THE NEW JERSEY COPPERHEADS AGAINST IT.

SPEECH OF HON. P. C. BRINK IN FAVOR OF IT.

The bill to provide for authorizing the soldiers of New Jersey to vote was defeated in the Legislature by a strict party vote. an the Democrats voting against it and all the Republicans in favor of it. The following able speech by a true Union man, Hon. P. C. Brink, delivered in the House of Assembly, on Wednesday last, will be read with interest.

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Mr. Speaker: I rise to second the motion of the gentleman from Burlington (Mr. Irick), and as I advocate the adoption of the minority report, I desire to approach this great question (for so I regard it) of allowing the soldier to vote. I would do it in an unimpassioned manner. You and I, Mr. Speaker, are interested in it; each gentleman comprising this honore ble bocy is interested, with the thousands of our constituency throughout the State, as shewn by the 25,000 names who have petitioned at our hands the passage of a bill extending the right of suffrage to the soldier. We cannot, if we would, close our eyes to the fact that all are interested. I therefore propose to discuss this question, calmly and dispassionately.

There are prieds in the history of a nation, when from its centre to its circumference, in every department and class of society, from the poor man's cot to the mansion of the rich, the high and the low, the learned and the unlearned, the young and the old, questions arise which agiste all alike; and that man is not wise who attempts to hedge up the way, as he may have his personal objections, and thus endeavor to prevent the free and full expression of sentiment upon a subject around which

o much interest centres. If such a course, by the opponents of a measure, can be carried through in Europe, it cannot in this country, of Bibles, schools, and the teeming press, added by speech so from the teeming press. of sentiment upon a subject around which and the teeming pre-s, aided by speech so free and untrameled, as frequently to run into licentious-

ness.
There is one question which has been agitating the public mind in every portion of our great Northern States, including the Middle and Border, for the last three years—and that is, the right

der, for the last lines years
of the soldier to vote.

The principal objection which has been given is,
its alleged unconstitutionality and their special
pleading and combat against imaginary difficuties which have been made for the occasion. I shall
simply reply to the former by saying that the Attorney-General of the State (who is the legal adsimply reply to the former by saying that the Attorney-General of the State (who is the legal adviser in all questions which arise as to the constitutionality of any measure), on this question has decided that it is perfectly constitutionals. And here our responsibility ends, as any further questions should be left for the courts to decide; and with this single remark—that gentlemen cannot hide themseives behind the flimsy ipse direct of such as are unable to give an opinion upon a much simpler question than this—I leave this part of the subject and proceed to the main question, as I urge the adoption of the minority report, which is very full and complete and the reasoning conclusive. We have the legal opinion of the constitutional adviser of the State of New Jersey upon this question. I shall therefore proceed to argue the question in the following order:

Blat It is but even-handed justice to the men who have gone out from their homes to protect us; who

have gone out from their homes to protect us; who have remained behind with our friends, and have known but little of the sorrows and hardships borne by our noble citizen soldiers. And shall we say to our proportion of the million of soldiers who are thus engaged, "you may as volunteers, or must as conscripts, fight, but you shall not help to make the laws," and so shape the policy of the nation, you have thus far, under God's good providence, saced—by the perils of an hundred battle-fields I think a majority in this chamber will hardly dare deny the soldier what they and their friends by thousands demand at their hands.

2d. It is their right while they fight for their country to sace its very being, if, during the progress of orne by our noble citizen soldiers. And shall we

try to save its very being, if, during the progress of the conflict, grave and important questions arise, which in their moral effect agitate the country to an unparalleled degree, and are to produce a great sucrat as well as physical revolution, that their will shall be made known at the ballot box. Certainly they have a right to participate in the great moral combat, even to a greater extent than we who have home. Some of these questions come ead of the Emancipation Policy—the

remained at home. Some of these questions come under the head of the Emancipation Policy—the suspension of the writ of habcas corpus, the employpolyment of colored soldiers and sailors, the Conincation acts, the National Currency, &c., &c. And who shall dare to say they shall not have the privilege and shall not be allowed to vote—either to sustain these acts, or to blot them out—and also to sustain the men and measures brought forward, or to send them back from whence they came, and put others in their places?

I shall only have time to speak of some of these measures; and in order to bring them fairly before this body, in making up my argument I shall have to look into the causes which brought out these great questions, and the necessity which required these measures to be put into operation. And while I take a hasty glance at the past, I shall endeavor to be as brief as the circumstances will warrant.

I adopt the off repeated theory, that but for the division of sentiment among us in the north, we should have crushed out this rebellion more than twelve months ago, when the hundreds of thousands of our citizen soldiers would have returned home, and this question never have come before us.

I desire to review the course of events since the advent into power of the present administration as we have seen, and marked they course and more

vent into power of the present administration as have seen, and marked their course, and now that the smoke is lifted off many of its moral as well as physical battle fields, or, as we have left its more immediate excitements, and are not now in the midst of conflicting elements, we are able in an impassioned manner to approach the question, not as bitter partisans, but as the Representatives of an old and honored State of the original thirteen, whose soil has been enriched by the blood of honored mariyrs in revolutionary days—Princeton, Monmouth, Trenton, Red Bank, where was obtained the Independence sought and suffered for, and thus became part of the Great Republic, one among the family of nations and began our mirch the smoke is lifted off many of its moral as among the family of nations and began our mirch of prosperity, which has made us the wonder of the world, and for the preservation of which we are now engaged, in a struggle as unparalleled, as has been our prosperity, and success, even so far in the con-fact. I say, as the honored representatives of such a State, though small territorially, yet in all the elements of prosperity, added to our revolu-tionary fame, we are great, and occupy a proud place in the national galaxy. So much by way of parenthesis.

tionary fame, we are great, and occupy a proud place in the national galaxy. So much by way of parenthesis.

Ist. In this order, comes that much abused, and slandered man, Abraham Lincoln, who in November, 1860, was constitutionally elected to the high and responsible position of President of the United States of America.

This fact, of his elevation in a perfectly constitutional, and therefore legitimate manner, has not been called into question, for a single moment, even by the insurgents now in arms. It has never been alleged that fraud was used, or that violence prevented the honest expression of the voter at the ballot box, when the several candidates for the office were before the sovereign people of the United States for their suffrages.

We, therefore, leave this and come to the main point, and ask our citizen soldiers to aid us in deciding questions which are viewed so differently. Why is, and has our honored President been made thurl their poisoned shafts at? Why has the endeavor been made to lower him in the eyes in our very midst, by our own fellow citizens? Wiest rebel sources, been used with such evident juring him and his constitutional advisers at the gost of our peloved country appeared to be departing from us, and "Ichabada" written upon the parting from us, and the nations with whom we about to become a "by-word—a hissing—and reproach" among the nations with whom we had but recently stood up proudest and fore-act, without proposing any other planthas or the other act, without proposing any other planthas or the other act, without proposing any other planthas and has been simply denunciatory of this, that or the other act, without proposing any other planth

I shall only repeat what has gone into history, but this becomes necessary in the elucidation of this subject, and I shall therefore craye he indul-gence of this honorable body through you, Mr. Speaker, as I hastily revert to the few plann facts contained therein.

speaker, as I hastily revert to the few plain facts contained therein.

Within a few days, say in December, succeeding to the previous month of November, when the presidential contest was decided, after Mr Lincoln was announced as President elect of the United States, South Carolina passed an ordinance of Secession, followed by other States, and these by other treasonable acts, even weeks before his inanguration, and while the political party was yet in power who were in sympathy with the spirit of Secession. While a small garrison of our men, in one of the foitresses of the United States were enfering for food and an unarmed merchantinto by another fort that had been already seized by the insurgents, and the Star of the West returned without having accomplished its mission of mercy—this vessel having been loaded and sent out not by Mr. Lincoln, but by President Buchanan. Days rolled shortly by—fear and appresent and the hundreds of other initiatory acts, appon the part of the insurgents. A financial panic

and, and many beautiful supers ructures that nmercial panics, tottered and tell, and the labor and toil of a generation was gone in an hour, and the hapless sufferers and their thousands of dependents wanted bread. Oh! the unuterable suf-ferings of the fall, and winter, and spring, and summer of 1860 and 1861

ferings of the fall, and winter, and spring, and summer of 1860 and 1861.

The time drew near for the President elect to enter upon his duties, by taking upon him the awith oath of office at this most momentous period in the history of the nation.

Before proceeding further, I would ask each man composing this honorable body to lay aside, for a short season, every feeling but that of man for man, and ponder upon and enter into sympathy with this man, Abraham Lincoln. Who, of all the honored ones, from George Washingfon down, that have occupied the Presidential chair, ever knew or felt a tithe of the alternations of hope and fear that must have filled the breast of this man? Never in the world's history, as far as we have any record, was a man called upon to fill such a position in the government of a great nation as this, the chosen servant of the American people, was about to assume.

was about to assume.

He left his Western home on his way to the city of Washington, and in his various addresses to the thousands that greeted him and bade him God speed, all his utterances were those of a conciliant of the control of the contro tory character, utterly disclaiming all intention of interfering with the "peculiar institution" of American Slavery, and pledging himself that, so far as his acts were concerned, nothing upon his part should be done to impair the rights of the South in their slave property; this was repeated and reiterated again and again and again. He south in their size property; this was repeated and reiterated again and again and ugain. He arrives in Philadelphia and proceeds on his way to Harrisburg. On the following mid day the intelligence flashes over the wires from the extreme North to the farthest South, and from the Atlantic to the Western wilds, that the President elect of the United States, while on his way to Washington, as he neared the territory where Slavery held its sway, had proceeded by a night train from the capital of the State of Pennsylvania to the capital of the United States, disguised in a military cloak and Scotch cap! What for? Why has he changed his manner of travel? It was not because time was so precious, as it was yet two weeks before the 4th of March. Why this singular and undignified mode of travel?

While other stains in our country's history, brought on by bad men, were deep, no previous crime equaled this, which, so far as intention could make it, was an act of assassination of the President of the United States of the United States of the President of the United States of the United States of the President of the United States of the

crime equaled this, which, so far as intention could make it, was an act of assassination of the President elect of the United States, in the first city in the region devoted to Slavery. The night trip was taken that this crime might not be added to the long catalogue of crimes with which the "Barbarisin of Slavery" had cursed our country. Through the active vigilance of the honored Winffeld Scotthis deed was not consummated. All honor to his name and patriotism, and may it be embalmed in the hearts of the people to the latest days of the Republic.

Republic.

The day for the inauguration of the President finally arrived—his inaugural address is given to the nation. He there strongly disclaims all intention of interfering with the reculiar institution. He argues the question in his own straight-forward manner; he pleads with the insurgents and be manner, he please with the insurgents and be seeches them as an elder brother, as a sympatical gather, not to bring ruin on themselves and their children. Bays move slowly on-treason beliches forth its venom-reports come upon the wings of every wind of warlike preparations upon the part of the insurgents. The merning of the 13th of April comes with its accustome: beau'y, but by mid-day the telegraph wire informs the world that war has commenced and Fort Sumter-occupied by Major Anderson and his starving garrison of three-score men, has been attacked by 7,000 rebels, and, after a resistance of 35 hours the flag of our nationality is trailed in the dust while the rebel hordes raise a sheut of victory, for the wouthern heart has been fired." and thus they humiliate the mudeills of the North. This was followed within a week by the murder of our was followed within a week by the murder of our citizen soldiers, while passing through the largest city within the limits of slavery, on their way to the protection of the Capital of the United States; and the streets of Baltimore, are stained with the and the streets of Baltimore, are stained with the blood of the martyrs of liberty, to this infernal rebellion; next in order, the dock-yards, ships, and ship-houses of the Navy Yard at Norfolk are infames, and \$5,000,000 of property destroyed in an hour. When the shout from rebeldom again goes up, and there is great joy in the cities of South. Here let me pause and ask—and I with the soldiers engaged in fighting to answer at the ballottox what was to be done, in this emergency by the Executive of the United State, that was not done and as I follow him from his home, as I listen to his words of faith and hope, as he approaches the his words of faith and hope, as he approaches the termination of his journey; as I hear him pleading whenever he can obtain the public ear, until his own life is threatened by assassin bases of conspirators—after that immediate danger is passed, he continues to write and importune the leaders of this rebellion not to "rush as the unthinking horse into battle" until he addresses the nation in his inaugural, and again in that paper avoiding every word that could be construed into a threat, he comes before the nation, not as a sec-

a threat, he comes before the nation, sot as a sectional partisan, but as the President of the United States—as the President of all the people—I again repeat, what could he de that he did not? I go further—I say it with great reverence, what could an angel of light, sent from above on an errand of mercy to the rebellious, have done that was left undone?

I ask the soldier this question; how can I get an answer but through his regresentative? What there was left for Abraham Lincoln to do, but call for citizen soldiers to detend the national Capital from rebel hordes?—and the facts have gone into history that this was only accomplished after great labor and toil. If less had been done, we should not have been occupying our places, in our several capitals, with plenty around as and our States represented in the national capitolat Washington, for rebel hordes would have filled its ington, for rebel hordes would have filled is streets, and the middle and northern States doubly broken into fragments. Representitives of the soldier do you doubt it?

Disaster for a time attended our arms upon land and sea. Conspirators were in our midst. Tharmy and navy furnished many. They werfound remaining in the Halls of Congress for over twelve months after the war broke out. The most sceret places furnished ejes and ears to discover the plans of our Government. Everywhere was there a whispering gallery-re-echoing S ate secret, until the great heart of the nation sunk within it as it found its plans frustrated, and toil and labor, blood and treasure wasted for naught. These were the dark days of the Republic. Plans were suggested and brought forward by the assembled wisdom of the nation. The rebels were called our erring brethren, and treated as such Soldiers, what do you think of this? I ask your Representatives.

Their hellish prejudices, even, were consuited, as they were virtually asked what they wanted, and besought to return to their allegiance—every-Disaster for a time attended our arms upon land and besought to return to their allegiance—every thing was done-or left undone according to cir

cumstances—that they might not be "alexated," in the language of the remaining sympathizers, still clinging to the loaves and fise se furnished by the general Government. Finally, the "Confication Act" is brought up for consideration, and wisely and carefully discussed—almost in whispers the general Government. Finally, the "Gonfiscation Act" is brought up for consideration, and wisely and carefully discussed—almost in whisper;—but delayed and looked upon with tear, lest our "Southern brethren" be thereby "aleinated" from us, until the defeat of the armies under McClellan in that fatal Peninsular campaigu, where the finest army perhaps ever witnessed in the world were driven back, and 'he whole campaign a disgraceful failure, not because of the men but of their leaders. Soldier, is this truth or a fable? In ten days after the extent of the disaster was fully known; the Confiscation Act was passed by Congress and became the law of the land. In that "act" it was made obligatory upon the President, after giving sixty days" notice, to confiscate the property of rebels, unless they returned to their allegiance. The sixty days" notice was given by proclamation of the President. At the expiration of the sixty days a further period of one hundred days was added, expiring upon the first day of January, 1863; called the 'Emancipation Proclamation," which has been the subject matter of so much abuse and small talk about the unconstitutionality of the act of the President, although it is well known that he only carried out the act of Congress as contained in the 'Confiscation Act," which embodied virtually, literally, emphatically, the "Act of Emancipation," and without which, except to a very limited extent, the "Confiscation Act," would have been a nullity, and without any of the practical results commensurate with its importance at that juncture. Is there a soldier doubts this? The emancipation of the working property of the rebels, not in its instantaneous results in furnishing them with personal liberty, but in its silent workings upon the thinking, reasoning property of the rebels, not in its instantaneous results in furnishing them with personal liberty, but in its silent workings upon the thinking, reasoning property of the rebels, and in the mind of the poor slave, amids this tolia and bondage, hi

THE RIGHT OF SOLDIERS TO had taken place, and its terrible ploughshare had an ally in he I nd of Wishington. On that marked deep and long furrows into the weal h of day we stood b fore the world and enforce Heaven, Join the words of truth and soberness? I ask Have we ever stop; ed and deliberately looked at currelves, as we were seen by other cations in 1850. (I want the ear of the soider's triend here.) If we turned our eyes upon the continent of Europe; nowhere in that centre of every him; good as well as had, could we find a spot where a slave foot tracked the soil.

We have regarded Spain as a sort of semi-civily tracked the spain as a sort of semi-civily tracked the spain as a sort of semi-civily.

we have regarded spain as a sort of semi-civil-ized or bucan-sering nation—and why! Simply because of its liddrect connection with human slavery in some of its colonies; but no slave lived in Spain. We turn to Russia, and, regarding the "Great Northern Fear" as a sort of semi-barbarish—why, but because of its seritiom; and even that was then giving way, to freedom of the seris. Notwith-tanding, seridom, in its worst forms and darkest days, was, no more to be compared with the accursed system of American slavery, as it flourished with us. than the mildest apprentice-ship to the cruelty of the Algerine pirates towards barian-why, but because of its seridom? and even flourished with us. than the mildest apprenticeship to the cruelty of the Algerine pirates towards their Obrissian prisoners, and for which they were severely chastised and this piracy ended. No spot on European soil was cursed with slavery. We continue our search for this "sum of all villainies" and look into Turkey where the religion of the false Prophet is dominant; but the slavery of that land is light compared with the "barbarism that land is light compared with the charbarism of slavery as it flourishes in the middle of the kineteenth Century, and in that land over which the Stars and Stripes float. The dark land of Egypt abolished slavery a quarter of a century before. So far as anylknowledge we have goes, out-side of the continent of Africa, and a limited part before. So far as anyknowledge we have goes, outside of the continent of Africa, and a limited part of South America, this traffic only is found where American slavery flourishes within the United States of America, aided and sustained by you and me; for I sustained it, and, before this war, as between Abolitionism and pro-Slavery, I was a proslavery man. So strong were my sentiments in favor of State rights, and so fearful of infringing upon any of those rights as a Jerseyman, I took that very convenient ground assumed by so many before the outbreak of this rebellion, but held now by so few, of conservatism, and which, rightly interpreted to-day, means disloyalty to our country. When, however, it became clear that Southern State rights meant African slavery, which, like Daniel's vision of the Ram, with great fury pushing West, and North, and South, and seeing that it had determined to 'rule or ruin,' I then determined to wage against it a war of the bitterest hostility, and expect very soon to see the day dawn upon our noble country when its final death-struggle and burial shall be an accomplished fact. So much by way of digression.

apply our house country when its man desinstruggle and burial shall be an accomplished fact. So much by way of digression.

Let us now look at some of the results growing out of this much abused "Proclamation of Emancipation," and now I would consult with the representatives of the fighting Man. It has been discussed by every print in the land, and but few new arguments can be used. I do not propose to go ever that ground. My strongest arguments are—let. That it produced such terrible consternation throughout every part of rebeldom, and the same cry was taken up by their sympathizers scattered through the North. This has satisfied me that if it is the "Pope's Buil against the Comet," the "Comet's tail" is decreasing much int length, and the Comet itself will soon be among the things that were. Soldier, am I correct in my conclusions! It has produced such a revolution in the sentiment of Europe, that even the rebels are rapidly becoming abolismonies and promising the slaves freedom if they will fight, and agreeing to free their slaves it they can only obtain the in the sentiment of Europe, has even the febels are rapidly becoming abolishonists and promising the slaves freedom if they will fight, and agreeing to free their claves if they can only obtain the countenance of Europe. They are adopting every devies and taxing their brains for some method, by which they can direute the in our glorrous emancipation proclamation. I say ours, for it has become the property of the nation, and I glory in it. Witness the change that has taken place in Europe since the commencement of 1863. The dangers that then threatened appear to have passed away, and who now apprehends a foreign war upon the question of aiding the South! If a war grows out of this, or kindred questions, it will not be inaugurated by any European power.

The public sentiment of the whole Christian world is with us of the North and against that bogus, mongrel, abortion of a government, the corner stone of which is slavery;" in the language of the best man that rebeldom can produce, and that same man, Alexander H. Sievens, of Georgia, who fought agains the spirit and act of Secession, until he was forced into the ranks, said: "The South has never asked anything at the hands of the North that has been refused them."

I again repeat, the sentiment of Christendom is with us, and although heretofore the worst could point to us as an example in justification of everything wicked and inhusion, now the best may look at and emulate the "Model Republic," for its now "The land of the free, and the home of the brave"—and that beautiful language does not convey a falsehood when uttered. I glory in the position we have taken among the nations of the earth; and the man who can say, "I am an American," bears a nobler title than he who said, in ancient times, "I am a Reman titizen." A second reason would be, and this is a strong one, that those parts of the South, as fast as they are brought from under the rebel rule, unite with those called Abolitionists, and hiterally "out-Herod-Herod" in the joy which they hall all the proc

nove heard the the language of Gen. Gannic of Kansas. Again, read the proceedings of the Mary. land Legislature, and what they have actually done —not talked about, simply. Look at the State of Maryland in its recent Emancipation acts. Remember what has been done by Western Virginia Abon East Tennessee comes up to join with her sister States. While Arkansas joins with the rest, and sings with Louisana a song of freedom, as the smothered voice of North Carolina cries for

as the smothered voice of North Carolina cries for help.

Are we to wonder, when the poor inebriate, who has finally reformed and is no longer a slave to his burning appetite, having escaped from its power, looks upon the thing that produced degradation, ignominy, poverty and death, is it to be wondered that he scorns it, and would abolish it from the land? And if he and his friends have such a loathing for this, how much more, as those of the South look upon fields of blood, towns and cities destroyed, want and beggary wherever man is found, shall they hate and scorn that terrible cause of all their woes? and why should they not? The slave-owners of the South are only about four per cent. of its population, viz. 300,000 of the 5,500,600; and they do hate it, and all the powers of hell and earth combined, can no more save it of hell and earth combined, can no more save it than they can call back again to life the sleeping scores of thousands of martyred dead that enrich the soil of a hundred battle-fields. I want the soldier's vote on this question, and shall men be found here battling, for what I—the cause of a meagre four per cent. of population, who have plunged the most beautiful land on God Almighiy's earth in a war, which has made its fairest portion a vast Accidama, while the large ninety-six per cent. of white men are pleading and stretching out their hands for help, in addition to the 4,000,000 of hapless blacks, whose cries have came up into the ears of the "Lord of Sabaoth," who has heard their cry and come down in his providence to deliver them. Soldiers, have you any objection, I ask, through your representatives! The puny arm of man can no more stop this on ward movement than it can bluck the sun form

The puny arm of man can no more stop this on-ward movement than it can pluck the sun from the heavens, or dethrone the Almighty. I regret to lead in the recent message of our Ex-

the heavens, or dethrone the Almighty.

I regret to lead in the recent message of our Executive, the same sentiment, so utterly void of practicability when he says 'yet who does not beleve that it the emancipation policy were abandoned and a proclemation issued that the sole objects of the warr were the restoration of the unity of the nation. Ac., half a million of men would fly to arms and conscription be a thing of the past.'

I would ask who does believe it? Not even the Governor hinself!

The Emancipation Proclamation abandoned!

Without intering upon an argument, as to its wisdom, or justice, or policy, or right at this moment. I ask how would you proceed to recall and aband on it, if it were deemed best to enter upon such a task. Perhaps our soldiers can inform us. The Governor says "the present p sition of affairs is environed with difficulties, and nearly all of them proceed from interpolating the emancipation policy in the conduct of the war—should not that policy be abandoned? Will the Governor and such assympathize with him indicate some practicable plan of abandoning it?

It is true the Fresident could issue a counter proclamation—so far as putting together words into sentences and sentences in to paragraphs—but what then.?

I may make a deed for a certain property in due

then?

It may make a deed for a certain property in due form of law, with or without a real valuable consideration other than \$1.00 in hand to me paid; it is duly re-orded. It am induced after a year or more to thick I did wrong in thus deeding property but I ow can that act now be recalled? I may issue the forms necessary to call attention of the new owner of the property but I think, however, he would pay but little attention to my insame efforts, and pitying my folly pass on his way; but to resume. Who are to catch and; deliver back to the rebels the hundreds of thousands who have availed themselves of their liberty, as granted them by the highest Executive of the land, in a law passed by the representatives of the land, in a law passed by the representatives of the land, in a law passed by the representatives of the land, in a law passed by the representatives of the land. In a law passed by the representatives of the land, in a law passed by the representatives of the land, in a law passed by the representatives of the land, in a law passed by the representatives of the land, in a law passed by the representatives of the land of the man year of defineration, and two years of disaster to our arms, in so many conflicts. Soldiers, are you willing to enter upon the task? How and where are they to be found? Many thousands of them have enlisted in the military and naval service of the United States and are engaged in putting down this rebellion, in the place of our sons, and brothers, and fathers. Shall you and I, Mr. Speaker, change places with them, and desbanding them, break up our army in many places, and weaken it in others; send them back again to slavery, bondage and stripes, thus becoming a thousandfold worse than the barbarians of Atrica, who only reduce to slavery prisoners taken in war. or stolen from their neighbors? They do not disband their fighting men and reduce them to elavery, at the instance of a sentiment which has its birth in perdition.

If I had a voice of thunder that would sound in every then?
I may make a deed for a certain property in due which has its birth in perdition.

If I had a voice of thunder that would sound in every ear in the land, I would say to such of my deluded tellow countrymen, as would listen— Away from such teachers—you have followed them long enough—such have led you on until your eyes look upon battle fields, the like of which our world has never seen; you see such rich blood flowing, as never before in such quantities enriched battle fields; you see an amount of desolation in extent, as our world never witnessed, because you have listened to and followed such

trough your representative.

The war was commenced by a few bad men in owners, who have involved a nation of 30,000,000 in

through your representative.

The war was commenced by a few bad men in the South, aided by the few thousands of slave owners, who have involved a nation of 30,000,000 in 1's b'oody strite, 300,000 slaveholders forcing in gracually hundreds of thousands of the poor white trish, as they call them, on the sid of the rebellion, until we, finding that they had a reserve of 4.000,000 of them, on the sid of the rebellion, until we, finding that they had a reserve of 4.000,000 of them, of them, of them, of the sid of the rebellion, until we, finding to aid us it by so doing they could aid themselves, we accept them after we have struck the main artery of rebellion, at once a cry comes up from the friends of the rebels, in our very midst, (only a few of them, thank God) in our Legislative halls at Washington, our State Capitols, and joined by one or two of the Governors of our Northern States. "Repeal this blow which has been struck at rebellion," when they and we know they might as well attempt to repeal the deluge and call back Sodom and Gomorrah, with all their accursed tribes, or reduce to infancy and youth the hoary headed man of three-score and ten years; it cannot be done, whether as a policy, wise or unwise, it cannot be done, and the end of the argument is with the millions of our lands who say in thunder tones (at the dictum of the few remaining Southern sympathiers with rebellion in our midst,) it shall not be done. Soldiers, I want to know what you can say.

Like all great movements which have been inaugurated, as we have learned our sad lessons during the past 3½ years, take as instances: 1st. The employment of colored soldiers. A great hue and cry was raised, particularly by rebel sympathiers in our midst against this system; but where do we now find serious objections to it? all acknowledge the wisdom of the movement; in that, it takes the place of so many white men, it has the most hearty support. 2d So with the \$300 commutation bill; and 3d. So with the \$300 commutation bill; and 3d. So with the matchl

wounds and blood—it means maimed men by thousands—it means eath and graves—it means widows and orphans—it means, in a word, sorrow in all its forms; but to us it was the only road left to retain our nationality and freedom. Nothing remained for us but to conquer or be conquered. And, although the cry now comes up from the rebels in their extremity, "We only want to be let alone," yet this was not their cry at the first; but their purpose was to take in order. first—the national capital, and so follow up, after selzing all the forts, arsenals, dock yards, &c., of the United States, and all the property in shops, merchandise, stocks, money owned by or owing to Northern men, continue their march northward until they subdued the whole North, and spread their cursed institution over the whole land, and fitting out slave ships at our northern ports engage even our navy in extending the hell-originated system even in other laads. And if James Buchannan or his like had been in power, the boast of Toombs might have been realized as he called over his slaves as the foot of Banker Hill Monument, for the plot had been thickening for a generation.

ment, for the plot had been thickening for a generation.

But by the blessing of the Almighty, through the instrumentality of our honored Executive and our citizen soldiers—dare you refuse them a vote!—we think we are almost saved. Many questions grow out of a struggle-like that in which we have been engaged for three years; the dire necessities of which are many; one of those is this eman ipation policy. Why any in the North who do not own slaves or have any interest in hem, should feel so sensitive on this subject. I have not yet been able to learn. It is not usual for an enemy to fear that we should be from unch karassed by them, and lest in their well they should have to to unch such curtain to learn. It is not beaut to an enemy to tear that we showld be too much karassed by them, and less in their real they should hurt us too much and curtail our ability to injure them, by having in their midst, scattered among the people, certain men to occupy places in their deliberaire bodies, and to employ the public press in endeavoring to emburrass all the acts of such as are engaged in both certl and military departments, to make the people, irom whom they expect to obtain additional men to carry on the war, loss confidence in the authorities, and soon as certain means have been shally adopted, that appear to have all the elements of success, these men, alded by some of the public journals of the land, raise a hue and cry throughout the dominions of this one enemy, that they must not pursue such a course, but the comirary, less they (5) hurt us too much This, I think, is a novel node or procedure. But eversing this picture, some among us appear to be of this character, but not our solders; and I hear in this chamber, and other places, his farce is in this chamber, and other places, his farce is being enacted. O share where is thy blush!! O man where is thy manhood! I again repeat the question, why all this sympathy for a meagre four per cent, of Slare breaers and Slare dealers, who have drawn is hundredsof thousands and plunged the nation in blood in 1 der; male widows and orphans; desolated whole States, and olighted the beautiful, in the fairest land upon which the sun ever shone?

We hear but little-sympathy apon the part of such for the suffering in our midst. These are not the men who devote their time and means and influence to alleviate the suffering.

But, says the linhabitant of another world, who has heard what appears so very improbable—how is this to be explained! What spirit of evil has taken possession of the hearts of such men as are tound, not with arms in their hands among the ranks of the rebel enemy, but in your very midst. in this chamber, and other places, his farce is

tound, not with arms in their hands among the ranks of the rebel enemy, but in your very midst, and at times shouting in week tones, "Union," "Constitution," &c. and are trying to prevent the soldier's vote! Why are they found with you Why do they not join with those "who show their faith (in the cause) by their works" of blood! How do you reconcile these opposites! We have only to reply, "We cannot understant it. Perhaps they think power will again come from the South, and they will feed us again with Government pap."

ment pap."

But says the stranger: Are they numerous? Are they infuential? Are they wealthy? Have they high social relation.? Are they wealthy? Have they high social relation.? Are they wise and learned? Have they the confinence of the grant and good? Who sustains them? How have they retained so much power as has sent some to the gress? some to the State Legislatures? elected one or two to be the executives of Loyal States? In reply to be the executives of Loyal States? In reply to these very perti: at questions: Their number was considerable, but it is becoming less and less considerable, but it is becoming less and less daily. They are now few-they are not as influential as they were. A few laws some means and some had south position, but now new are looked upon with deabt—they are not wise but very silly; they have been sustained and retained by those who hesitated to believe that men could pursue so strange a course. They have used arguments meeting the prejudices and peculiarities of the unfortunate among the kinerant and but. They have pandered to the vitiated tastes of many and adopted the course learned from their friends in rebeldom—they use the hallowed name of democracy to carry out their plans. They have refused to acknowledge hundreds of good men as Democrats, but, as a term of reproach, call them abolitionists. They were commanded to do so at the beginning of the struggle by their slave masters in the South, and oh! how faithful they have been. heen.

"There's a Divinity that shapes our ends rough hew them as we may, "and the haud of that Divinity is distinctly seen if we will but mark one among the hundreds which may not have been a would ask, when, in the

nity is distinctly seen if we will but mark one among the bundreds which may not have been thought of. by many. I would ask, when, in the history of our country leven before our revolutionationary struggle, were without a great statesman whose influence was powerful, even among such as in the main were not politically of the same faith? But for over two years after the commencement of this struggle, we remained without the man, en whom all could lean. In this I think I segment of Divinity. We are left without compromises, which would allow slavery to live, and again become a power in the land.

If Douglas had lived, doubtless, with his giant intellect, coupled with his vast influence, some measure might have been adopted which would have left much of life in the accurated system of American Slavery, and, after all our struggles and measure might have been adopted which would have left much of life in the accursed system of American Slavery, and, after all our struggles and bloodshed, a legacy would have been left to our children, bringing to them another harvest of blood; but wher this ceases, its grave will be so deep that Gabriel's trump cannot resurrect it forever. In the absence of ig such influence, centring in one or more great men, we wish to call in additional counsel and ask the men who have gone over the bloody ground—Shall we have peace compromises, restoring the cause of our troubles, and shall we continue the few remaining men in pewer who are its advocates? If at the ballot-box they say yes, I will help sustain them in their decision. I am willing to trust them. What say you Legislators of the State of New Jersey in General Assembly and Senate met?

"Every landscape is surrounded by a dim, hazy belt in the dictance, beyond which the eye cannot penetrate," is the beautiful language of one, to which I would add, faith then comes in, for sight no longer aids. So in the great events of our nation, sight is limited, if we have not one great moving, living, actuating principle governing us; but if, when clouds arise and storms contunue for many days, we turn back, or waver from our course—all is jeopardized; faith in the great. God who governs our world—must be brought into exercise; or, if everything is not lost, much of trouble will be the result, and the final object only attained after a long journey through the wilderness before we reach the land of Promise. This faith, and now to many faith lends its realizing sense; the shadows flee, the clouds disperse, the land of Promise breaks upon our view. We see a land

literally abounding with milk and honey—blessed beyond all other lands. We see a territory of fer tility spreading from ocean to ocean, and from the frigid north to the torrit zone. We see the resto-ration of all material, as well as moral good; wi ho out the black curse of Human Slavery. I would contribute to its fullest accomplishment. Again, I ask, will you join with me, my associates.

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