay for it!

THE HOG SPECULATION.—The stock dealers in live hogs are now paying Farmers 11c per lb. for anything of a porcine nature that has four legs—and it astonishes us to learn that we have sensible men, with their cribs and fields full of corn, worth only 50c per bushel, and selling all their light hogs—half grown shoats—because the price tempts them. Why, at 11c per lb. for hogs, corn properly fed would realize to the feeder certainly not less than one dollar per bushel.—We mean *fed*—not dribbled out. We have heard doubts expressed as to whether farmers would reserve hogs enough for their own use. It is quite sure that a pretty clean sweep is being made by stock dealers.

THE LADY'S FRIEND.—Grandma's Portrait is the title of a very taking Steel Engraving in the November number of this favorite monthly. It is a household scene, and one of the youngsters is drawing Grandma's picture on the wall. The double colored steel Fashion Plate is as usual superb.—"Love *versus* Flirtation" is the title of the next engraving, which illustrates an interesting story of the same name. Then we have a number of engravings, devoted to the fashions, new hats, head-dresses, lady's and boy's suits, &c. For the Music we have this time a Gallop from Mierille. The literary matter is "Dear Mrs. Thorpe;" "Changes in the Household of Cecelia Bird, Spinister," by Mrs. Margaret Hosmer. "In Silence," by Clara Augusta; "Grace and Margaret," by Mrs. Phelps; "Told by the Sun," by Beatrice Colonna; "My Prairie Home," Editorials, Receips, Fashions, &c., &c. Price $2.50 a year; 2 copies $4.00; 8 copies (and one *gratis*) $16. *Now is the time to get up clubs for* 1866. Specimen numbers for this purpose will be sent for 15 cents. *Wheeler & Wilson's celebrated Sewing Machines are furnished as Premiums in certain cases.*—The Prospectus of this magazine for next year embodies a splendid list of contributors. Address Deacon & Peterson, 319 Walnut Street, Philadelphia.

☞ JULES DELAUNAY will give two Illustrated Lectures, Biblical and Classical, in Emory M. E. Church, on Thursday and Friday evenings. Free to the public.

THE WORLD.—The Prospectus of the *World* will be found in the *Volunteer* to-day. It is the best newspaper published in the city of New York.

☞ A party of children recently discovered a bomb-shell in the woods near Brandenburg, Kentucky. While playing with the shell, it exploded, killing and wounding nine of the children.

☞ The residence of Edward Everett was sold in Boston on Wednesday last for $57,000.

ABOUT LAST NIGHT.—Jack Frost,

THE LEGISLATURE.

The following is a complete list of Senators and Representatives composing the next Legislature:

SENATE.

Speaker—Davis Fleming, of Dauphin.

Districts.

I. Philadelphia—Jeromiah Nichols, R.
II. " Jacob E. Ridgway, R.
III. " C. M. Donovan, D.
IV. " Geo. Connell, R.
V. Chester, Delaware and Montgomery—Worthington R., Horace Royer, R.
VI. Bucks—O. P. James, D.
VII. Lehigh and Northampton—George B. Schall, D.
VIII. Berks—Hiester Clymer, D.
IX. Schuylkill—Wm. M. Randall, D.
X. Carbon, Monroe, Pike and Wayne—H. B. Beardslee, D.
XI. Bradford, Susquehanna and Wyoming—George Laddon, R.
XII. Luzerne—I. D. Shoemaker, R.
XIII. Potter, Tioga, McKean and Clinton—Warren Cowles, R.
XIV. Lycoming, Union and Snyder—J. Walls, D.
XV. Northumberland, Montour, Columbia and Sullivan—David B. Montgomery, D.
XVI. Dauphin & Lebanon—D. Fleming, R
XVII. Lancaster—B. Champneys, R., J. M. Dunlap, R.
XVIII. York and Cumberland—A. Hiestand Glatz, D.
XIX. Adams and Franklin—C. M. Duncan, D.
XX. Somerset, Bedford and Fulton—George W. Householder, R.
XXI. Blair, Huntington, Centre, Mifflin, Juniata and Perry—L. W. Hall, R., Kirk Haines, R.
XXII. Cambria, Indiana and Jefferson—Gen. Harry White, R.
XXIII. Clearfield, Cameron, Clarion, Forest and Elk—W. A. Wallace, D.
XXIV. Westmoreland, Fayette and Greene John Latta, D.
XXV. Allegheny—J. L. Graham, R., W. J. Bingham, R.
XXVI. Washington and Beaver—Wm. Hopkins, D.
XXVII. Lawrence, Butler and Armstrong—Rev. R. Audley Brown, R.
XXVIII. Mercer, Venango and Warren—Thomas Hoge, R.
XXIX. Crawford and Erie—Morrow B. Lowrie, R.

Republican Senators,	20
Democratic Senators,	13
Republican majority.	7

ASSEMBLY.

Philadelphia.	*Fayette.*
1. G. W. Ghegan, R.	Chas. E. Boyle D.
2. W H Rudiman R	*Greene.*
3. Sam'l. Josephs D.	Thos. Rose D.
4. W. W. Watt R.	*Huntingdon, Mifflin and Juniata.*
5. Jos. T. Thomas R.	Ephraim Baker R.
6. Jas. Freeborn R.	James M. Brown R.
7. Jas. Subers R.	*Indiana and Westmoreland.*
8. Jas. N. Kerns R.	George E. Smith R.
9. Geo. A Quigley D.	J. R. McAfee R.
10. Elishi W Davis R.	Jas. McElroy R.
11. F. D. Sterner R.	*Lancaster.*
12. Alex. Adair R.	R. W. Shenk R.
13. Jas. Donnelly D.	Chas. Dennes R.
14. Francis Hood R.	Day Wood R.
15. G. DeHaven jr. R.	Jno, M. Stehman R.
16. D. A. Wallace R.	*Lebanon.*
17. Ed. G. Lee R.	Jacob B. Meily R.
18. Jas. N. Marks R.	*Lehigh.*
Adams.	N. Weiser D.
Philip L. Houck R.	Jas. F. Kline D.
Allegheny.	*Lycoming, Union and Snyder.*
Geo. T. McKee R.	Sam'l C. Wingard R.
Hans B. Herron R.	Isaac Rothrock R.
Alfred Slack R.	D. A. Irwin R.
David Shaffer R.	*Luzerne.*
John P. Glass R.	Anthony Grendy D.
John A. Dank R.	D. F. Seybert D.
Armstrong.	D. S. Koon D.
F. Mechling R.	*Mercer, Lawrence and Butler.*
Berks.	Josiah McPherrin R.
John Missimer D.	J. H. Neagley R.
H. B. Rhoads D.	Sam'l McKinley R.
Fred. Harner D.	*Montgomery.*
Bucks.	A. D. Markley D.
Luther Calvin D.	E. L Satterthwaite D.
F. W. Headman D.	*Northampton.*
Bradford & Sullivan.	Oliver H. Myers D.
Lorenzo Grinnell R.	T. D. Barrington D.
C. W. Kinney R.	*Northumberland.*
Blair.	Charles W. Tharp D.
Joseph G. Adlum R.	*Perry and Franklin.*
Cambria.	Geo. A. Sherman R.
Cyrus L. Pershing D.	N. J. Stambaugh R.
Carbon and Monroe.	*Schuylkill.*
Allen Craig D.	Kennedy Robinson D.
Centre.	J. M. Crosland D.
Fred. Kurtz D.	P. F. Collins D.
Clarion & Jefferson.	*Somerset, Bedford and Fulton.*
W. W. Barr D.	Moses A. Ross R.
Clearfield, Elk and Forrest.	D. B. Armstrong R.
Dr. C. Earley D.	*Susquehanna and Wyoming.*
Clinton, Cameron and McKean.	P M Osterhout R.
E. B. Eldred D.	J T Cameron R
Chester.	*Tioga and Potter.*
N. J. Sharpless R.	Wm T Humphrey R
W. B. Waddell R.	John S Mann R
N A. Pennypacker R.	*Venango and Warren.*
Crawford.	W N Whann R
J. C. Sturtevant R.	Harrison Allen R
Geo. H. Bemus R.	*Washington and Beaver.*
Columbia & Montour.	James R Kelley R
W. H. Jacoby D.	Joseph B Welsh R
Cumberland.	Matthew S Quay R
Philip Long D.	*Wayne and Pike.*
Dauphin.	Wm M Nelson D
Jeremiah Seiler R.	*York.*
H. B. Hoffman R.	James Cameron D
Delaware.	A S Lawrence D
Ellwood Tyson R.	
Erie.	
O. S. Woodward R.	
D. B. McCreary R.	

Republican Members,	66
Democratic,	34
Republican maj.	32
Republican maj. on joint ballot,	39

Three of the Senators elected occupied the same honorable positions during the last three years, and of the successful Representatives fifty-eight were members of the House last winter:

☞ WHAT PEARS TO PLANT.—If any of our friends wish to order Pear Trees, (and now is the time to do it,) we can recommend the following list as best suited to our climate:

	RIPENS.
Buerre Gifford,	August.
Bartlett,	September.
Belle Lucrative,	"
*Louisa bon de Jersey, very handsome,	"
Buerre Clairgeau, large	"
Flemish Beauty,	October.
Harvey,	"
Buerre Rose,	"
Dunmore, (sour for baking,)	"
*Duchess d' Angouline, large,	November.
Buerre Diel, large,	"
Buerre Superfine,	"
Buerre D'Anjou,	"
Lawrence,	December.
Vicar of Winkfield, large,	"
Winter Nelis,	"
Glout Morceau,	"
Noveau Poiteau,	"
Buerre d'Aremberg, (Acid,)	"
*Seckel,	September.

*These three varieties are now selling in the New York market at $25 per barrel.

☞ The Wirz trial closed on Saturday, and the Court went into secret session to decide upon a verdict, which will be sent to the President for his approval before it is promulgated.

IN TRIBULATION.

The Stevens wing of the Republican party is in great tribulation about the state of affairs at Washington city. Congress will meet in five or six weeks, and President Johnson, so far from showing signs of repentance for the sins he has committed against the radicals, is daily giving additional proof of his determination to adhere to the conservative line of policy he adopted some time ago. The following from a journal recently established in Illinois under the editorship of one of Lincoln's Assistant Secretaries of War, will serve to show how badly the President's conduct is hurting the feelings of the Stevens politicians:

Correspondence of Dana's Chicago Republican.

WASHINGTON, Oct. 14.—Washington is itself again. The city looks as if Mr. Lincoln had never existed, and as if we were still in the times of Pierce or Buchanan. Free State influence has again been suddenly wiped out. Slavery politicians are once more in the ascendant. It is no use arguing at Washington about millions slain and millions wasted in the war, and about other trifles of the kind. True enough, the armies of the slaveholders' rebellion have vanquished. But the feeling that culminated in the war is as rampant and pernicious as ever. Any one who doubts this need only spend a few weeks at Willard's and this conviction will soon force itself upon his mind. The southerners are as smart as ever, and avail themselves skill fully of the siesta of the free states. While the masses of the people are lulled into security by the apparent restoration of peace, their old enemies kindle the flames of fresh convulsions. They do this with their wonted ingenuity. They get pardoned first, cooperate with the Democrats next, and look upon Andrew Johnson as exclusively their President, just as much as ever Pierce or Buchanan was. It is the old story of these copperhead presidents all over again, with that that fatal difference that those who were then foremost in their opposition to sham democracy, are now feeble and exhausted. The country is as apathetic now as it was then—nay, more so, since even the anti-slavery men allow themselves to be humbugged by the trumpery hope of slaves emancipated or allowed to vote independently by their masters. As far as politicts are concerned, as viewed from this city, the country resembles a huge lunatic asylum, the inmates of which nurse the allusion that the supremacy of the ex-rebels and their abbettors in the work has been annihilated by the war and slavery abolished.

☞ HERSCHEL V. JOHNSON, who was a candidate on the Douglas ticket, for Vice President, in 1860, and who was recently pardoned by the President, has recently returned to his home in Georgia, from Washington City. The Augusta *Chronicle and Sentinel*, speaking of an interview with him, since his return, says: "The President, he says, seems to be willing to do all he can for the South, and believes in kind and conciliatory measures. Of course, his policy is bitterly denounced by the Radicals, and will be opposed by them when Congress assembles. Mr. J. thinks it the plain duty of the South to give all questions which will cause debate and excitement, the go by; simply do that which it is necessary to do in order to be admitted to Congress if possible, and unite in support of the President. He also thinks that it is the duty of every Southern State to elect men as members of Congress whose antecedents can furnish the Radicals with no pretext to oppose them taking their seats.—He is of the opinion that the coming session of the National Legislature will be a turbulent one, and that a great deal will depend upon its action. He also thinks if the Southern States do that which is right, avoid all disturbance within their borders, and elect the right kind of men as their delegates to Congress, that the conservative men of the North will force the radicals to give way, and finally admit them, if they strive to keep them out at first."

THAT'S SO.—John Van Buren, in a recent speech, said it was a remarkable fact that no Democrat ever died in the Presidential chair. They always served out their terms. On the other hand, three of the Presidents elected by the federal party have either died or been killed. Harrison, Taylor and Lincoln. There was an attempt made to poison Buchanan but it failed. Another singular coincidence is, that all the successors to the three opposition Presidents, who died in office, administered the Government on Democratic principles, viz:—Tyler, Filmore and Johnson.—It would seem as if Providence intended this country to be permanently ruled by the Democrats, or at all events conducted on Democratic principles.

We wonder that some of the clerical Republicans, do not see what a peculiar dispensation this is that no Democrat ever died in the office and no federal ever lived in it.—Extraordinary as has been the watchful care of Providence over the United States, from the first germ of the revolution to the last sign of the rebellion, in no way has that Providence been more conspicuous than in the care and persistency with which the people have been saved from the progress of federal dominion.

☞ The other day the 10th U. S. (Colored) Heavy Artillery marched up Broadway, New York, numbering over sixteen hundred, with overcoats, knapsacks, and *white gloves*, and preceded by a colored band of thirty pieces. The shoddy papers went into ecstacies over the darkies. "No more imposing spectacle has been presented to the citizens since the soldiers began to return," said one of them. "They marched with a steadiness and regularity that drew the most enthusiastic plaudits from the thousands of spectators that lined each side of the street," said another. "Their reception *was the warmest that has ever been extended to any of our returning* BRAVES," wrote a third. And so they had it, but all forgot to say where the "braves" achieved their laurels, or why they received "the warmest reception." &c.

☞ Six thousand negroes of Washington City have signed a petition asking for suffrage. As fifteen thousand negroes are there supported at Government expense, it is more than probable that the ambitious six thousand help to make up that number of public paupers, and also that they have more time on their hands than they know what to do with. A good hoe would hie them to better business.

☞ The Government has received despatches confirming the reports of the cholera having broken out at Southampton, England.

SPEECH OF

HON. JEREMIAH S. BLACK,

Delivered at Williamsport, Pa., Thursday, Sept. 28th, 1865.

In the opening of his speech, Judge Black gave an account of party politics before the organization which now calls itself *Republican* took its present name. At that time Democrats universally predicted, that if ever the Abolitionists got into power, they would destroy the harmony among the States, and either cause a permanent dissolution of the Union, or else make a civil war necessary to prevent it; both of which we regarded as among the worst of national calamities. In that opinion the Whigs fully concurred, and it was expressed by Mr. Clay, Mr. Webster, and other public men of that school, as strongly as by anybody else. The Abolitionists themselves did not pretend to conceal their antagonism to the best interests of the country, or their determination to break up its tranquility. Christianity was opposed to their schemes, and so was the Constitution. They denounced both. They habitually slandered in the most brutal manner all men who stood up for the principles on which the government was based. Washington, and the other founders of this republic, were spoken of as knaves, and John Brown, a thief, a murderer and a traitor, as soon as he made his appearance, was adopted as their model of every virtue. No insult was too low for them to cast upon the fundamental law—no blasphemy too coarse to express their contempt for those precepts of the Bible which required obedience to established authority. All this was hard to bear, and it was made harder still by the known fact that they were acting in concert with the avowed enemies of American liberty and law on the other side of the Atlantic. Of course no considerable number of the American people entertained these sentiments. The vast mass of them were sincerely attached to their political institutions. They believed their government to be the best that could be invented for a people in their circumstances, and were not only willing, but determined, to save it from subversion. The Abolitionists were looked upon generally as a gang of conspirators against the public peace—as moral monsters who acknowledged none of the obligations which bind man to his fellow man—as a set of criminals who came directly within Sir Michael Foster's definition of legal malice: "having hearts regardless of social duty and fatally bent upon doing mischief." For these reasons they were not only opposed, but detested and loathed. Nevertheless this nation was delivered up into their hands, and for four years they have been working their bloody will upon it. How did it happen that a small body of men so justly despised by the masses of the people could get the government into their hands?

Judge B. answered this question. It was partly caused by accidental division among the friends of the Union and the Constitution and the laws, but it was mainly brought about by fraud and false pretenses. The motive power of the Abolitionists was not philanthropy, or benevolence, or love for the negro, but hatred for the white man of the South. In New England it was easy to get this malignant passion in full operation.—The Yankees had their reason for intense dislike not only for the people who lived in the far South, but also of those who had their homes in the Middle and Western States. In the first place, most of them were originally members of the old Federal party, and how they hated the Democracy (which they called the Virginia school) for driving them out into a long exile from office, may be understood by any one who will read the foul falsehoods of their press and the still baser lies of their pulpit against Jefferson, Madison, Jackson and others. This was one grudge, but not the grudge that rankled most deeply. The embargo first, and afterwards the war of 1812, touched their pockets and deprived them of the power to make large fortunes at the expense of the national honor. By this cause they were so much exasperated that they engaged in a plot to dismember the Union, and would have broken it to pieces but for the battle of New Orleans and the peace of Ghent. Again: they wanted a great national bank, for certain reasons which affected their pecuniary interests; and it was a Southern President who pronounced such a corporation incompatible with the public interests and contrary to the Constitution. In later times they demanded a tariff, which should be high enough to increase the profits of their factories two or three hundred per cent, beyond what they could make in an open market.—The South led in opposition to this system of high duties, the West was converted, the tariff was reduced to a revenue standard, and the Yankee was obliged to content himself with lower prices. All this roused the natural malevolence of their hearts and prepared them for anything which promised the gratification at once of hatred and rapacity. Judge B. supposed nobody was simple enough to believe that the hard-hearted cruel and selfish breed of men who whipped Quaker women, hung the baptists and refused all aid to their suffering country when a foreign enemy had it by the throat, could be started on a crusade of mere romantic benevolence toward a body of strange negroes.

But by appealing to their venality and their malice the Abolitionists got them easily enough. The New England States coming over, that gave them a vote, which, in a presidential election closely contested between other parties, was a balance of power. They could then go into the field and bid for the politicians of the minority party. The first live Abolitionist Judge B. ever saw had told him that this was their programme, and that it was certain of success, for the politicians sought nothing but place and patronage; and therefore an offer to give them the jobs, contracts and offices of the Federal Government, would make them profess abolition principles whether they believed them or not.

By such means the small and unprincipled band who cursed the Consitution and blasphemed Christianity—habitually slandered the best men of the country—and sung hymns of praise to the memory of a common thief—became the great power of this nation, and they have been preying upon it for four years past.

They came into power, and civil war, anarchy, spoilation and bloodshed came along with them, as all wise men had predicted it would. Nobody doubts that if the Democrats had succeeded in electing either of their candidates in 1860, the career of the country would still have been onward and upward, as it was for seventy-four years before. It is equally undeniable that if the Abolitionists, or any similar party had got possession of the government thirty or forty years earlier, public ruin would have been the consequence.

But the war has come and gone, and left behind it certain results, besides the emancipation of the Southern negroes. We have contracted a debt of four thousand millions of dollars, and we have lost half a million of our best men killed and crippled. Upon the Southern half of our country the effects have been infinitely more disastrous. They have been totally cut to pieces—their towns burnt, their fields ravaged—their whole country covered with blood and ashes. A revolution has been wrought among them such as no people ever saw before—a revolution that has broken up the whole framework of society—which is felt in every city, in every town, and on every farm—by men, women and children—by all classes and colors—for the blacks have suffered even more than the whites—a million of the former having perished in the horrible process.

The altered condition of things imposes new duties and raises new questions. Of course we look to the general welfare and future peace of the whole country. We must make our reunion with the South as useful to ourselves as we can consistently with justice to them. How this shall be accomplished is a point to which the public attention is just now very strongly drawn. The Democracy and the Abolitionists have taken up their several positions and have defined them unmistakably.

Democrats do not see how they can render any positive or material aid to the Southern people. To the question what help shall be given them, we answer, none; they must help themselves; they must rehabilitate their own society, recognize their own industry, and regenerate their own country, for they alone can do it.

And they cannot do it unless they have a government of law, which will protect life, liberty and property, while they are about it. What sort of a government shall they have? Can there be two answers to this interrogatory? Not from the lips of a Democrat. We deal only in a government of one kind, and that is the old Constitution, which you have all seen with the name of George Washington signed at the foot of it. We would give them this because we are sworn to administer no other to any community within our jurisdiction, or under our power, and any policy not sanctioned by it must have perjury for its corner stone. Besides, we supposed that the restoration of this Constitution and the laws passed in pursuance of it to their just supremacy throughout the whole country was the object of the war, and we know it to be the only legitimate object for which such a war could have been waged. If that be not the result of the war, then it is a most ignominious failure. It is something worse than a failure; it is the most stupendous swindle that ever was perpetrated. The Abolitionists themselves, when they called on the people for blood and money to prosecute the war, declared that its purpose was to vindicate the Constitution and laws and compel obedience to them. We were told this in every form, official and unofficial—in the proclamation of the President when the first call was made for seventy-five thousand men—in solemn resolutions passed through Congress—in dispatches and orders from the departments—and in one of the resolutions passed at Baltimore, when Mr. Lincoln was nominated the last time, it was declared that the war was to restore *the paramount authority of the Constitution* in the Southern States. If they now say that the success acquired in this way, is to be used for other purposes, and the Constitution shall not be restored, they confess that they have obtained four thousand millions of dollars, and a half million of lives, upon false pretenses. If any individual would get five dollars from his neighbor upon pretenses equally false, nothing but a perversion of law and justice could save him from condign punishment as a criminal. To deny the paramount authority of the Constitution now, in the face of these facts, is to break the faith which holds the moral world together. Our theory is very simple. We always averred, (and so did our opponents for the matter of that,) that the ordinances of secession were mere nullities—that the States were, legally, in the Union—that the rebellion consisted in the determination of individuals to resist the execution of the Federal laws—that our war was against these individuals and could not be levied against the States as States, without treating them as a foreign power, and th s recognizing the constitutional right of secession, and if we acknowledged that right, we took from under our feet the only ground we could stand on in making any war at all. The General Government in executing its laws, acts upon individuals just as a State Government does. In suppressing an insurrection, the one does not make war upon a county, nor the other upon a State.

In these views of the universal Democracy I am glad to say that the President of the United States does most heartily concur.—When I give you this assurance you are not to understand me as speaking from rumor or report, or common fame—I know whereof I affirm. If that distinguished gentleman were standing here he would express the same opinions, only in language far more forcible, vigorous and clear. He has not given up one inch of the high ground he took when he was a Senator, before the war broke out. It may reasonably be expected, also, that a very large number of the men who have heretofore called themselves "Republicans" will find themselves with us, since they cannot act against us without grossly violating the faith which they have often pledged.

But the Abolition party proper is against us as a unit. The man who leads them in Congress, and out of doors, as he has always led whatever party he belonged to, expresses his will, and they must obey his dictation. He propounded his doctrine, the other day, in a State convention, and not a man was found to resist him; he announced it elsewhere, and it was received by his followers with universal applause; it has been echoed back already by his disciples in Massachusetts. The utterances of Mr. Stevens are the deliverances of his party. Let us see what they propose.

There can be no doubt that their interests as mere partisans are wholly adverse to the peace of the country. Their prosperity as a political organization has always depended, and does now depend, on the amount of exasperation and ill blood which they can keep up between the sections. They know and they expressly admit that the entire harmony and Union of the States no matter on what terms it might be accomplished, would be fatal to their ascendency. They would meet any calamity rather than face the horrors of perfect peace; because in time of perfect peace they could not exist as a party any more than the functions of animal life could go on under and exhausted receiver.—They are, therefore, very sincere and devout when they pray God that the Union may not be restored, and now, since slavery is abolished, they are as industrious as ever in finding other causes of quarrel.

They propose to hold the Southern States in absolute bondage. They would not govern them at all, for government implies law of some kind. The Southern people are to be disposed of without the slightest reference to the Constitution, or to any law, State or national. They must have no voice in the regulation of their federal duties, or in the administration of their local affairs. When they laid down their arms it is to be deemed and taken that they submitted not to the Government of the United States, that is to the Constitution and laws, but to the mere will of the dominant party in the north. They shall have no representation in Congress and no vote for President. They are not only to be denied all political privileges, but their natural right to life and property, which the Declaration of Independence declares to be inalienable, will also be taken from them.—With regard to life, Mr Stevens says he has not yet made up his mind how many are to die, but when he does come to a conclusion on that subject we may expect the slaughter to begin. What form it will take we are not told, except that the victims are not to have a judicial trial; that is scouted as a mere absurdity. Those who are spared will be monuments of mercy, and those who are killed because they have no right to their lives. As to the right of property that is clean entirely out of the question, and is not acknowledged for a moment. The Chancellor of their Exchequer has actually sat down and calculated how much of their lands and goods he will take, and what the value of them will be. He ciphers it up at three thousand millions of dollars! All this property is to be taken without any reference to the personal guilt or innocence of the individual owners. That is palpable on the face of the proposition itself. A man who owns two hundred acres of land, or has personal property worth ten thousand dollars, shall be stripped of his all, but his neighbor, who has less, may keep what he has, and may be guilty, and the other innocent, or both may be guilty, or both innocent, but that is not the question; the value of their respective estates is the only inquiry that is made. Why this distinction? I declare I don't know, unless it be that one is worth robbing and the other is not. Women and children, Mr. Stevens says, may be driven into exile. Aye! That they may, and robbed in the bargain. An orphan six months old, if it comes within this rule, will not be spared—they may take the clothes off its little body, and the spoon it is fed with. Why? Not because the child has committed any sin, but because it happens to be the legal heir to property of such value that the Abolitionists cannot forego the temptation to appropriate it. Suppose a widdow to become the object of their delicate attentions. They do not inquire into her history, even so far as to ascertain what her "*sympathies*" were during the war. But they make an inventory of her furniture, value of her live stock, count her spoons, examine her dresses, and if their value can be figured up to ten thousand dollars, they cease to be hers by virtue of Abolition arithmetic. Or they send a surveyor out, with compass and chain, to measure her land, and if, by any means, he can run in two hundred acres, the investigation is ended. She may take her children and go into exile, if she can manage to travel without money; if not she can starve.

Of course I do not pretend to find any words in the English language which will characterize the morality of this measure. It is simply a proposal to organize and maintain a band of men to violate the sixth commandment—to plunder a defenceless people in a time of profound peace under the patronage of the Federal Government. When you reflect by whom and how this proposition is made, it becomes a melancholy evidence of the extent to which a people can be demoralized by civil war. It is advocated by public men who are seeking the favor of the people, and paraded as a fundamental article in the creed of a political party. No doubt they think they can gain popularity and win voters by it. If they do, they must believe the public morals to be thoroughly debauched.

This comes of making a saint out of John Brown. President Johnson, in a speech which he made in 1860, said in substance (I do not profess to give his words,) that the character of a people might be learned from the gods they adored; the Abolitionists worshipped a thief, and the worshippers would, of necessity, be the imitators of his moral qualities. They have got on more rapidly than the President supposed they would.—Brown concealed his designs or cautiously whispered them into the ears of his accomplices; but his present disciples unhesitatingly avow their intention to imitate him on a scale so grand that his thefts seem like mere petty larceny by comparison.

The legal theory on which their scheme is based is as absurdly false as the scheme itself is indecent and shameless. They do not stultify themselves by asserting that they find any warrant for it in the Constitution. Nor do they get it in war power; for that power, according to their own loose definition of it, is grounded in military necessity and must cease of course when the war ceases. But they allege that the Southern States went legally out of the Union, have been out ever since, are out now, and must stay out notwithstanding all that was expended in trying to keep them in. They are conquered aliens. The attitude of the Northern and Southern States toward one another is in their view no other than that of two separate countries, between whom there has been a war; the more powerful having invaded the weaker and beaten its defenders. Now admit all this to be true, does it follow, as they say it does, that the inhabitants of the conquered territory have lost all their rights of private property? May they be plundered after the war is over? No, by the law of nature, by the law of nations, by the public law of the world, the private property of the conquered people is as sacred as it was before; the laws that protect it are undisturbed; and whosoever steals it commits precisely the same crime that he would be guilty of if no war had never been made. It is the first duty of the conquering party to provide for the security of this right, and it is the universal practice of all civilized and Christian countries to do so; you cannot find an example on the contrary without going back to the depths of barbarism. No nation can now make war upon another, subdue it, and after it is disarmed and powerless, deliver the inhabitants up to be sacked and pillaged without bringing upon the head of the offender the execrations of the whole earth.

Even in time of open and flagrant war, private property is held to be sacred. One belligerent party may take the *public* property of the other, to cripple the commerce of an enemy; private property may also be taken as a lawful prize, if found *on the high seas*. But no such prizes can be made on land, the goods or lands of the people found within the invaded territory are not to be taken for the mere purpose of gain. This rule is often violated on one excuse or another, such as the necessity of taking supplies, the difficulty of restraing troops, or the right of retaliation. But the very fact that apologies are made, proves what the sense of the world is concering the rule. If it be true that private property cannot be taken when war is raging, it would surely be a most unpardonable atrocity to take it afterwards.

There are but two instances in modern history where a government has in time of war deliberately ordered the destruction or capture of private property throughout a large district, one was the order given by Louvois, the French Minister under Louis XIV., to devastate the Palatinate; the other was the case of our own government, when General Sheridan was directed to make the valley of the Shenkndoah a desert waste. The excuse given for both these acts was that the governments committing them gained thereby certain militaty advantages which otherwise they could not have had. I do not believe it will be accepted by either God or man, though it may be some palliation of the horrible cruelty inflicted. But the Abolitionists propose to issue their order without a military reason of any kind, in a time of profound peace, to organize a regular system of pillage over a country nearly as large as all Europe. If it were carried out as proposed, the blackest national crime that history has yet recorded would look beside this one like an act of white-robed innocence.

But apart from all moral considerations, what does it promise as a mere matter of policy? What will we gain by it in money to compensate for the loss of national character? The amount to be plundered is three thousand million of dollars. To maintain the necessary number of agents and an army large enough to back them would probably cost about one thousand millions per annum. Mr. Stevens does not propose to reduce the public expenses below five hundred millions. Even according to his own account the sum received will be spent in six years. But the expenses would really be twice as great, and the returns of plunder would be little or nothing. You can easily see how cheating would be done both ways. The property of the Southern people would not be handed over to the Treasury in kind. The lands and horses and cattle and other goods must be sold and converted into money or greenbacks. What man is silly enough to believe that this would be honestly done? Only two days ago a case came to my knowledge in which a plantation in Louisiana had been sold on account of the United States for nine thousand dollars; it was known to be worth three hundred and fifty thousand as well as one dollar is worth another. About two-and-a-half per cent. of its value went to the public use and the balance into the pockets of the agents who managed the affair. You all know how an Abolition general took sixty thousand dollars in gold and pretended that he had taken it for the United States—but the Treasury never saw a cent of it.—That same General is a violent and noisy supporter of Mr. Stevens, plan and would probably be employed in carrying it out. I could not enumerate, and none of us can conceive the ten thousand devices that would be employed to put this property into the possession of private parties, without cost to them. Who would bid for it? Not Southern men; for they are to be impoverished utterly, and even if they could command the means of purchasing back their own property, they could not hold it, for those who took it the first time might take it again. The greedy speculators would flock there like vultures and make themselves a close corporation. If the agents of the government were as honest as Aristides, they could not get a market for their wares. But would not the agents send home the watches, jewelry, paintings, pianos, and other portable property without accounting for it? And would they not be in partnership with the bidders, and in combination with one another to reduce the price of everything that was sold? Would not general corruption and dishonesty be the necessary outgrowth of the principle which lies at the foundation of the whole measure? When one party employs another to rob a third one, how can the agent be expected to understand the moral difference between keeping the proceeds himself and handing them over to his principal? There is no difference. When the property is once taken from the true owner, one man has as good a right to it as another.

Of the three thousand millions which Mr. Stevens proposes to take, nobody but a simpleton would expect to see five per cent. come into the Treasury. In a single year, an honest, and fair and equal system of taxation would get twice that amount out of the Southern States, and the goose which laid that golden egg would still be alive.

But we must give the South the benefit of a legal government for another reason, far more weighty than any consideration of mere pecuniary interest. If justice, according to law, be not administered to them, we cannot have it either. If they are to be mere slaves, we cannot possibly be free. Mr. Seward and Mr. Lincoln, in the canvass of 1860, and before it, repeatedly said that African slavery must be abolished in the South, or established in the North—the States must be all slave or all free; they could not be half slave and half free. This was said concerning the local institutions of separate States, and doubtless it was a gross fallacy, as a long experience had proved plainly enough. But it is undoubtedly true when applied to the direct action of the General Government upon the white people of the Union. We cannot have one government, common to all the States and Territories, exercising despotic power in one-half the country, and, at the same time carefully protecting the other in the enjoyment of liberty and law. The hand that wields the unlimited authority of an Asiatic King over the South will not be, and cannot be, tied up by constitutional restrictions at the North. No, my friends, if it is Poland for them, it must be Russia for us, and Liberia for both of us, whenever it shall please our Abolition masters to send us there. We must be all slaves or all freemen.

Let me not be misunderstood. I am not objecting to any amount of severity with the law which the Federal authority may fit to inflict upon those individuals who have offended the law. It is not mercy to the criminal, but justice to the innocent that I are asking.

A word now on *negro suffrage*. The Democracy oppose it now, as in all past time. If the white race is to be humiliated by sneaking behind the negro and getting him to govern us, it shall not be said that we consented to it. The Abolitionists, on the contrary, are fully for it, and though some of them hesitate to avow it, their can be no question that it is one of their most cherished projects.

They propose to accomplish their purpose by using the power of the General Government to force it upon the States where the people oppose it and the laws forbid it. Nobody we know and they know and everybody else knows, that the Federal Government has no power, authority or jurisdiction whatever over the subject, and that no Federal officer could take a single step in their direction without violating the Constitution which he is sworn to support. This in the mind of Dunbar, is conclusive; but such an argument is literally thrown away upon the Abolitionists. Perhaps, indeed, they like the thing all the better for being unconstitutional. Let us consider the other reasons.

We oppose negro suffrage, not from any prejudice or ill feeling against them, for we have none, and will have none, as long as they remain in the places to which nature and the laws of the country have assigned them. But this government was made by our ancestors, the white men of our country, and transmitted to us in the regular course of descent. When the negro demands possession of it, whether in whole or part, it is the right and the duty of every white man to answer him as Ahab was answered when he wanted Naboth's vineyard for a garden of herbs: "God forbid that I should give the inheritance of my fathers unto thee."

We refuse to give up this inheritance, not merely because it is ours but because we know that if we gave it to the negroes it would be utterly spoi