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Miscellaneous.

SOLDIERS' UNION CONVENTION.

A Thousand Brave Heroes in Council

Immense and Enthusiastic Gathering.

President Johnson's Policy Endorsed.

Congress Severely Rebuked.

The Veterans Moving for Clymer.

The Pittsburg Convention a Fraud on the Soldiers!

The Hero of Snickersville Repudiated.

The Boys in Blue Still Fight for the Union.

All Parts of the State Fully Represented

The Sentiment of the Soldiers Throughout Pennsylvania Bitterly Hostile to the Radicals.

Letter from General H. W. Slocum—Speeches, Resolutions, &c.

Never was anything in the shape of a political movement a grander or more complete success than the Soldiers' Union Convention which assembled in the State Capitol yesterday. Nearly a thousand delegates were present, ranking from Brigadier General down to private, to speak as the representatives of the great body of the soldiers of Pennsylvania. It was a grand and spontaneous uprising of the men who so nobly did battle for the Union. As they rallied without hope of reward or expectation of bounty, in the first year of the war, to defend the flag when an insolent foe insulted it, so did they come up in their majesty and their might to repudiate the work of a set of radical shoulder-strapped ex-officials who presumed to say that they spoke for the soldiers of the Keystone State in the Convention which assembled at Pittsburg on the 5th of June last. Every county in the Commonwealth was represented by men who served their time in the armies of the Union as volunteer soldiers. A convention of such magnitude was never convened in this State. Our ordinary political conventions are composed of 133 delegates, and a full convention of that size is considered difficult to secure. Here was a convention more than six times as large assembled on very short notice, representing not only every Legislative district, but every county in the State.

The afternoon trains of Tuesday brought large numbers of delegates, but it was not until after night that the great bulk of them arrived. At three o'clock in the morning the representatives of the Soldiers' and Sailors' Association of Philadelphia, over 300 strong, accompanied by Beck's celebrated brass band, arrived, and marched through the main street to the music of our National airs.

It was evident to every man who looked into the streets on Wednesday morning that the Soldiers' Union Convention was a grand and perfect success—a most magnificent and impressive demonstration. Accompanying the thousand delegates had come many of their old comrades, and the number of soldiers present can not be rated at less than three thousand.

WHO WERE DELEGATES.

Many remarkable incidents might have been gleaned in regard to this Convention by proper search. A few which fell under our casual observation are worthy of notice.

Beaver county sent a delegation of twelve men. Of these *nine were wounded soldiers* who had always voted against the Democratic party heretofore. They, brave fellows, had gone forth to fight for the Union, and they vowed they neither could nor would support a political organization which was endeavoring to render of no avail the sacrifices which they had voluntarily made.

Among the delegates from Somerset county were D. R. Lewis, adjutant of Surveyor General Campbell's regiment, the 54th, and Lieut. J. Lepley, both of them strong Republicans until recently.

Among the strong delegation from Cambria county was Captain John Humphreys, as brave a soldier as can be found anywhere. Captain Humphreys served his country throughout the Mexican war, and for three full years during the rebellion. When Geary was made Lieut. Colonel at Pittsburg, on the way to the seat of war in Mexico, John Humphreys was made captain of his company, and commanded it throughout the entire war, and at the battle of Chapultepec. The Captain gives a graphic description of the extra-*lying*-ordinary position of Geary during that fight.

Lawrence county, black as it is, only sent a single delegate to the Pittsburg Radical Convention, and he had been lying about Harrisburg during almost the entire war. She sent a full delegation of *nine* to this Convention, all of whom had served full four years or more in the field.

Beck's Brass Band, which accompanied the Philadelphia delegation, is largely composed of the original members of Geary's regimental band, and these men, who were under him until he was made a Brigadier, are unanimously and enthusiastically for Clymer.

There were many soldiers present who had served under Geary, not a few of whom had heretofore been Republicans.

These instances, a few out of many which might have been gathered, will serve to show the kind of men who made up this huge Convention of Union Soldiers, and may give the Radicals some indication of the manner in which Pennsylvania veterans will vote at the coming election.

The warm greetings of the returned veterans as they met after long separation was touching to behold. The friendships formed in camp, the ties closely knit on the battle-field, the fellowships cemented by blood, are necessarily strong, and must prove as lasting as life itself. How genuine were the bonds which united these men could be told by him who saw them meet and greet each other at this great convention of the Union soldiers of Pennsylvania.

ASSEMBLING OF THE CONVENTION.

Long before the hour fixed for the meeting of the Convention the Hall of the House was well filled. About 9½ o'clock Beck's splendid band entered, accompanying the Philadelphia delegation, and before the hour of 10 had arrived every seat and every spot of standing room on the floor was appropriated by the delegates, while the lobbies were filled with their comrades who had come from the remotest corners of the State to witness the proceedings. Not one-half the soldiers present were able even to get within hearing of the Convention. All day long the rotunda, the steps of the capitol and the windows were blocked up by an eager crowd of bronzed and stalwart veterans who wore the true air and bore the gait of military men. From time to time the loud cheers of those who were so fortunate as to get inside would be taken up and re-echoed by those without. The cheering showed training. It was more regular and more impressive than anything we ever heard at a political gathering before. The same kind of cheering which greeted a victory over the rebels, now announced the readiness of the Union soldiers to join battle with Northern Disunionists.

The appearance of this Convention was very remarkable. Here and there a face well known to the political world was to be seen. Indeed quite a number of leading Democratic politicians were here by right of having served honorably in high positions during the war; but the majority were new and comparatively young faces. He who looked on the vast throng must have been deeply struck with the great preponderance of fine, manly, physical forms and bronzed and bearded faces. These were the men of action, rather than of study. Yet there was abundant evidence of earnest thought and of well trained intellect in the countenances which made up the sea of faces assembled. The proceedings, the speeches and whole conduct of the Convention showed that a high order of intelligence prevailed among its members.

OLD BERKS.

Just before the Convention was called to order the delegation from "Old Berks" entered the hall. They were preceeded by the Ringgold brass Band and bore a banner on which was inscribed "Old Berks," 8,000 for Clymer. Cheer after cheer, such cheers as only Union soldiers can give, greeted them. To add to the intensity of the excitement, Becks' Band struck up a medley of the tunes so familiar to the "boys in blue." As they played "Hail Columbia," "The Star Spangled Banner," "Lincoln Soldiers Come," "Hurrah! Hurrah!" "Marching Along" and "The Union Forever," round after round of applause greeted the appropriate performance.

ORGANIZATION OF THE CONVENTION.

At 10 o'clock Gen. W. W. H. Davis rose to call the Convention to order. A hearty round of "three and a tiger" greeted him as he ascended the stand. The General said:

"The hour appointed having arrived, I now call this Convention to order; but before proceeding to business I would call the attention of the members of the Convention to the fact that I see in the crowd before me quite a number of one-legged soldiers standing."

Cries of "Here's a chair" resounded throughout the hall, and a hundred were offered at once. In a few brief and appropriate remarks General Davis congratulated his fellow-soldiers on the great promptitude with which they had responded to this second call of their country, and on the magnitude and imposing character of the assemblage.

General Jacob B. Sweitzer was elected temporary Chairman, and was received with the wildest cheers by the assembled multitude of returned veteran soldiers.

SPEECH OF GENERAL SWEITZER.

General Sweitzer, upon taking the chair, spoke as follows:

FELLOW-SOLDIERS: I thank you heartily for the unexpected honor you have conferred upon me in selecting me to preside for a time over this highly respectable assemblage. I shall not attempt to detain you by a speech. As has been stated by the Chairmen, this rooom is too small to hold this immense crowd with comfort on such a day as this, and it is but proper that I should detain you here as short a time as possible, or prevent you from getting to a locality in which you can perform your duties with more physical comfort.

Fellow-soldiers, the objects for which we have assembled here are well understood. They are set forth clearly, plainly, and honestly in the call here for this meeting. No man who is here now can say with truth that he has been entrapped or deceived or been overpowered by the voice of a packed Convention. Fellow-soldiers, we come here as men who have served our country in the field, and as such, assembled in a deliberative body, we would scorn to be guilty of a dishonest act. Is there any man here who does not agree with the sentiments and purposes to promote which this Convention has been called? If there be any such he has come here willingly, and not under any misapprehension. With these remarks, I will take my seat and we will proceed to organize. [Loud cries of "go on," "speech," etc.] Well, now, my friends, I have not been in the habit of making long speeches, but have always endeavored to be as short and as near to the point as I could. I may say, however, that we have very important duties to perform here—duties as important, my friends, as those we performed in the field. We have stricken their arms from the hands of the enemies of our country in the field, and now we have to strike down the enemies of our country at home. (Great applause.) I doubt not that you will work as heartily for the latter object as you did to accomplish the former. Why, my friends, they even attempted to brow beat us out of holding this Convention. [Let them try it."] They proclaimed in advance that they would like to see the men who would have the hardihood to come here; that none but skulkers, deserters and bounty jumpers would come here. Now, if the men who I see before me are skulkers, deserters and bounty jumpers I would like them to produce their soldiers. I see a goodly number of war-worn faces around me, and among you a large delegation from Pittsburg, every man of whom I know has served his full term in the field honorably and with credit to himself and his country. I pronounce the assertion of our political opponents to be a falsehood, unworthy of any set of men. They tell us we have no Major Generals or Brigadier Generals to support our cause. Do we not know that every man who refused to fall in with their extreme notions was ostracised, and could not get a commission, even though he himself should have taken Richmond? But, fellow-soldiers, I have already spoken longer than I intended.

The speaker resumed the chair amid long-continued rounds of applause.

The business of temporary organization was then proceeded with, and resulted in the following appointments as temporary secretaries: Captain Jeremiah J. Sullivan, 115th Regiment; Arthur C. Greenland, 49th Regiment; Lieut. John Hartman, 116th Regiment; Sergeant-Major Israel C. Becker, 4th Penna. Reserves; Adjutant Israel Uncufer, 11th Regiment. The gentlemen named were designated by acclamation.

The list of Representative districts was then called over, and every county in the State was found to be represented.

On motion of Capt. C. B. Brockway, the following committee of thirteen was appointed by the Chair to report permanent officers for the Convention:

Committee on Organization.—Capt. C. B. Brockway, 1st Pa. Artillery; Capt. C. D. Roush, 6th Res.; Capt. J. W. Ahl, 201st Pa.; Maj. H. M. Moody, 183d Pa.; Col. Owen Jones, 101st Pa. Cav.; Sergt. F. L. Coar, 104th Pa.; Dr. James Kerr, of Pittsburg; C. F. Eldred, 11th N. Y. Cav.; Private J. W. Conrad, 3d U. S. Art.; Corp. J. A. Haines, 150th Pa.; Capt. Milton Goundie, 2d Heavy Art.; Adjt. J. H. Odell, 30th Ohio; Col. James Jack, 168th Pa.

On motion of General Davis the Convention then took a recess of half an hour.

At 12 o'clock M., the Convention re-assembled. The following were reported from the Committee as permanent officers of the Convention:

Permanent Chairman—Gen. Wm. McCandless.

Vice Presidents.—Gen. Peter Lyle, 90th Pa.; Col. W. A. Leech, 90th Pa.; General John F. Ballier, 98th Pa.; Col. A. H. Tippin, 68th Pa.; Capt. J. M. C. Savage, 145th Pa.; Private John Wagner, 145th Pa.; Private Daniel Kreader, 104th Pa.; Col. T. H. Good, 47th Pa.; Col. John O'Neal, 3d Res.; Sergt. George Bierman, 9th Pa.; Capt. H. O. Thayer, 67th Pa.; Col. H. B. McKean, 6th Res.; Capt. John W. Gregory, 173d N. Y.; Major Charles Ryan, 136th Pa.; Col. S. Wilson, 8th Cav.; Private H. Whiteman, 11th Cav.; Private Joseph A. Stoter, 201st Pa.; Lieut. John A. Bitzer, 127th Pa.; Corp. J. H. Hegener, 122d; Colonel Levi Marsh, 130th Pa.; Capt. Adam Furgeson, 1st Pa. Art.; Capt. John H. Hite, 54th Pa.; Priv. G. W. Daisy; Col. B. M Morrow, 205th; Sergt. A. D. McPherson, 105th; Capt. David Bunker, 78th; Adjt. Israel Uncapher, 11th Vols.; Maj. J. A. Lowry; Col. Robert Anderson, 9th Res.; Capt. P. A. English, 17th Cav.; Sergt. S. K. McGinnis, 1st Pa. Light Art.; Col. Jno. S. McCalmant, 10th Res.

Secretaries.—Col. Jno. P. Linton, 54th Pa.; Corp. G. McKinney; Capt. Jno. Hart, 68th Pa.; Capt. J. P. Newall, 30th Iowa; Lieut. J. Lynn, 129th Pa.; Lieut. A. J. Smith, 11th Pa Cav.; Capt. C. F. Maguire, 90th Vol.; Lieut. Wm. Fullwood, 102d Pa.; Surgeon Abram Stout, 153d; Dr. William Church, 57th; Capt. John A. Corcoran, 104th; Col. B. McDermott, 54th; Captain Jeremiah Hoffman, 142d.

SPEECH OF GEN. M'CANDLESS.

General M'Candless was introduced to the body by General Sweitzer, in the following words: Fellow-Soldiers: It is not necessary for me to introduce your permanent Chairman, as you all seem to know him, but I beg leave to say that he is as gallant a soldier as ever drew a sword.

The Chairman elect (General M'Candless,) then said: Surviving Comrades—for I think that is the better term—I shall deem it a high honor to the last day of my life that I had the honor to preside over a convention of officers and men who have battled for the life of their country (applause), and that, too, under circumstances adverse as they have been for years; circumstances which have placed you, comrades, and myself, in a measure antagonistic to the political power of the Congress of our country. It is well that we should consider our position with all the care and attention that would be necessary in the preparation for a great battle in the field: because, in the field, where the battle was gained by the strong arm, we had brave hearts and willing hands; but now we have to fight the battle over again in our quiet homes, and the insidious politicians who waged war upon you while you battled for your country to keep themselves in their places, are wily and rich, and will endeavor to defeat by their cunning machinations, that object which we achieved by our blood and the treasures of the country. (Great applause).

Referring to the proud position of Pennsylvania as the Keystone of the Federal arch, the speaker remarked that it had been truly said that, as Pennsylvania goes so goes the Union, and it became the duty of those whom he saw before him to attack the political enemies of their cause with the same vim they had shown in attacking the enemies of the country in the field, in order that Pennsylvania might maintain her proud position in this great galaxy of States. He then incidentally stated the reasons for the assembling of this Soldier's Convention. Some of their former comrades in arms, against whom he would utter no word of disrespect, had been, as he believed misled, and as a consequence of that had held a convention at Pittsburg, in which they publicly proposed to state broadly and distinctly the sentiments that govern the soldiers of Pennsylvania. While fully appreciating their duty to their comrades, the members of the Convention had felt compelled, in self-defence, to call a meeting antagonistic in its objects to that held at Pittsburg, and to enter their earnest protest against the adoption of principles that were inimical to the success of the cause for which they took up arms. This Convention, therefore, had come together for the purpose of repudiating the Pittsburg Convention, and laying down a line of policy consistent with the maintenance of the Union of these States and the Constitution of the country, and which would vindicate the original policy under which those present had gone to war.

The speaker said that comparisons were always odious, and he did not desire to compare this Convention with that which met at Pittsburg. The lists of delegates here would be printed to the world, and those who sent them forth now invite every scrutiny into their personal character or their military honors won in the field. In the records of the War Department—the only place, perhaps, where mutilation did not deprive men of their just dues—there it would be seen that the men here to-day were those who went first and foremost to defend the liberties of their country, without extra bounty and reward. (Applause.) He continued: We are here then, for the purpose of maintaining the position that we adopted when we became soldiers of this great Union. We are now, as we were then, unalterably opposed to the doctrine of secession, or the power or right of a State to go out of this Union upon its own motion or by its own act. But we are equally opposed to that policy which would keep States out of the Union, when they ask in good faith to be permitted to return to their allegiance. (Great applause.) We stand or fall upon that position, and, in the language of a great soldier, "We will fight it out on that line, if it takes all summer." You, my comrades, know as well as I do, how clear and distinct was the policy of the present Radical party in the Congress of the United States when we were called upon to defend the liberties of our country. Need I refer to the joint resolution passed in their respective bodies, in which they avowed that this war was not prosecuted for any other purpose (taking it all in one sentence) than for the maintenance of the Union and the vindication of the honor of the flag. How clear that is. The only wonder to my mind is that any man who entered the service under that call, and battled for the liberties of his country, can now advocate any other principle than that which was so explicitly enunciated at that time. This purpose, for which the war was inaugurated and carried on, was also distinctly declared by our late President, Mr. Lincoln: he laid down broadly the same line of policy. But, oh! my comrades, you know how they deserted the cause for which we were enlisted, and in what a position they placed you and me and every soldier whose dearest sentiment was the welfare of his country, when they changed their base upon the line of operation on which we had entered. I venture to say to you to-day, that there is not an unprejudiced, fair-minded lawyer in the State of Pennsylvania who will not say that the Congress of the United States, in changing front upon the resolution of 1861, may for sufficient reasons, be indicted by any grand jury in the land—not a "packed" jury, either, as Underwood would have it. They are guilty first, of false pretense, and secondly, of high-handed crime—crime which will cause the blood of our slaughtered comrades to rise in vengeance until this generation—aye, and the next, shall have passed away.

The speaker proceeded in this strain to enumerate specific instances of faithlessness to the soldier in the legislative department of the government, by which, he charged the love of political domination and personal ambition had taken the place of a wise governmental policy. In this connection he introduced the name of General McClellan, which was received with enthusiastic cheers, repeated again and again, by the entire assemblage. That soldier, when called to the command of the armies of the United States, was selected for his wisdom in the council as well as his experience in military affairs. He sought to carry on the war as a means of maintaining the Union, and vindicating the integrity of the Constitution and the laws, thus following merely the straightforward policy laid down by the Congress of the United States and the President, for the conduct of a war, gigantic in its proportions, and on the result of which depended the cause of constitutional liberty, not only in our great Union, but throughout the entire world.

When on the Peninsula, the speaker had the honor to be connected with, and for a period of one year to command the old Pennsylvania Reserves.

He charged upon the Secretary of War the responsibility of withholding from the support of the Army of the Potomac the whole force under General McDowell, which if it had been allowed to join the Army of the Potomac at the time of the seven days' battles, would have enabled that army to crush all opposition, to change a defensive into an offensive campaign, and to enter victorious into the City of Richmond. But it did not suit the purposes of certain powers that ruled to end the war thus speedily, and the result was known to the nation. The blood of every man slaughtered during those seven days of sanguinary conflict, cried aloud from the earth against the policy of the Radicals in this country. However, notwithstanding the injustice previously done him, McClellan at a subsequent period of the war promptly answered the call of the government, and under his lead the old Army of the Potomac, crippled with disasters, again met the flower of the South at Antietam, and rescued the country from destruction.

Referring to the various issues of the day the speaker said that those with whom he associated politically, did not propose to attack the African or any other race that would assist to maintain the integrity of the country. He was willing to leave the negro where the Constitution of the country and the Constitution of Pennsylvania placed him. In answer to the sneer of the other side, that though there were many in the army entertaining the sentiments which the speaker expressed, none of them had ever attained a high position, he remarked that had such men proven themselves as brave as Julius Cæsar, and as able in strategy as the first Napoleon, and yet refused to bow the knee to the black idol of abolitionism, no bright star would ever adorn their shoulders.

The remarks of the speaker were frequently interrupted with applause, and upon the conclusion of the speech, which was entirely extemporaneous, the convention evinced its appreciation by hearty cheers.

On motion, the following soldiers from the different Senatorial districts of the State were appointed a Committee on Resolutions:

General W. W. H. Davis, Chairman.
1st District—Col. W. D. Lewis, 110th.
2d District—Sergt. A. C. Schank, 106th.
3d District—Private Saml. Cloak, 72d.
4th District—Lieut. C. Kneass, 8th cav.
5th District—Adj. C. L. Lyon, 20th cavalry; Harry Coward, Mast. U. S. N.
6th District—Capt. L. Swarzberger, 104th.
7th District—Private W. H. Sowden, 128th.
8th District—Dr. H. M. Nagle, 11th.
9th District—Lieut. James Ellis, 48th.
10th District—Sergt. P. F. Killdeer, 1st U. S. Dragoons.
11th District—Capt. P. M. Burr, 52d.
12th District—Lieut. S. D. Dean, 61st.
13th District—Lt. Col. C. A. Winn, 58th.
14th District—Lieut. A. B. Tate, 130th.
15th District—Gen. W. H. Ent.
16th District—Col. E. L. Witman, 210th.
17th District—Lieut. Col. Fred. S. Pyfor, 77th; Capt. John Wise, 9th cavalry.
18th District—Capt. Wm. Penn Lloyd, 1st cavalry.
19th District—Sergt. A. Tergetoff, Signal Corps.
20th District—Capt. Thos. H. Lyons, 22d cavalry.
21st District—Gen. J. A. Mathews, Major R. B. Petriken.
22d District—Capt. L. S. Cantnell, 8th Res.
23d District—Capt. J. S. McKeeman, 52d.
24th District—Major E. L. Keenan.
25th District—Lt. J. A. Dunlang, Knapp's Battery; Private Christian Miller, 9th.
26th District—Corp. Thos. Clark, 104th
27th District—Capt. W. M'Lelland, 1st ar.
28th District—Col. J. B. M'Allister, 17th cavalry.
29th District—Lieut. Col. W. O. Celt, 83d.

On motion of Capt. A. J. Crissman, 84th Pa., a committee was appointed to wait on Hiester Clymer and ask him to address the Convention. The announcement that Mr. Clymer was in town was the signal for cheer after cheer for our gallant and popular candidate.

Major Keenan, of Westmoreland offered a resolution providing for the appointment of delegates from this Convention to that of the 14th. After some discussion the matter was referred to the Committee on Resolutions.

The Convention then adjourned until 3 o'clock, resolving to meet in the Capitol grounds.

THIRD SESSION.

The body re-assembled at 3 o'clock in the hall of the House. Colonel J. S. McCalmont, Tenth Reserves, took the chair, and stated that he had been deputed by the President of the Convention to act in his stead until his arrival. In the course of some remarks, he stated that he had been informed that the flag which had been waving over the Capitol during the morning had been lowered. If such was the case, and the act was intentional, it would not become the Convention to remain longer in the Capitol. They had not re-convened in the Capitol grounds, as was proposed, in consequence of the intense heat of the sun, and the insufficiency of accommodations, but if there was any truth in the report, they would re-assemble there immediately.

John H. Brimmer, of the Harrisburg *Patriot and Union*, explained to the satisfaction of the Convention that the national colors had not been raised upon the dome since the 4th of July, as it was not customary to hoist the flag except on that day and during the sessions of the Legislature.

On motion, a committee was then appointed to procure a flag and raise it above the capitol, and after some time the committee reported, having discharged the duty assigned them.

While the Convention was waiting for the committee on resolutions to report, short addresses were delivered by Colonel Levi Marsh, of York, Hon. Wm. H. Miller, of Harrisburg, Captain C. B. Brockway and Colonel J. S. McAlmant.

CAPTAIN BROCKWAY'S SPEECH.

Captain Brockway is well known to the Democracy of Pennsylvania through his speech made last fall at the Great Knob Mountain Meeting. It was decidedly *the* speech of the campaign, and was published by almost every Democratic newspaper in the State. Captain Brockway was greeted with loud cheers when he rose to address the Convention.

He alluded to the fact that he was only to speak in order to fill up the time which might elapse until the Committee on Resolutions reported. That might be within ten minutes, and he would select no theme on which to make a speech. He proceeded to contrast the Soldiers Union Convention with the radical affair which assembled at Pittsburg on the 5th of June. The Convention before him he considered as superior in other respects as it was larger in numbers! He might, if he chose to do so, give them a chapter from the record of a Court Martial which would present the character of the man who presided over the Pittsburg Convention in the most unenviable light, when compared with that of the President of this Convention. He had the documents with him. Here loud cries arose demanding the reading of the record alluded to, and Captain Brockway proceeded to read the following General Order regarding the President of the Radical Pittsburg Convention:

GENERAL ORDERS, No. 168.

HEADQUARTERS ARMY OF THE POTOMAC, CAMP NEAR KNOXVILLE, MD., October 24, 1862.

I. Before a General Court Martial, of which Brigadier General W. S. Hancock, Volunteer Service, is President, convened at the Headquarters of the 2nd and 12th Corps, at Harper's Ferry, by virtue of General Orders, No. 22, issued by command of Major General Sumner, commanding said 2nd and 12th Corps, under date of October 7th, 1862, was arraigned and tried Colonel *Joshua T. Owen*, 69th Regiment Pennsylvania Volunteers, on the following charges and specifications:

CHARGE 1ST.—"Violation of the 50th Article of War."

Specification—"In this; that Colonel J. T. Owen, 69th Pennsylvania Volunteers, at or near Bolivar Heights, Virginia, on or about the 4th of October, 1862, left his Regiment, which had been detailed for the picket guard, so that the Regiment proceeded to its post and performed its tour of duty without him."

CHARGE 2ND.—"Conduct prejudicial to good order and military discipline."

Specification—"In this; that Colonel J. T. Owen, 69th Pennsylvania Volunteers was much under the influence of liquor on or about the afternoon or evening of the 4th of October, 1862, at or near Harper's Ferry, Virginia, and very abusive of his Lieutenant Colonel, Dennis O'Kane, cursing and calling him names."

CHARGE 3RD.—"Conduct unbecoming an officer and gentleman."

Specification—"In this; that Colonel J. T. Owen, 69th Pennsylvania Volunteers, did call his Lieutenant Colonel, Dennis O'Kane, a 'son of a b—ch,' in the presence of his daughter, Miss O'Kane; that he made improper and offensive requests of the young lady and her father; for example, insisting that the young lady should sleep in his tent. All this at or near Harper's Ferry, Virginia, on or about the 4th of October, 1862."

To which charges and specifications the accused pleaded as follows:
To the *Specification* of 1st Charge, "Not Guilty."
To the 1st CHARGE, "Not Guilty."
To the *Specification* of 2nd Charge, "Not Guilty."
To the 2nd CHARGE, "Not Guilty."
To the *Specification* of 3rd Charge, "Not Guilty."
To the 3rd CHARGE, "Not Guilty."

After mature deliberation on the evidence adduced, the Court found the accused as follows:
Of the *Specification*, 1st Charge, "Guilty."
Of the 1st CHARGE, "Guilty."
Of the *Specification*, 2nd Charge, "Guilty."
Of the 2nd CHARGE, "Guilty."
Of the *Specification*, 3d Charge, "Not Guilty."
Of the 3rd CHARGE, "Not Guilty."

And the Court does therefore sentence him, the said *Joshua T. Owen*, Colonel of the 69th Pennsylvania Volunteers, "To be dismissed from the service of the United States."

The finding and sentence of the Court are fully supported by the testimony, and are approved by the Major General Commanding.

It appears that, on the 4th of October, 1862, the Regiment of the accused was encamped near Harper's Ferry; that the forenoon of the day was passed by the accused at the Headquarters of his Brigade, in attendance upon a Court of Inquiry on the question of rank between himself and another officer; that he was then very much intoxicated; that at half past twelve o'clock he left the Headquarters to get his dinner, the accused claiming to have received a general permission from his Commanding Officer to dine at a house near the camp; that, instead of returning to his Regiment, he was found late in the afternoon, in the streets of Harper's Ferry, very drunk, and engaged in a scandalous quarrel and collision with the Lieutenant Colonel of his own Regiment, by whom he was pulled from his horse and thrown violently upon the ground; that after dark he was arrested by the Provost Guard for being absent from his camp without a permit, and was held in custody until next morning. In the meantime, at three o'clock P. M., his Regiment had been ordered and had proceeded upon a tour of picket duty.

No comment of the General Commanding can add any force to the above recital of facts.

By Command of Major General McCLELLAN:
S. WILLIAMS, A. A. G.

The reading of the record of the court-martial elicited the wildest shouts and the most uproarious laughter. When he had concluded the reading, Captain Brockway said:

"If any Radical doubts the authenticity of the document I have read he can get a certified copy of the original by sending to Ed. Stanton, Secretary of War."

Captain Brockway proceeded to speak for some twenty minutes, his remarks eliciting the utmost enthusiasm.

The Committee on Resolutions, through their chairman, General Davis, then reported the following series. They were received with applause and unanimously adopted:

RESOLUTIONS.

WHEREAS, The Convention, managed and controlled by politicians, which assembled in Pittsburg on the 5th of June last, pledged the officers, soldiers and seamen of Pennsylvania to the support of the radical disunion measures of Congress, and as opposed to the just and constitutional restoration policy of President Johnson!

And whereas, The members of the said Convention falsely styled themselves the "Representatives of the soldiers and sailors of Pennsylvania," and presumed to speak for them without authority;

And whereas, The proceedings of the said Convention misrepresent the true sentiments of the great mass of the returned soldiers and sailors of this State and do great injustice to the late defenders of the Constitution and Union; therefore, be it

1. *Resolved*, That we, authorized representatives of our late companions in arms, do repudiate the proceedings of the Pittsburg convention of the 5th of June, because they do not represent the true sentiments of the officers, soldiers and seamen of Pennsylvania.

2. *Resolved*, That we hold the same belief now that we did when we took up arms in 1861, that the war was "a war for the Union," and for no other purpose; that the agreement we made with the Government when we took up arms to defend her against armed rebellion is found in the joint resolution of Congress adopted July 22d, 1861, which declares that "This war is not prosecuted on our part in any spirit of oppression, nor for any purpose of conquest or subjugation, but to defend and maintain the supremacy of the Constitution and to preserve the Union, with all the dignity, equality and rights of the several States unimpaired." This is the bond many sealed with their lives, and many others signed in blood.

3. *Resolved*, That the failure of Congress to carry into effect this joint resolution, after the war is over, and to restore the Union, "*with all the dignity, equality and rights of the several States unimpaired*," is a gross violation of a solemn compact made with the defenders of the Government at her time of greatest need and peril.

4. *Resolved*, That we repudiate the action of the radical Congress, which is an insult to every officer, soldier and seamen who served in the Federal army during the rebellion. Her policy admits that our victories accomplished what the enemy could not—divide the Union—and the fruits of our toil and blood-bought victories turn to ashes in their hands.

5. *Resolved*, That we cordially endorse the restoration policy of President Johnson, as announced in his annual, special and veto messages, and as further made known to the country in his treatment of the States lately in rebellion. We believe it to be just and humane, and better adapted than any other known policy, to restore those States to their constitutional relations to the Union, and bring renewed peace, happiness and prosperity to the country. It is in keeping with that generous treatment which a magnanimous victor always extends to a brave foe.

6. *Resolved*, That the action of Congress in refusing seats to the Senators and Members from the South who bear true allegiance to the Constitution and laws, while that body is engaged in changing the fundamental law of the country in an important particular, is revolutionary in its action; while their conduct in taxing the South without her consent, strikes at the vital principle of constitutional liberty—that there can be no taxation without representation.

7. *Resolved*, That we are opposed to negro suffrage. All legislation that has for its object the raising of the negro to a social or political equality with the white man, or to make him the pet of the nation, meets our unqualified disapproval. He and his friends should be satisfied that the war has given his race the boon of freedom and should not aim to control the destinies of the country.

8. *Resolved*, That we return thanks to Almighty God for giving victory to the Federal armies over armed insurgents, and we congratulate the country upon a return of peace. It is as much our duty now to use our best endeavors to heal up the wounds of the rebellion as it was to take up arms in defence of the Union.

9. *Resolved*, That we deny that John W. Geary is the soldiers' candidate for Governor of Pennsylvania. He is the choice of the Radicals who are now plotting to destroy the Union we periled our lives to preserve. The men who placed him in nomination, and who are now his most active supporters, repudiate the object of our war by declaring the South out of the Union. By accepting their nomination he assumes their principles, which violates everything he professed to contend for in the field.

10. *Resolved*, That we endorse the nomination of Hon. Hiester Clymer, Democratic candidate for Governor of Pennsylvania, because he is a man of integrity, and a statesman of experience, and approves the principles we advocate. We call upon our late companions in arms in this State to rally to his support, for his election will be an endorsement of the cause for which we fought and bled, while his defeat will be a defeat to the cause of the Union.

11. *Resolved*, That the Radicals in Congress, professing to speak for the majority of the people, have recently testified their preference for the negro by appropriating monies to support him in idleness, by the payment to him of a bounty of three hundred dollars, and their repudiation of the white soldier and his claims, by the passage of a bounty bill allowing but one hundred dollars to him, without even a provision appropriating money for the payment of the same, thus disregarding his faithful and patriotic services, demonstrates to the country their belief in the assertion that "the negro bears the palm."

12. *Resolved*, That we, the soldiers of Pennsylvania, in Convention assembled, do return our sincere thanks to the Hon. Charles R. Buckalew and Hon. Edgar Cowan, our representatives in the Senate of the United States, for their noble conduct in sustaining the President's policy of restoration.

LETTER FROM GEN. H. W. SLOCUM.

The following admirable letter from Gen. H. W. Slocum, Geary's commander, was received and read:

BROOKLYN, N. Y., July 27, 1866.

Col. W. W. H. Davis.

DEAR SIR: I have the honor of acknowledging the receipt of your letter inviting me to be present at the Soldiers' Convention to be held at Harrisburg, on the 1st of August. I regret that my engagements are such as to deprive me of the pleasure of accepting your invitation.

When the Confederate soldiers, in the spring of 1865, surrendered their arms and returned to their homes, we assumed that the object of our great work was nearly accomplished. When we witnessed at that time the kind feelings manifested by our officers and soldiers towards their late opponents, we felt assured that all hatred and bitterness between the two sections of our country would eventually cease to exist, and that slavery, the great cause of our troubles, having been removed, we should soon have a better and more perfect Union than we have ever before known.

When a few days later the President announced the terms and conditions upon which he was willing to restore to the Southern people all their former rights and privileges, and these people cheerfully accepted and complied with each and every one of his conditions, we certainly had reason to look for the immediate restoration of the Union. But in this we have been disappointed. There exists at home an army which is not actuated by the feelings which moved the men composing the armies of Grant and Sherman—men who were ready to grasp the hands of their late antagonists as soon as those hands were no longer raised against our government. There exists among us a political party which, for the purpose of retaining power, has prevented the restoration of the Union which was to be the sole object of the war—a party which would hold a portion of the States in subjection, teaching the rising generation in both sections lessons of jealousy and hatred, instead of seeking to make them forget the bitter past, and become, as they must become, if our Union is ever to be of value, one people in interest and feeling. This party, until Congress assembled, indignantly denied any intention of postponing the restoration of the Union, and appealed to the people for support on the ground of being the only faithful and reliable friends of the President and his policy. This mask has now been dropped, and the issue before the people is clear and unmistakable. Let those who fought for a restoration of the Union now come forward and vote for it, and our victory is assured.

Very respectfully, etc.,
H. W. SLOCUM.

When General Davis had finished reading the above letter the crowd, many of whom had served under him, involuntarily burst into cheers for the gallant writer.

On motion, President was authorized to appoint a committee of ten, to wait on President Johnson and to lay before him the proceedings of the Convention, with assurances of the hearty support of the Union soldiers of Pennsylvania.

After the transaction of some business of minor importance the Convention adjourned to wait on Hon. Hiester Clymer, General McCandless ordered the soldiers to "fall in by sections of fours," which they did with the alacrity of veterans, and marched to the Bolton House, where Mr. Clymer was stopping. General McCandless introduced him to the soldiers as "the next Governor of Pennsylvania." Round after round of enthusiastic cheers greeted his appearance, showing how widely and truly popular he is with the Union soldiers of the Keystone State.

Mr. Clymer, during his speech, was momentarily interrupted by loud and continued applause.

After he had finished, calls were made for Hon. Wm. A. Wallace, who made a most telling speech.

Thus happily terminated the proceedings of the largest and most enthusiastic Convention ever held in Pennsylvania. Surely no further evidence will be needed to show how completely the soldiers repudiate the Radicals and their candidate for Governor.

Senator Manning is among the delegates from Georgia to the Philadelphia Convention.

Political Preaching.

Judge Black in Reply to Rev. Alfred Nevin, D. D.

A Letter Which Every Man Should Read.

My Dear Sir:—Your letter addressed to me through the Philadelphia Evening *Bulletin* disappoints me; because I did not expect it to come in that way, and because it does not cover the subject in issue between us. But if I am silent your friends will say with some show of reason, that you have vindicated "*Political Preaching*" so triumphantly that all opposition is confounded. I must therefore speak freely in reply. In doing so, I mean to say nothing inconsistent with my great respect for your high character in the church and in the world. The admirable style and temper of your own communication deserves to be imitated.

I fully concede the right you claim for clergymen to select their own themes and handle them as they please. You say truly, that neither lawyers, nor physicians nor any other order of men have the least authority to control you in these particulars. But you will not deny that this is a privilege which may be abused; you expressly admit that some clergymen *have* abused it, "*and by doing so did more than any other class of men to commence and continue the late rebellion.*" While, therefore, we can assert no power to dictate your conduct, much less to force you, we are surely not wrong when we *entreat* you to impose upon *yourselves* those restrictions, which reason and revelation have shown to be necessary for the good of the church and the safety of civil society.

I acknowledge that your commission is a very broad one. You must "declare the whole counsel of God," to the end that sinners may be convinced and converts built up in their most holy faith. Truth, justice, temperance, humility, mercy, peace, brotherly kindness, charity—the whole circle of the christian virtues—must be assiduously taught to your hearers; and if any of them be inclined to the opposite vices, you are to denounce them without fear, by private admonition, by open rebuke, or by a general delivery of the law which condemns them. You are not bound to pause in the performance of this duty because it may offend a powerful ruler or a strong political party. Nor should you shrink from it when bad men, for their own purposes, approve what you do. Elevate the moral character, enlighten the darkness, and purify the hearts of those who are under your spiritual charge, at all hazards; for this is the work which your great Taskmaster has given you to do, and he will admit no excuse for neglecting it.

But this is precisely what the political preacher is *not* in the habit of doing. He directs the attention of his hearers away from their own sins to the sins, real or imputed, of other people. By teaching his congregation that they are better than other men he fills their hearts with self-conceit, bigotry, spiritual pride, envy, hatred, malice and all uncharitableness. Instead of the exhortation, which they need, to take the beam out of their own eye he incites them to pluck the mote from their brother's. He does not tell them what they shall do to be saved, but he instructs them very carefully how they shall act for the destruction of others. He rouses and encourages to the utmost of his ability, those brutal passions which result in riot, bloodshed, spoliation, civil war and general corruption of morals.

You commit a grievous error in supposing that politics and religion are so mingled together that you cannot preach one without introducing the other. Christ and his apostles kept them perfectly separate. They announced the great facts of the Gospel to each individual whom they addressed. When these were accepted the believer was told to repent and be baptized for the remission of his sins, and afterwards to regulate his own life by the rules of a pure and perfect morality. They expressed no preference for one form of government over another, they provoked no political revolutions, and they proposed no legal reforms. If they had done so they would have flatly contradicted the declaration that Christ's Kingdom was not of this world, and Christianity itself would have died out in half a century. But they accepted the relations which were created by human law and exhorted their disciples to discharge faithfully the duties which arose out of them. Though the laws which defined the authority of husbands, parents, masters and magistrates were as bad as human perversity could make them, yet the early christians contented themselves with teaching moderation in the exercise of legal power, and uniformly inculcated the virtues of obedience and fidelity upon wives, children, slaves and subjects. They joined in no clamors for or against any administration, but simply testified against sin before the only tribunal which Christ ever erected on earth; that is to say, the conscience of the sinner himself. The vice of political preaching was wholly unknown to the primitive church.

It is true that Paul counselled obedience to the government of Nero; and I am aware that modern clergymen interpret his words as a justification of the doctrine that support of an existing administration is "part of their allegiance to God." Several Synods and other ecclesiastical bodies have solemnly *resolved* something to that effect. But they forget that what Paul advised was simple submission, not active assistance, to Nero. The Christians of that day did not endorse his atrocities merely because he was "the administration duly placed in power." They did not go with him to the theatre, applaud his acting, or praise him in the churches when he kidnapped their brethren, set fire to a city, or desolated a province. Nor did they assist at his apotheosis after his death, or pronounce funeral sermons to show that he was greater than Scipio, more virtuous than Cato, and more eloquent than Cicero. Political preachers would have done this, but Paul and Peter did no such thing.

There is nothing in the Scriptures to justify the Church in applying its discipline to any member for offences purely political, much less for his mere opinions or feelings on public affairs. The clergy are without authority, as they are often without fitness, to decide for their congregations what is right or what is wrong in the legislation of the country. They are not called or sent to propagate any kind of political doctrine. The Church and the State are entirely separate and distinct in their origin, their object, and the sphere of their action; insomuch that the organism of one can never be used for any purpose of the other without injury to both.

Do I therefore say that the Christian religion is to have no influence on the political destiny of man? Far from it. Notwithstanding the unfaithfulness of many professors, it has already changed the face of human society; and it will yet accomplish its mission by spreading peace, independence, truth, justice and liberty regulated by law, "from the sea to the uttermost ends of the earth." But this will be accomplished only by reforming and elevating the individuals of whom society is composed; not by exasperating communities against each other; not by any alliance with the governments of the world; not by any vulgar partnership with politicians to kill and plunder their enemies.

Every time you reform a bad man and bring his character up to the standard of Christian morality, you make addition, greater or less, to that righteousness which exalteth a nation, and subtract an equal sum from the sin which is a reproach to any people. Sometimes a single conversation is extremely important in its immediate effect upon the public interest of a whole nation. No doubt the acceptance of the truth by Dionysius the Areopagite, had much to do in moulding the subsequent laws and customs of Athens. The conversion of Constantine was followed by the instant abrogation of all laws which fettered the conscience. In the reign of Theodosius the people of Thessalonica rose against the Roman garrison and killed its commander. For this act of rebellion the Emperor decreed against them the curse of an indiscriminate war, in which the guilty and the innocent were confounded together in one general slaughter. His spiritual "guide, philosopher, and friend" at the time was Ambrose, Archbishop of Milan, who boldly denounced his cruelty, refused to give him the Sacrament, or even to administer it in his presence, compelled him to take his seat among the penitents on the portico of the church and induced him to humble his diadem in the dust for eight months in succession. The conscience of the Emperor was thoroughly awakened; his subsequent reign was distinguished by justice and mercy, the integrity of the empire was preserved in peace, and the great Theodosian code, the product of that bitter repentance, is still read and quoted for its admirable union of humanity and policy. Ambrose produced these consequences by acting in the true capacity of a Christian minister; for he reformed the criminal by a direct appeal to his own heart. A political preacher in the same circumstances would have inflamed the sanguinary passions of the monarch, by exaggerating the treason of the Thessalonians, and counselling the military execution of all who presumed to sympathize in their sufferings.

You will see, I think, the distinction I would make. A gospel preacher addresses the conscience of his hearers for the honest purpose of converting them from the error of their ways; a political preacher speaks to one community, one party or one sect, and his theme is the wickedness of another. The latter effects no religious purpose whatever; but the chances are ninety-nine in a hundred that he excites the bad passions of those who are present, while he slanders the absent and undefended. Both classes of preachers frequently speak upon the same or similar subjects, but they do so with different objects and aims.

I will make my meaning more clear by taking your own illustrations. You believe in the first day of the week as a Sabbath, and so believing your duty undoubtedly is to exhort all persons under your charge to observe it strictly; but you have no right to preach a crusade against the Jews and Seventh-day Baptists, to get intolerant laws enacted against them for keeping Saturday as a day of rest. If drunkenness be a sin which easily besets your congregation, you may warn them against it, and inasmuch as abstinence is always easier than moderation, you should advise them to taste not, touch not, and handle not; but your position gives you no authority to provoke violent hostilities against tavern-keepers, liquor dealers, or distillers. If any of your hearers be ignorant or coarse enough to desire more wives than one a piece, you should certainly teach them that polygamy is the worst feature of Asiatic manners, inconsistent with Christianity and dangerous to domestic happiness; but you cannot lawfully urge them to carry fire and sword into the territory of the Mormons, merely because some of the Mormons are in this respect less holy than you. If the holding of slaves or bond servants be a practical question among the members of your church, I know of nothing which forbids you to teach whatever you conscientiously believe to be true on that subject. But in a community where slavery is not only unknown, but impossible, why should any preacher make it the subject of his weekly vituperation? You do not improve the religion of the slaveholder by traducing his character, nor mend the spiritual condition of your own people by making them thirst for the blood of their fellow-men.

If any person, to whom the service of another is due by the laws of the State in which he lives, shall need your instructions to regulate his personal conduct towards the slave, you are bound in the first place to tell him, that as long as that relation exists, he should behave with the utmost humanity and kindness; for this you have the clear warrant of the Apostolic example and precept. In dealing with such a person you may go as much further as your own conscientious interpretation of the Bible will carry you. If you are sure that the divine law does, under all circumstances, make the mere existence of such a relation sinful on the part of the master, you should induce him to dissolve it by the immediate emancipation of his slaves; for that is truth to you which you believe to be true. But where is the authority for preaching hatred of those who understand the scripture differently? What privilege can you show for exciting servile insurrection? Who gave you the right to say that John Brown was better than any other thief or murderer merely because his crimes were committed against pro-slavery men?

I think the minister, in his pulpit discourses, is forbidden to touch at all upon that class of subjects which are purely political; such for instance as the banking law, tariff, railroad charters, State rights, the naturalization laws and negro suffrage. These are questions of mere political expediency; religion takes no cognizance of them; they come within the sole jurisdiction of the statesman; and the church has no more right to take sides upon them than the civil government has to use its legislative, judicial or executive power for the purpose of enforcing principles wholly religious.

In short, if I am not entirely mistaken, a christian minister has no authority to preach upon any subjects, except those in which divine revelation has given him an infallible rule of faith and practice; and, even upon them, he must speak always for the edification of his own hearers, "rightly dividing the word of truth" so as to lead them in the way of all righteousness. When he does more than this he goes beyond his commission, he becomes a scurvy politician and his influence is altogether pernicious.

The use of the clerical office for the purpose of propagating political doctrines under any circumstances, or with any excuse, is in my judgment not only without authority, but it is the highest crime that can be committed against the government of God or man. Perhaps I ought not to make this broad assertion without giving some additional reasons for it.

In the first place it is grossly dishonest. I employ you as a minister, pay your salary and build you a church because I have confidence in your theological doctrines. But you may be at the same time wholly unfit for my political leader. Now you are guilty of a base fraud upon me, if, instead of preaching religion, you take advantage of the position I have given you to ventilate your crude and ignorant notions on State affairs. I have asked for bread and you give me a stone; instead of the fish I bargained for, you put into my hands a serpent that stings and poisons me.

It destroys the unity of the church. There is no room for rational dispute about the great truths of Christianity; but men will never agree upon political subjects, for human government is at best but a compromise of selfish interests and conflicting passions. When you mix the two together you break the church into fragments, and instead of "one Lord, one faith and one baptism" you create a thousand warring sects, and substitute the proverbial bitterness of the *odium theologicum* for the "charity which thinketh no evil."

No one will deny that a union of church and state is always the cause of bad government, perverted religion and corrupt morals. I do not mean merely that legal union which exists in European countries. That is bad enough; but you have less common sense than I give you credit for, if you do not see, that this adulterous connexion assumes its most polluting form when the church is voluntarily prostituted by her own ministers to a political party in a popular government.

The evil influence of such connexions upon Church and State is easily accounted for. Both of them in combination will do what either would recoil from if standing alone. A politician, backed by the promise of the clergy to sustain him, can safely defy honesty and trample upon law, for do what he may, he is assured of clerical support here and of heaven hereafter. The clergy on the other hand, and those who are under their influence, easily acquire the habit of praising indiscriminately whatever is done by their public men. Acting and reacting on one another they go down together in the direction of the pit that is bottomless; and both are found to have "a strange alacrity at sinking."

No man can serve two masters faithfully; for he must hate one if he loves the other. A minister, who admires and follows such men as those who have lately ruled and ruined this country, must necessarily despise the character of Christ. If he glorifies the cruelty, rapacity and falsehood of his party leaders, he is compelled by an inflexible law of human nature to "deny the Lord who bought him."

The experience of fifteen centuries proves that political preachers are the great curse of the world. More than half the bloody wars which at different periods have desolated Christendom, were produced by their direct instigation; and wherever they have thrust themselves into a contest commenced by others, they always envenomed the strife and made it more cruel, savage and uncompromising. The religious wars, so-called, had nothing religious about them except that they were hissed up by the clergy. Look back and see if this be not true.

The Arian controversy (the first great schism) was followed by wars in which millions of lives were lost—Do you suppose the real quarrel was for the insertion or omission of *filioque* in that part of the creed which describes the procession of the Holy Ghost? Did a *homoousian* slaughter his brother because he was a *homoiousian?* No, it was not the difference of a dipthong, but the plunder of an empire that they fought for. It was the politics of the church, not her religion, that infuriated the parties and converted men into demons.

The Thirty Years War in Germany is often supposed to have been a fair stand up fight between the two leading forms of Christianity. It was not so. The religious difference was a false pretence of the political preachers for the promotion of their own schemes. There was not a sane man on all that continent, who would have felt himself impelled by motives merely religious, to murder his neighbor for believing or disbelieving in transubstantiation. If proof of this were wanting, it might be found in the fact, that long before the war ended, the sectarian cries were abandoned, and Catholics, as well as Protestants, were fighting on both sides.

It is utterly impossible to believe that the clergy of England and Scotland, if they had not been politicians, would have thought of waging bloody wars to settle questions of election and reprobation, fate, foreknowledge, free will, and other points of metaphysical theology. Nor would they, apart from their politics, have encouraged and committed the other horrid crimes of which they were guilty in the name of religion.

Can you think that the Irish were invaded, and conquered, and oppressed, and murdered, and robbed for centuries, merely because the English loved and believed in the Protestant religion? I suppose you know, that those brutal atrocities were carried on for the purpose of giving to political preachers in England possession of the churches, cathedrals, glebe lands and tythes which belonged to the Irish Catholics. The soldier was also rewarded by confiscations and plunder. The church and the state hunted in couples, and Ireland was the prey which they ran down together.

Coming to our own country you find Massachusetts and Connecticut in colonial times under the sole domination of political preachers. Their treacherous wars upon the Indians for purposes wholly mercenary; their enslaving of white persons, as well as red ones, and selling them abroad, or "swapping them for blackamoors;" their whipping, imprisoning and killing Quakers and Baptists, for their conscientious opinions; and their base treatment of such men as Roger Williams and his friends, will mark their government through all times as one of the cruelest and meanest that ever existed.

Political preachers have not behaved any better since the revolution than before. About the commencement of the present century they were busy in their vile vocation all over New England and continued it for many years. The wilful and deliberate slanders habitually uttered from the pulpit against Jefferson, Madison, and the friends who supported them, were a disgrace to human nature. The immediate effect of this was the Yankee plot to secede from the Union, followed by corrupt combinations with a foreign enemy to betray the liberties of the country. Its remoter consequences are seen in the shameless rapacity and bitter malignity which, even at this moment, are howling for the property and blood of an unarmed and defenceless people.

You and I both remember the political preaching which ushered in and supported the reign of the Know-Nothings, Blood Tubs and Plug Uglies; when Maria Monk was a Saint and Joe Barker was Mayor of Pittsburg; when pulpits resounded every Sunday with the most injurious falsehoods against Catholics; when the public mind was debauched by the inculcation of hypocrisy and deception; when ministers met their political allies in sworn secresy to plot against the rights of their fellow-citizens. You cannot forget what came of this—riot, murder, church-burning, lawless violence all over the land, and the subjugation of several great States to the political rule of a party destitute alike of principle and capacity.

I could easily prove that those clerical politicians, who have tied their churches to the tail of the Abolition party, are criminal on a grander scale than any of their predecessors. But I forbear, partly because I have no time, and partly because it may, for aught I know, be a sore subject with you. I would not excite your wrath, but rather "provoke you to good works."

Apart from the general subject there are two or three special ideas expressed in your letter from which I venture to dissent.

You think that, though a minister may speak from the pulpit on politics he ought not to indicate what party he belongs to. It strikes me, that if he has a party, and wants to give it ecclesiastical aid or comfort, he should boldly avow himself to be what he is, so that all men may know him. Sincerity is the first of virtues. It is bad to be a wolf, but a wolf in sheep's clothing is infinitely worse.

You represent the church as an unfinished structure, and the state as its scaffolding. I think the church came perfect from the hand of its divine Architect—built upon a rock, established, finished, complete—and every one who comes into it by the right door will find a mansion prepared for him. It needs no scaffold. Its founder refused all connection with human governments for scaffolding or any other purpose.

You say (in substance) that, without sometimes taking political subjects, a minister is in danger of falling into a "vague, indefinite and non-committal style" which will do no good and bring him no respect. The gospel is not vague, indefinite or non-committal upon the subjects of which it takes jurisdiction, and upon them you may preach as loudly as you please. But I admit that in times of great public excitement—an important election or a civil war—men listen impatiently to the teachings of faith and repentance. A sermon which tells them to do justice, love mercy and walk humbly before God, is not an entertainment to which they willingly invite themselves. At such a time a clergyman can vastly increase his personal consequence, and win golden opinions from his audience, by pampering their passions with a highly seasoned discourse on politics. The temptation to gratify them often becomes too strong for the virtue of the preacher. I fear that you yourself are yielding to it. As a mere layman I have no right to advise a Doctor of Divinity, but I hope I am not over presumptuous when I warn you against this specious allurement of Satan. All thoughts of putting the Gospel aside because it does not suit the depraved tastes of the day, and making political harangues to win popularity in a bad world should be sternly trampled down as the suggestions of that Evil One, "who was a liar and a murderer from the beginning."

Faithfully yours, &c.,
J. S. BLACK.

YORK, July 25th, 1866.

Soldiers' Bounties

The amount required to pay the soldiers' bounties, just authorized by Congress, is variously estimated from seventy-five to two hundred millions of dollars. The increased compensation voted to members of Congress will amount to half a million, and the other *extras* to one or two hundred thousand more.

The following is a correct copy of the Bounty Bill as it passed both Houses, and was approved by the President:

SECTION 1. *Be it enacted, &c*, That to each and every soldier who enlisted into the army of the United States after the 19th day of April, 1861, for a period of not less than three years, and having served his term of enlistment, has been honorably discharged; and who has received, or is entitled to receive, from the United States, under existing laws, a bounty of one hundred dollars and no more; and any such soldier enlisted for not less than three years, who has been honorably discharged on account of wounds received in the line of duty, and the widow, minor children, or parents, in the order named, of any such soldier who died in the service of the United States, or of disease or wounds contracted while in the service and in the line of duty, shall be paid the additional bounty of one hundred dollars hereby authorized.

SEC. 2. That to each and every soldier who enlisted into the army of the United States after the 19th of April, 1861 during the rebellion, for a period of not less than two years, and who is not included in the foregoing section and has been honorably discharged therefrom after serving two years, and who has received or is entitled to receive from the United States, under existing laws a bounty of fifty dollars and no more, and any soldier enlisted for less than two years, who has been honorably discharged on account of wounds received in the line of duty, and the widow, minor children of parents, in the order named, of any such soldier who died in the service of the United States, or of diseases or wounds contracted while in the service of the United States, and in the line of duty shall be paid the additional bounty of fifty dollars hereby authorized: Provided, That any soldier who has bartered, sold, assigned, transferred loaned, exchanged or given away his final discharge papers, or any interest in the bounty provided by this or any other act of Congress, shall not be entitled to receive any additional bounty whatever; and when application is made by any soldier for said bounty, he shall be required, under the pains and penalties of perjury, to make oath or affirmation of his identity, and that he has not so bartered, sold, assigned, transferred, exchanged, loaned, or given away, his discharge papers or any interest in any bounty as aforesaid, and no claim for such bounty shall be entertained by the Paymaster-General or other accounting or disbursing officer, except upon receipt of the claimant's discharge papers, accompanied by the statement under oath, as by this section provided,

SEC. 3. *And be it further enacted*, That in the payment of the additional bounty herein provided for, it shall be the duty of the Paymaster-General, under such rules and regulations as may be prescribed by the Secretary of War, to cause to be examined the accounts of each and every soldier who makes application therefor, and if found entitled thereto, pay said bounties.

SEC. 4. *And be it further enacted*, That in the reception, examination, settlement, and payment of claims for said additional bounty due the widows or heirs of deceased soldiers, the accounting officers of the Treasury shall be governed by restrictions prescribed for the Paymaster-General by the Secretary of War, and the payment shall be made in like manner under the direction of the Secretary of the Treasury.

The Riot in New Orleans.

The Radicals now in power are a mob party. Their revolutionary principles foster a disposition to bloodshed, and seem to lead inevitably to disturbances of the peace. We give copious proofs elsewhere that the disgraceful negro riot in New Orleans is of their creation. The evidence it will be noticed is culled principally from a special to a leading Repulican newspaper. Is it not high time that this infamous party was crushed out of existence?