# THE TELEGRAPH

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*MORNING AND EVENING,*
BY GEORGE BERGNER.
*OFFICE THIRD ST., NEAR WALNUT.*

TERMS OF SUBSCRIPTION.
SINGLE SUBSCRIPTION.

THE DAILY TELEGRAPH is served to subscribers in the city at 12½ cents per week. Yearly subscribers will be charged $6 00 in advance. Those persons who neglect to pay in advance will be charged $7 00.

WEEKLY TELEGRAPH.

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# Pennsylvania Daily Telegraph.

"THE UNION—NOW AND FOREVER."—*Webster.*


BY GEORGE BERGNER. HARRISBURG, PA., TUESDAY EVENING, NOVEMBER 1, 1864. PRICE THREE CENTS.



## STEAM PRINTING OFFICE.

ADVERTISING RATES—DAILY TELEGRAPH.

The following are the rates for advertising in the TELEGRAPH. Those having advertising to do will find it convenient for reference:

☞ Four lines or less constitute one-half square. Eight lines, or more than four, constitute a square.

| FOR A HALF SQUARE. | | FOR ONE SQUARE. | |
|---|---|---|---|
| One day | $ 30 | One day | $ 60 |
| Two days | 50 | Two days | 1 00 |
| Three days | 75 | Three days | 1 25 |
| One week | 1 25 | One week | 2 25 |
| One month | 3 00 | One month | 6 00 |
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| Three months | 5 50 | Three months | 11 00 |
| Six months | 8 00 | Six months | 15 00 |
| One year | 15 00 | One year | 25 00 |
| Administration Notices | | | 2 75 |
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| Auditor's Notices | | | 1 50 |
| Funeral Notices, each insertion | | | 50 |

☞ Business notices inserted in the *Local Column*, or before Marriages and Deaths, EIGHT CENTS PER LINE for each insertion.


# EVENING EDITION.

### A VOICE FROM THE ARMY.

*Air—"Just before the battle."*

Just before the election, brothers,
We are thinking most of you,
While on picket, or in trenches,
"With the enemy in view."
Bravely we have fought and suffered,
And with wounds and fever died,
That the bright tri-colored banner
Still may float in starry pride.

CHO.—Listen, brother, you may never
Hear from us in life again,
But, oh! you'll not forget us, brothers,
If we're numbered with the slain.

Every night, in dreams we see you,
In those pleasant Northern homes,
Where the peaceful dawn of morning,
Brings no stirring roll of drums,
And it costs a pang of sorrow
That ungrateful men there be
Who would sell their country's honor
And *her soldier's* liberty.

CHO.—Tell them we can face the bullets
That their "Southern friends" shall send,
But, oh! we'll not forget *them*, brothers,
*When this "cruel war" shall end.*

All along the rebel earthworks
We have savage shoutings heard,
You will scarcely believe it, brother,
But "*McClellan*" was the word.
Think of that, ye Northern voters,
Will you make such demons gloat?
Ask our fallen comrades' widows,
They will tell you how to vote.

CHO.—Sonless mothers, weeping sisters,
Raise imploring hands to you,
And, oh! you'll not forget, brothers,
And destroy *their country* too.

Let the traitors keep their pity,
We are soldiers, and can bear
All the hardships of the struggle,
And courage yet to spare;
And we ask no wiser helmsman
At the ship of State than *he*
Who has paid, and fed, and clothed us
As the army of the Free.

CHO.—Hark it is the bugle sounding,
Grant still finds us work to do,
But, oh! we'll not *forget those traitors*,
When this bloody war is thro'.

THE EQUATORIAL REGIONS.—In a letter to a friend, written the day before his death, the late Captain Speke, the African traveler, said: "There is no richer land in the world than the equatorial regions, and nothing more of importance to the interests of Egypt, as well as our own merchants, than that of opening up those lands to legitimate commerce."

IT is stated that in Cochin China, where grandees go to the play, the actors fare rather badly. If the great man does not approve of their performance, he waves his hand, and his suit immediately rush upon the unfortunate performer and administer a sound drubbing with the bamboos.

A HOME WOMAN.—Abigail Fogg died recently in N. H. During her long life of ninety-four years, running back to 1770, or six years before the revolutionary war, she never left the town in which she lived.

TWO YOUNG ladies have disappeared very mysteriously from New Haven, Conn., within a week past. A body, supposed to be the remains of one of them, was found in a coal yard last Saturday.

GENERAL BROWN, recently returned from imprisonment under fire at Charleston, has been assigned to the command of Hart's Island, New York bay.

THE ex-King of Naples hasn't got much royalty, property, kingdom or crown left, but he wants to borrow $3,000,000 on what there is of it.

A MAN in Chicago, who had acquired the bad habit of taking drinks and not paying for them, was recently shot dead by a bar-tender, to settle the account.

A BOY of eighteen, named Eads, employed in the Quartermaster's Department at Nashville, has obtained $50,000 by forgery, and decamped.

JAMES MURPHY has been sentenced to the Boston House of Correction for six months, for unmercifully beating his child with a cane.

A MAN named Murray has been arrested in Boston on a charge of murder committed six years ago.

THE Emperor of Russia's hotel bill during three weeks of travel recently, was $35,000.

40,000,000 francs are expended in supplying Paris with fresh water,

OHIO this year yields 1,500 to 2,000 pounds of tobacco to the acre.

# By Telegraph.

## Great Union Meetings

### Lincoln, Johnson and Victory!

### GREAT SPEECHES BY ELOQUENT ORATORS

### Pennsylvania Will Give an Immense Majority for the Union Nominees.

*Special Dispatch to the Telegraph,*]

PHILADELPHIA, Oct. 31.

The Union League are still hard at work in the cause of Lincoln, Johnson, Union and Victory.

Col. R. Stockett Mathews' speech at the Hall of the League, was a masterly effort, and sound in argument. He made converts to the cause. He spoke to-night at Chestnut Hill, in the northern rural part of Philadelphia, eleven miles distant from the centre of the city.

The Hon. John Cessna, Hon. F. Hassaurek, Hon. Lewis Baker, and Dr. Chas. Meigs spoke this evening under the auspices of the Union League of this city.

The League is in possession of news from different parts of the State of Pennsylvania, from which it is rendered very certain that Lincoln and Johnson will receive such a heavy majority as will essentially mash Jeff Davis and his copperhead allies. C. C. W.

## FROM BUFFALO.

### Preparations to Defend the City Against Raiders.

BUFFALO, October 31.

The city is being patrolled by the military and police, in anticipation of the raiders, but none have yet appeared.

Last night companies were stationed at the elevators and around the docks, but nothing occurred, through the prompt action of the authorities, and the fact that the military were all out yesterday attending General Bidwell's funeral, entirely frustrated the rebel plans. Many suspicious persons have been observed in town within a few days, and it is even stated by some that rockets were thrown up, and guns fired by unknown parties, for the purpose of signalling to parties on the opposite shore.

### The Vermont Bank Robbery.

MONTREAL, Oct. 31st.

The Confederate managers in the case of the St. Albans raiders, in the event of a decision being given by the Canadian Court to surrender up the raiders, intend appealing to a Judicial Committee of the Privy Council in England.

It is reported that the United States Government has notified England of their intention to increase their armament on the lakes for the purpose of protecting the frontiers.

### The Secesh Railroad Guard.

ALEXANDRIA, VA., Oct. 31.

The citizens of Secesh sympathy, who have been detained for special service in guarding our trains running on the Orange and Alexandria railroad, are feeling somewhat uneasy in their new duty, from a threat Moseby has made, that their presence should not deter him from attacking the trains as formerly.—Mr. Wells A. Harper has been added to the number doing guard duty.

### Markets by Telegraph.

PHILADELPHIA, Oct. 31.

There is very little trade doing in any department, and no life is anticipated until after the Presidential election. Cloverseed commands $10 50@11, and flaxseed $3 25. There is very little shipping demand for Flour, but holders are firm in their views; sales 500 barrels extra family at $11 25@12, and fancy at $12 25. Rye flour steady at $9. In Corn Meal nothing doing. There is again an upward movement in Wheat, and 5,000 bushels red sold at $2 56 for Penna., $2 50 for Southern. White held at $2 75@2 80. Sales Rye at $2 67. Corn scarce, and yellow commands $1 70. Oats steady at 88c. In Groceries and Provisions no change. Petroleum quiet; we quote crude at 40, refined in bond 62@64, and free at 80@82. Residuum is held at 10. Whisky moves slowly at $1 78 for Ohio, and $1 76 for drudge.

NEW YORK, Oct. 31.

Flour has advanced 10c for State; sales of 12,000 bbls at $9 95@10 20 for State; $10 85@12 25 for Ohio, and $11 90@15 00 for Southern. Wheat advanced 1@2c with unimportant sales. Corn firm; sales unimportant. Beef dull, Pork steady; sales of 1,000 bbls at $43 00@43 12½. Lard firm at 20@22½c. Whisky dull.

BALTIMORE, October 31.

Flour firm; Howard street superfine $11. Wheat has an advancing tendency; the market active, and prices 8@10c higher; Southern White $3, Kentucky White $2@2 88. Corn dull and heavy. Whisky dull.

### New York Stock Markets.

NEW YORK, Oct. 31.

Gold quoted at 221¾. Stocks better; Chicago and Rock Island 98¼; Cumberland preferred 52½; Illinois Central 128½; ditto bonds 115½; Michigan Southern 71¾; New York Central 122½; Reading 132⅛; Hudson river 122¾; Canton Company 34; Missouri 6s 60¼; Erie R. R. 97⅞; One year Certificates 95⅝.

### Philadelphia Stock Market.

PHILADELPHIA, October 31.

Stocks steady; Pennsylvania 5's 93½; Reading Railroad, 66½; Morris Canal, 93; Long Island 46; Pennsylvania Railroad, 70. Exchange on New York par.


## NEW ADVORTISEMENTS.

**PEIPHER'S DAILY LINE**
**BETWEEN PHILADELPHIA,**
**Lock Haven, Jersey Shore, Williamsport, Muncy, Uniontown, Watsontown, Milton, Lewisburg, Northumberland, Sunbury, Treverton, Georgetown, Lykenstown, Millersburg, Halifax, Dauphin,**
**AND HARRISBURG.**

The Philadelphia Depot being centrally located, the drayage will be at the lowest rates. The Conductor goes through with each train to attend to the safe delivery of all goods intrusted to the line. Goods delivered at the depot of WILLIAM E. BURK, 812 Market street, Philadelphia, by 5 o'clock P. M., will be delivered in Harrisburg the next morning.

**Freight Always as Low as by Any Other Line.**

JOS. MONTGOMERY & CO.,
Philadelphia and Reading Depot,
oct21-tf Foot of Market street, Harrisburg.

**NEW LIQUOR STORE.**

IMPORTANT TO LANDLORDS AND OTHERS.—The undersigned offers at *wholesale*, to the trade, a choice lot of the *best liquors* ever brought to Harrisburg, viz: *French Brandies, Holland Gins, Scotch, Irish, Bourbon, Wheat and Old Rye Whisky; Foreign and Domestic Wines*; such as *Champagne, Claret, Catawba, &c.* All liquors warranted, as represented. Landlords and others will find it to their advantage to call and examine the assortment at the store, on South Second street, two doors below Chestnut.

my27-dem GEORGE WINTERS

FRENCH CHALK AND PENCILS, Suitable for Banks, Offices, &c., At Scheffer's Bookstore, Harrisburg, Pa. se29

ENGLISH BREAKFAST TEA.—Just received, a fine chest of English Breakfast Tea, at SHISLER & FRAZER'S, (Successors to Wm. Dock, Jr.)

A FRESH supply of Michener's Celebrated Sugar Cured Hams and Dried Beef, at BOYER & KOERPER

no25

ECONOMY MESS SHAD.—We received a fresh lot this morning, at BOYER & KERPER'S

sep15

MICHENER'S excelsior hams, of this season's curing. Just received and for sale by SHISLER & FRAZER, (successors to Wm. Dock jr., & Co.

dec15

190 ASSORTED BEREA GRINDSTONES for sale. A. K. FAHNESTOCK.

aug24-d1w

CRANBERRIES. Just received, a very fine lot of Cranberries, at SHISLER & FRAZER.

oct3


## HEAR A MINISTER OF CHRIST

### EXPOSE TRAITORS!

### And Denounce Treason!!

### Scathing Review of the Chicago Convention!

### A Democrat Demolishing Modern Democracy.

### "The Peace Panic—Its Authors and Objects."

[CONCLUDED.]

17. The origin of this peace-at-any-price platform issued at Chicago, by the combined factions in the loyal States, is as shameful and traitorous as its spirit is fraudulent and hateful. The New York correspondent of the *London Times*, under date of August 8th, informs his employers that the Clifton House (in Canada, at Niagara Falls,) had become a center of negotiations between the Northern friends of peace and Southern agents. This British publication is dated twenty-one days before the meeting of the Chicago Convention; and at that period this foreign agent, and probably spy, was accurately informed of what the compact contained, which these Southern agents and the Northern friends of peace had agreed on after negotiation. An armistice—a convention of the States—the withdrawal of the arbitrament of the sword—the nomination of a president on this platform—and the defeat of Mr. Lincoln by all possible means; this is the compact, as stated by the British agent twenty-one days before the Chicago Convention met. This is the essence of the Platform actually adopted by that body—in proof of its complicity—and ratified by its partisans everywhere. The peace patriots, and the British agent, and the Southern traitors, all mutually furnish proof against each other, of the audacious proceeding. For while the proof against the whole of them is complete, Mr. George Saunders, the companion of Mr. Holcombe and Mr. Clay, makes a special record as to the complicity of the peace patriots with the Southern traitors, after the fact. As soon as the doings of the Chicago Convention were completed, he telegraphs from St. Catherine's, Canada West, on the 1st of September, to Mr. D. Wier, of Halifax, that the Platform and Presidential nominee were unsatisfactory (that is, were not bad enough—nor possibly quite up to his notion of the contract;) but that the Vice President and the speeches were satisfactory. This Mr. Wier is said to be a Confederate agent at Halifax, and an accomplice of the patriots and traitors in conference. Mr. Saunders desires Mr. Wier to tell Philmore not to oppose the result reached at Chicago. Mr. Philmore is said to be the conductor of the insurgent organ, in London. Mr. Saunders seems to have still confided in the fidelity of the factions who had cheated him and his colleagues a little—had cheated each other a great deal, and had combined to cheat the nation out of its honor, its safety, and perhaps its life; confided in them, that is, far enough to trust them for the full execution of the terms agreed on at Chicago; though the Chicago aspect of these terms was not so good, for the rebels, as the aspect of them agreed on in Canada. Every one understands that General McClellan's acceptance is considered by the peace-panic men an attempt to take the platform for substance only—while he takes the chance of the Presidency, without the least equivocation. How Mr. Saunders and his accomplices, how that portion of the Democracy which is conspiring in the North for the portion fighting in the South—in short, how all the affiliated patriots, traitors, and conspirators—will digest their mutual and multifarious cheats, intrigues, exposures, and perils, we do not pretend to understand. But we do perfectly understand, that every American heart that is in the right place, will turn with horror from a conspiracy, at once so black with treason, so base in design, and so degrading in the manner of its execution, as the one we have developed—and of whose existence and action we consider the proof conclusive.

18. It adds another shade of turpitude to this peace fraud, and furnishes another damning proof that the real object of this peace conspiracy was to aid the rebels, even by the destruction of the nation; that every one engaged in concocting it and endorsing it, knew perfectly well that it was impossible to make any peace with the insurgents in the way they pretend, or in any other way, except by conquering them, or by giving them independent national existence. From the very beginning, this is what every rebel State, what the Confederate Government, with every rebel who has spoken or written, what every important event in the history of the revolt—has continually proclaimed. To separate from the United States and make a new and independent nation—for what purpose, or for how many purposes, is immaterial here—was the very object of their whole thirty years of treasonable efforts, preceding the civil war; of the secession of every one of the eleven States, that united in that war and in the Confederacy that has waged it; and of all their sacrifices, cruelties and crimes during that war. Every man who forfeited his life by treasonable conferences with the rebel agents at Chicago, knew this, and knew that this was still the frantic and unchangeable purpose of every rebel authority to which peace could be proposed. Every man who has forfeited the confidence of his country, by taking part in organizing the Democratic party, and arming secret bands of traitors, and menacing war upon the Government, and raising this turbulent and seditious clamor, all for the express purpose of forcing us to base, cowardly, and fatal attempts at peace, knew all this with absolute certainty. We are obliged, therefore, to say that a most fatal and gigantic fraud is attempted upon the people of the United States, by means of this peace panic; and that the object of the fraud can be no other than to gain power through our national humiliation, and ruin, or to co-operate with the insurgents in establishing their treason. What special motives might actuate American citizens to seek power thus or to use it thus when obtained, is an inquiry which throws open to us all the passions, the interests, the weaknesses, the corruptions of the monstrous period in which we live. Our duty is to defeat the terrible design; to prevent the attainment of the fatal objects proposed; to hold the authors of such attempts responsible for them; to extirpate, root and branch, the dangers which threaten the nation. After that peace.

19. It is the common outcry of the Northern section of the rebellion, that the Southern section will change their minds as soon as their Northern friends come in possession of the Federal Government, and will agree readily to make peace without independence. If they believed these, why did they attempt to make a double-faced platform?—Why did they concert with rebel agents in Canada, the execrable terms contained in that platform? Why do the agents of the rebel Government, and all peace panic accomplices, distrust General McClellan—and why do all sincere sympathizers with the insurgents dread the incompatibility between the candidate and the platform? Why does not some whisper of peace, without independence, come from some rebel Government, General, or State, to help their Northern accomplices in this moment of impending wrath? And yet, if some mixture of truth lurked in these fraudulent professions, it is easy to understand that there are, in the nature of things, terms on which such traitors as the Southern conspirators, and such accomplices as their Northern supporters, might substantially accomplish what they desire, if the Northern conspirators can only obtain power. Thus—a new confederacy might be formed, embracing all the States; but uniting them in a league, as if each State was a nation—instead of being united, as now, into one nation—made up of States and people, under a common government. Or, there might be three or four great confederacies carved out of the nation, the nation itself being destroyed, and each of the new confederacies being only a league. Or these leagues, each constituted of many States, might be again united into one confederacy, in which the great leagues only would stand related to each other. And very obvious conditions might be added against us, and for the benefit of the successful party, in the unjust war which this peace party asserts that we are urging. As, for example: that we pay their expenses of the war; that we pay for the lost negroes and the destroyed property of every kind; that we guarantee the restoration and the perpetual security of negro slavery in all the States where it existed, and in all the Territories; with many more of a similar character—all very honorable and satisfactory in the view of such Americans as will agree to put into power a party capable of such disinterested compliances. We wish every sane man who reads this paragraph, would stop and consider what the men deserve, who desire such things—or things having the very least resemblance to them—to happen to this great and free nation! We wish he would try to make his mind up, as to what must happen to a mighty and heroic people, before any such things as any of these can come to pass! We wish he would determine within himself, what such a nation, such a people, will do after any such things have been put upon them, by force or by fraud—and they have waked up to the tremendous reality!

20. But suppose we agree to believe that the war is an utter failure, on our part, and also agree to believe all the other declarations, dependent on that one; which any one can believe, who sees nothing to be true unless it suits his purpose, and nothing to be false unless it stands in his way. Suppose, moreover, we agree to see that our duty as brave, wise, and patriotic citizens obliges us to give our adhesion to the peace panic party, and crown their seditious and anarchical movement with triumph; which any one can attempt as soon as he has lost the power of distinguishing between good and evil. The peact party obtains power. But it professes to be loyal to the Constitution and the Union. And it knows the rebels will conclude peace with them by giving up their mad purpose of independence, and returning to their former *status* in the Union. Now we encounter at the threshold of every attempt to put these principles into practice, constitutional difficulties, on both sides, which are inseparable, and in the face of which all negotiation is absurd. Mr. Davis is the President of a Confederate Government of sovereign States, with specially defined powers. He has said continually, and most truly, that he had no power at all to destroy that Confederacy, by treaty; no power to mar it, by surrendering any one of these sovereignties to the United States; no power to negotiate with the United States, on the subject of slavery, or any other subject exclusively belonging to each of these sovereignties; no power to stipulate that either of them shall unite in the convention of States, demanded by the Chicago Platform. Mr. Davis continually asserts, that he has no power to treat about any of these matters; that if he had full power, he would not treat about any of them, and that the complete recognition of the independence of the Confederate States, is the *sine qua non*, preliminary to any treaty stipulation with any power on earth. On the part of the rebel Government, there stands the first practical lesson to be studied by these crazy devotees of States rights, as soon as their fraudulent promises are to be conciliated with their anarchical doctrines and their traitorous desires. The whole secession theory explodes—or every Democratic promise of peace, with reunion, by treaty, and without rebel independence, explodes. Nor is the impossibility of peace, by treaty, with or without reunion, less absolute on the part of the Federal Government. This matter does not lie in the domain of the treaty-making power of the Federal Government. The President and the Senate can not compound a rebellion, which the Constitution and the laws require to be suppressed. These confederates are neither more nor less than rebels in arms. The President might pardon them, on their returning to their obedience to the Constitution and the laws of the United States. He might do this, in behalf of any individual, after conviction—possibly before that; he might do it, on the latter supposition, in behalf of every individual in any particular State; and therefore, in behalf of all, in all rebel States. But if he were to do so, except upon condition of their return to obedience, he would prostitute the powers of his great office. His only alternative is to quell them by every proper means at his disposal, and in the exercise of every power vested in him, by the Constitution and the laws. What these are, and how far a state of war warrants, by the Constitution and the laws, innumerable acts demanded by the safety of the State, which would be monstrous under other circumstances; there is no occasion to examine here. Whoever will carefully examine the Constitution of the United States, will be struck with astonishment at the boundless comprehension of the powers bestowed by it on the Government and its different departments, so far as regards the ends for which the "people of the United States" did "ordain and establish" it. And those ends, great beyond all precedent, involve all that is now at stake, "in order to form a more perfect Union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquility, provide for the common defence, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity." But not a word, not a syllable, about changing the Constitution otherwise, or for other objects, than is provided in its own terms. Not a word about the destruction, the dissolution, the division or the reconstruction of the nation. Not a word about a treaty by or with any State, or with or between any combination of States, except that it is directly forbidden (Article I, Sec. 10, p. 1;) thus rendering the very idea, as well as the mode of existence of the Confederate Government, a Constitutional nullity, and forbidding the Federal Government, whose first duty is to suppress it, to make any composition with it concerning its crimes or its continued existence, or with any State that adheres to it. Let the reader observe that these insuperable difficulties, on both sides, which no mode of construing human obligations and rights can evade, are rendered more and more potent as the doctrines of strict construction and State sovereignty are more stringently held. It is curious to see how these secessionists and their allies are swamped, at the first crisis, by the operation of their own political extravagance.

21. The doctrine of the peace panic proceeds thus: The war is a failure; the Constitution is set aside "in every point," under the pretence "of a military necessity or war power;" "public liberty and private right (are) alike trodden down;" "the material prosperity of the country (is) essentially impaired;" on which accounts, "justice, humanity, liberty, and the public welfare demand, that an immediate effort be made for the cessation of hostilities." This cessation of hostilities is, therefore, meant to be, and will be, necessarily the end of all further war—as the platform of the united factions immediately proceeds to declare, as we will see presently. It is one of the ludicrous effects of putting a war candidate on a peace platform, that General McClellan, while accepting the statements of the Convention why the war should cease, and accepting also the method proposed by which it must end at once, should be obliged, by respect for himself, to repudiate the infamy involved in the inevitable conclusion. The temptation is too much for him; so also is the degradation they united with it. When he is beaten, it will be a consolation to him to reflect that the temptation which overcame him, did not make him degrade himself. If he should chance to be elected, his country ought to be that much safer in his hands, that he has repudiated the infamy of a disgraceful peace, as the end of a just, necessary and successful war. But these statements, on which unconditional peace is made the basis of the platform on which he runs—which he must be held to indorse, while he refuses to indorse their conclusion—are, in part, palpably false, in part utterly absurd, and as to all that are true in any sense or degree—the Chicago Convention, and those they represent in the North, and those they co-operate with in the South, are a million times more to blame than those they accuse. And the first result they seek, and which he must be held to accept—immediate cessation of hostilities—is conclusive against the party that supports him, and against his fitness to hold a military commission in our army, much less to be President and Commander-in-chief. What can the nation possibly gain by an ordinary cessation of hostilities, that will relatively weaken the rebellion or strengthen the nation? Absolutely nothing. On the contrary, in the present state of the war, and the parties to it, any change produced by a general cessation of hostilities would necessarily be favorable to the rebellion, and damaging to the nation. If the rebels were to ask for such a cessation of hostilities, with the openly avowed purpose of returning at once to their allegance as loyal people and States, the unconditional and immediate granting of their request would be a subject requiring grave consideration—certainly it would require that we should be fully satisfied they were acting fairly and in good faith. But so far is any temper of this sort from being found in them, that, from the highest to the lowest, they scoff at the idea of a general cessation of hostilities, unless, as connected with it, our armies should be withdrawn from all their territory—our fleets should cease to blockade their coasts—all their captured cities and forts should be given up, all the border States claimed by them should be turned over to them! Our deliberate judgment is, that any American citizen who favors a single one of these propositions, knowing what he does, is a traitor; and that any officer of the Government of the United States, from the President down, who attempts to grant any one of them to these armed insurgents, deserves death. We can not conceal from ourselves, that the leaders of the factions represented in the Chicago Convention—some more, some less, but all of them in some degree—did mean to embrace these damning propositions in their demands, if they were necessary in order to obtain peace; that they did know, sufficiently to make them deliberately guilty, the horrible nature and effects of what they demanded, and that they now expect, and intend, to make an armed insurrection, in the North, in support of these shameless demands, if they fail of success at the impending presidential election. We have, in effect, pretty nearly conquered the rebellion. Now, if their accomplices in the loyal States put to the American people the alternative of conquering them also, or of stopping short in our career of duty, safety, honor, freedom, and national independence, wrought by our arms upon Southern traitors; even let them get ready—for the American people will, when need requires, conquer them also, by arms. They can do what seems good in their own eyes. But they had as well reflect, that what they are now doing, may bring destruction on themselves, and possibly much injury upon their country, but can never bring independence to the rebel States, or peace to us.

22. The constant profession is, that the great end is peace; the time, the earliest practical moment; the means, any that are peaceable, but explicitly immediate efforts for a cessation of hostilities, "with a view to an ultimate convention of all the States." It is the remedy contained in these last words which we have quoted, which is now to be considered. The slightest examination of the subject makes it apparent that this mode of obtaining peace is proposed in mere ignorance and recklessness, or that it is proposed as the means of dissolving the Union. It may be naturally supposed that it is proposed in the former way, if we reflect that the Constitution of the United States does not permit peace to be made by a convention of the States; and does not allow such a convention to divide the Union. There is no power, by the present Constitution, for a convention of the States to assemble at all, except by act of Congress, passed at the application of the Legislatures of two-thirds of the States; and then the single object of this only lawful convention of the States, is to propose amendments to the Constitution, which must afterward be ratified by three-fourths of the States before they have any validity. (Article V.) Very clearly, these madmen might say, that it might be proposed to amend the Constitution, by dividing the nation into two or three parts. But in that case, we suppose, it would be very clear that their intention was to divide the Union. But that intention fraudulently carried out, in contempt of the Constitution, would be far enough from proving that they destroy the Union constitutionally. Every one can judge of the probability of getting two-thirds of the State Legislatures to demand of Congress this convention of the States; every one can see, after all this is done, and all proposed by the plotters is carried through Congress, and through a convention of the States; how soon and how certainly three-fourths of the States would ratify those amendments which profaned and defeated every object avowed in the Constitution itself, for its very existence, and then pretended—not to amend the Constitution, but to dissolve the nation itself! And all this we are to accept as the means of immediate peace, on the basis of the Union and the Constitution! Of course, therefore, what this call of a convention of States means, by the leaders of this peace-panic conspiracy—is the immediate dissolution of the Union. The cessation of hostilities once carried out—those hostilities never to be renewed; the project of the convention of the States dragging along for years, futile as to the professed object of it, full of all manner of danger and mischief in the hands of the parties using it—means only an instrument of ruin confided to the hands of traitors. The mischief was accomplished in the first act. The Chicago Convention menaces the Goverment with resolutions nothing short of a conditional declaration of war; and then, after the fashion of most revolutionary tribunals, refuses to dissolve itself, and declares its existence permanent.—Its other acts were perfectly in keeping with these deliberate schemes for the overthrow of the Constitution, for the triumph of the avowed enemies of the nation, and for the universal reign of disorder. It is natural that in launching upon such a career, they should feel some solicitude about escape if it failed. They should, therefore, consider it a friendly act on our part to warn them that the Constitution of the United States makes the way to peace narrow and difficult for all who force war upon us, and internal anarchy does not tend at all to help our enemies to get rid of just punishment. To foreign enemies in arms against us, the only way to peace is to satisfy the President of the United States, and two-thirds of the members of the National Senate; that is, to satisfy the army and navy, through their Commander-in-chief, and to satisfy two-thirds of the States and people of America, through their Senators in Congress. On the other hand, if these public enemies be armed insurgents, in rebellion, the way to peace for them, as they are far greater criminals, could hardly be less decisive. It lies, absolutely, in their first ceasing to be traitors and enemies; and then, in their returning simply and in good faith, to their loyalty to the United States, and to their obedience to its Government, its Constitution and its laws. If they will not do this, it lies in the conquest of them by arms, and the just punishment of so many of them as duty to God and the country may demand. Besides these two there is no other way, except an appeal to the clemency of the President, in the exercise of his power to pardon under the Constitution. To be a nation, to have a government, to live under the dominion of laws, absolutely demands, in substance, what our own noble institutions require. And what we are now about is, in effect, to determine the sufficiency of free institutions, in protecting human society and human civilization; the compatibility of personal freedom under republican institutions, with sufficient power in the Government to prevent anarchy, and sufficient strength to preserve independence. The first aspect of the great trial, was rebels relying on foreign nations; the second aspect is, disloyal factions taking part with the defeated rebels, in proportion as foreign nations withdraw their countenance. The new disorder only shows how deep and malignant was the poison of the old one. Both are but proofs that the malady was working our death without our heeding it. Now that we know all—if we are worthy of the mission God has appointed us unto—we will not do His work deceitfully, but gird ourselves up to its perfect accomplishment. The motives to an opposite course suggested at Chicago are degrading in themselves, and founded upon a view of the nature of our situation, our duty, and our destiny, wholly absurd. Those motives which spring up in our own minds and hearts, arising from the ties and the hopes these relentless insurgents have despised, are such as outraged but loving parents, and kindred, and friends, can not disown without anguish. But in presence of the exalted demands of duty, and the majestic dictates of reason—the way before us all is clear, like light.

23. We must bear in mind, that the peace portion of the supporters of General M'Clellan and Mr. Pendleton, have continually and clamorously denounced the war, and the coercion of the rebels, both in its origin, and at every step of its progress; and professedly agreed to support General M'Clellan only upon the conditions of his being placed on a platform consistent with their principles, and of having as his Vice President a man holding these particular principles. Both conditions, now, in effect, set aside by the letter of Gen. M'Clellan, if he means what he says, were apparently secured to them at Chicago. Whether they agreed, by a secret and corrupt bargain with the Copperhead Union men, to take M'Clellan, knowing he did not agree with them, or with Mr. Pendleton, or with the platform; or whether those Copperhead Union men, who have continually and clamorously professed to desire the suppression of the rebellion by arms, privately and corruptly agreed that both they and M'Clellan should act on the peace principles of Mr. Pendleton and the platform, after he was elected by the help of his own principles; is of small consequence to any one, except the parties concerned. And it is not of much consequence to them; for in a proceeding so fatal to the character of all engaged in it—what the people have to do is not to parcel out the guilt, where there is no possibility of any being innocent—but promptly to repudiate the whole. For our part, it exceeds all idea we had of human effrontery, that men should stand up with the Chicago Peace Platform in one hand, and the Louisville Conservative War Platform of May 25th in the other hand, and ask the public to confide in them, after they had adopted both in about ninety days. With such facility of reconciling light and darkness, there need be no surprise that, upon a little