

point have not sufficient facts for their support? Will it be contended that there is nothing in the current history of the day to warrant a well-grounded apprehension that American liberty is in danger? Must I prove by argument that the sun is shining? Must I demonstrate that the night follows the day? This servile cry of "all is well" in the face of the unbounded exercise of lawless power, leads to but one result as inevitably as mathematical science reaches its conclusions. The fawning courtier who, from the bare motives of promotion and gain, seconds with the voice and smile of approbation, every encroachment on the rights of the people, is the most dangerous instrument by which popular governments have been overthrown in all ages of the world. He seeks to lull the people into a false sense of security, and at the same time invites the daring usurper to boldly bound over every barrier. A celebrated foreigner thus freely describes the manner in which this class obtain eminence and favor with a corrupt and designing executive:

"One makes a fortune because he can cringe, another because he can lie; this man because he is seasonably dishonest himself; that because he betrays his friend; but the surest means to mount as high as Alberoni is to offer, like him, ragouts of mushrooms to the Duke of Vendome, and there are Vendomes everywhere. They who are called great have generally no other ascendancy over us but what our weakness permits them, or what our meanness gives them."

[CONCLUDED TO-MORROW.]

## The Patriot & Union.

FRIDAY MORNING, JULY 10, 1863.

O. BARRETT & CO., PROPRIETORS.

Communications will not be published in the Patriot and Union unless accompanied with the name of the author.

S. M. PETTENGILL & CO.,  
No. 37 Park Row, N. Y., & 6 State St., Boston.  
Are our Agents for the PAPRIOT AND UNION in those cities, and are authorized to take Advertisements and Subscriptions for us at our Lowest Rates.

DEMOCRATIC STATE NOMINATIONS.  
FOR GOVERNOR,

HON. GEO. W. WOODWARD,  
OF PHILADELPHIA.

FOR JUDGE OF THE SUPREME COURT,  
WALTER H. LOWRIE,  
OF ALLEGHENY COUNTY.

THE WEEKLY PATRIOT AND UNION FOR  
THE CAMPAIGN.

The Weekly PATRIOT AND UNION will be furnished to clubs of ten or more, for the campaign, with an extra number giving full returns of the October election, at 50 cents!

TO THE PUBLIC.  
THE PATRIOT AND UNION and all its business operations will hereafter be conducted exclusively by O. BARRETT & T. G. POMEROY, under the firm of O. BARRETT & CO., the connection of H. F. McREYNOLDS with said establishment having ceased on the 20th November, instant.

NOVEMBER 21, 1862.

THE NATIONAL PLATFORM.

PURPOSES OF THE WAR.

Congress, by a vote nearly unanimous, passed the following resolution, which expresses the voice of the Nation and is the true standard of Loyalty:

"That the present deplorable civil war has been forced upon the country by the disunionists of the Southern States, now in arms against the Constitutional Government, and in arms against the Capital; that in this National emergency, Congress, banishing all feelings of personal animosity, and abandoning the only tie that binds the whole country together, that this war was waged on their part in any spirit of oppression, or for any purpose of conquest or subjugation, or purpose of overthrowing or interfering with the rights or established institutions of the Southern Slaveholding States, or the suppression of the Constitution, or to preserve the union, with all the dignity, equality and rights of the several States unimpaired; and that as soon as these objects are accomplished the war ought to cease."

The Draft—Substitutes.

We have not seen any official order to proceed with the draft, or conscription provided for by Congress last winter; but it is stated by the Washington correspondents of the New York papers, with much positiveness, that such an order has been issued, and that the three hundred thousand conscripts are to be made up without delay. The Commissioner of Internal Revenue in each congressional district has been authorized by the Secretary of War, and directed by the Secretary of the Treasury, to receive from drafted persons, who desire to pay it for the purpose of exemption, the sum of \$300. On receipt of this sum, the Collector of Internal Revenue shall give the drafted person paying it duplicate receipts. One copy of these receipts shall be delivered to the board of enrollment on or before the day the drafted person is required to report for duty, and when so delivered to the board, the drafted person shall be furnished by the board with a certificate of exemption. "Form 81, Regulations of Provost Marshal General's Bureau," stating that the person is discharged from further liability under that draft, by reason of having paid the sum of \$300.

Invasion of Pennsylvania.

When the Army of the Potomac, finding itself outflanked and evaded by Lee, moved northward to cover Washington, Baltimore, and its menaced communications with the loyal North, there was a vehement clamor for local protection and security. It was very wrong, many said, not to have guarded the loyal States from invasion at all hazards. But it was not wrong—it was wise and right. The further Lee ventured North, with our noble army intact on his flank and rear, the more probable his defeat, and the more certain and complete, in case of such defeat, his destruction.

We command the above extract, from yesterday's *Tribune*, to the attention of our farmers in the Southern counties of the State. It would seem, according to the *Tribune*, that the devastation of our fairest fields, and the plundering of many of our border counties, was "wise and right"—a great piece of military strategy, which it would be well, on the same basis of reasoning, to repeat as often as it can be accomplished; for whatever is "wise and right" should be done at all times. Not being skilled in the profound strategy which governs the movement of our armies, it may be difficult for our farmers to see or understand why an army that readily beats Lee in Pennsylvania could not, if properly handled, have beaten him in Virginia. But, says this expounder of military strategy, the Army of the Potomac was outflanked and evaded by Lee, but he does not inform us why this was so. A live general never permits himself to be outflanked, unless

by superior numbers and in actual conflict, when it may be inevitable. If, as Wendell Phillips says, Hooker lost the battle of Chancellorsville by being drunk, he was evidently unfit to command, and should have been dismissed at once. We feel confident that Gen. Meade would not have been outflanked, and could have whipped Lee in one place as well as another.

The administration is, therefore, Aq's criminal neglect, clearly responsible for the calamities that have befallen us.

### Wendell Phillips on the Fourth.

All history furnishes to the reflective mind abundant evidence of the truth of the remark once made by John Randolph, "that fanaticism knows no stopping place between Heaven and Hell." Once launched upon its headlong career, it knows no turning, calculates no consequences, but rushes forward until, its followers, and the cause it espouses are plunged into irretrievable ruin. This is precisely the career now being run by the National Administration, under Abolition control, and in a race of this kind whoever is maddest, and goes fastest and farthest, is necessarily a leader; we may therefore fairly set down Wendell Phillips as the grand commander of what they term the "Army of Progress."

On the Fourth of July inst. Wendell Phillips made a characteristic speech at Framingham, Mass., from which we propose to make some extracts, and to briefly discuss.

After his peroration, Mr. Phillips proceeds to speak of Monroe D. Conway—who our readers will remember, in a letter to J. M. Mason, the Confederate Minister to England, offered, as he said, by authority of those who controlled the government, to acknowledge the independence of the Southern Confederacy, providing they would abolish slavery—and says:—"I think his intention was as honest as the midday sun is clear." And yet, while he says that Mr. Conway did not represent his friends on this side of the Atlantic, he adds:—"I entirely agree with the essence that underlies that offer. The Union without liberty is tenfold, to-day, more accursed than it was at any time the last quarter of a century. Union without liberty I spit upon, as the subjection of the North and the eclipse of the nineteenth century." The liberty Mr. Phillips speaks of, is, of course, the liberty of the slave, and he cares not how vast a treasure may be squandered, how many lives sacrificed, or how farred in, in the pursuit of his object; that is of no consequence to him. With the peculiar idiosyncrasy that invariably accompanies insanity, his mind contains but a single thought—the freedom of the negro. To this all other considerations must give way. Though "thick night" envelope the land, his star, the negro, still shines on and lights him on his way.

Further on we find Mr. Phillips objects to Conway's plan, and why he is bitterly hostile to President Lincoln's scheme of colonization. He says:

"Now I am going to say something that I know will make the New York *Herald* use its small capitals and notes of admiration—(laughter)—and yet no well informed man this side of China, but believes it is in the very core of his heart. That is, 'amalgamation'—a word that the Northern apologist for slavery has always used so glibly, but which you never heard from a Southerner—amalgamation!—Remember this, the youngest of you; on that 4th of July, 1863, you heard a man say, that in the light of all history, in virtue of every page he ever read, he was an amalgamist to the utmost extent. (Applause.)

"We have no hope for the future, as this country has no past and Europe has no past, but in that sublime mingling of races, which is God's own method of civilizing and elevating the world!"

Here is the grand secret. He does not want the negroes colonized out of the country; he does not want them freed in a separate Confederacy; he wants them here, placed on a political and social equality with you white men and women of the North; he wants you to intermarry with them, and thus, as he impiously declares, work out "God's own method of civilizing and elevating the world." "God's own method of civilizing and elevating the world!" It is the Devil's own method of degenerating and destroying the white race, without in the slightest degree elevating the negro. The patient research and laborious investigation of our most eminent naturalists and physiologists have determined the fact that a hybrid race is in direct violation of God's eternal law, and therefore impossible; that the mixture of the white and black races produces a weak and emasculated people, who, without frequent infusions of fresh blood, inevitably die out. We need not go beyond the southern part of our own continent for examples to illustrate this point. Whoever has traveled through South America or read the works of our best authors upon the subject, will be abundantly satisfied that the admixture of the blood of different races produces an imbecile, enervated nation, scarcely capable of self-government, constantly subject to civil wars, led by any more vigorous adventurer, who may from time to time find a place amongst them. Coming nearer home, we have but to look at Mexico, the history of which is familiar to all. Their leaders have always been of the pure blood of Castile and Arragon, while the mass of the people, through an admixture of negro and Indian blood, have constantly deteriorated, until, torn by civil dissensions, they became a nation of robbers and guerrillas, the helpless tools of any mercenary or ambitious leader, and fall an easy prey to France under Louis Napoleon, or any other vigorous northern nation.

This is the "elevation" to which the Republican party would invite us! God save the mark!

In this connection we wish to address a few words—not to the Republicans, because Phillips says that "Republicanism, specifically, is sunk beyond any depth that plummets ever sounded"—but to the more moderate of the Abolitionists. Many of you who are not in favor of amalgamation are in favor of emancipation under the visionary and impractical colonization theory of Abraham Lincoln; but the majority of you believe that the negroes may all be made free and live on terms of equality with the white race in peace and happiness. This ignores the teachings of all history. No two distinct races ever lived on an equality in the same country without constant quarrels and dissensions, growing out of frequent attempts to dominate over each other. Hungary presents a ready illustration. There the Slavonians and Magyars have remained in

the same little kingdom, a separate and distinct people, for over nine hundred years, and their constant feuds have so weakened them as to cause them to lose their nationality, and both become the slaves of Austria. In this country the inferiority of the black race, in point of numbers, energy and force, would prevent them from materially impairing the strength of the white race, but the antagonism would be broader than in Hungary, and would doubtless result in the extermination of the negroes.

We do not believe that the proud Caucasian blood will ever mingle with the humble African; but if it were possible, your placing the negro on a political equality must necessarily produce it. It needs no argument to prove that political equality begets social equality, and that social equality cannot exist except among people who intermarry with each other. It is an axiom. So that however you may shudder and recoil at the idea of amalgamation, your theory carries you to the same result, and is equally absurd with that of Wendell Phillips.

Wendell Phillips and his arrogant cabal, having captured the President last September and drove him into issuing his emancipation proclamation apparently against his better judgment, subsequently, in January, forced him to consent to arming the negroes, and as the result has not been commensurate with their expectations, they are now whipping him into "more vigorous prosecution of the war" in this direction. They want more ruffians, and assassins like Montgomery and Lane, to burn, rob, kill and destroy—to free and arm the negroes, and exterminate the whites of the South. We confess to be somewhat amused by the vigor with which they apply the *lash*, but fear that Mr. Lincoln having yielded himself up to the degradations, will not now be able to withstand their striking arguments. In speaking of the Army of the Potomac, Mr. Phillips says:

"Now I have hope, strong hope, in the present attitude of the Union army in Pennsylvania. We have a sober man, a brave man, and an able man, at last, at the head of the Army of the Potomac. (Applause.) We never have had these three qualities combined before.—Mark me! I am speaking of the commander-in-the-field, not the one at Washington—Halleck. Well, there is one green spot, one oasis, in the barrenness of his utter incapacity, and that green spot is, he hates McClellan. (Laughter and applause.) I remember once, I was in the office of a neighbor of mine, a worthless fellow came in and borrowed five dollars of him. I said to him—'What did you lend that fellow five dollars for?' You know you will never get it again.' 'True,' said he; 'but he might have asked for ten.' So, when you think of the utterly, unredeemed, unfathomable incapacity of Halleck, remember—we might have had McClellan! (Applause and laughter.) Put him out of the way. Let us hope that in due time the idea of his incapacity will penetrate even the mind of the President."

Further on he says:

"Washington, in my view, is the great obstacle to the success of the North in its endeavor to restore the power of the Union. I will tell you why. To begin with that stereotyped phrase, 'the honesty of the President.' I do not believe that Abraham Lincoln consciously makes the preservation of the Union second to any other object; but I believe, at the same time, that, misled by his ambition—deluded by artful counsellors, the government at Washington to-day, instead of being a machine to carry on this war effectively, is nothing but a great national committee to manage the next Presidential election. The war is to be carried on, but the idea at Washington is to carry it on subordinate to the chances of certain parties in the next Presidential canvass. Now, I am not charging on the Republican leaders at Washington copperheadism. That rank and file which, when it says 'the Constitution as it is,' means, in fact, 'the institution as it was,' is one thing; the mistaken one-quarter honest and three quarters wicked effort of the party at Washington is to save the Union, subordinate to certain selfish plans of their own. I linger on that statement, because I believe it constitutes the peril of the country. Hitherto we have had only delay and inefficiency. Now, some men say, 'every step of the President, however long delayed, has resulted in benefit to the anti-slavery cause.' I know it. When I look up and onward into the designs of Providence, I see as clearly as any man in this country or in Europe how good it has been that government has been composed of the most obstinate and ignorant men in the country. (Applause.) Let no man leave this grove after listening to me, with any notion that I do not fully appreciate that element in our nation's history."

While we cordially endorse the first part of this paragraph, the sentiments contained in the last are too monstrous to pass unnoticed. Stripped of its rhetoric it is simply this, throw away the Constitution of our fathers, trample it under foot, do not strive to restore the Union, but prolong the war to any period required for the extirpation of slavery, squander all your means, sacrifice all your white men if necessary, but be careful of the niggers, for in them lies the hope of the nation. Can it be possible that the great States of the North will furnish any further men and means to be used on such a principle. Will they not rather demand that the policy of the administration be changed, and the war conducted upon the principle laid down by Abraham Lincoln when he was inundated, and the resolution passed by Congress at its subsequent extra session?

In the following paragraph one can almost fancy they hear the crack of the whip the operator holds over the powers at Washington:

"Events are so imperative and overwhelming, that even that Cabinet, inefficient as it is, cannot resist them. If you go to the catafalque of Niagara they will tell you that the heaviest amount of iron, lodged on its surface, cannot sink. Niagara tosses it like a chip, and bears it onward. The Cabinet is unredeemed inefficiency—heavy as molten and doubly hampered iron; but in the Niagara of 1863 it is tossed upward like a chip. (Prolonged applause.) No thanks to it, but to the Niagara that will not be resisted. (Renewed applause.) But why do I call the government only a committee to manage the next Presidential election? I will tell you. I am going to read to you some passages from a little speech, by a little man, at a great meeting, where nobody listened to him—(laughter)—and yet it is a great speech in its significance. The Blair family have no consequence of their own. They are the fungus growth of the 'kitchen Cabinet' of Andrew Jackson—(laughter)—and their existence is that of parasites hanging on the stately trees of the forest, which they poison. But, at the same time, this speech of the Postmaster is of great significance. It was prepared in the city of Washington, and elaborately written out there. The manuscript was subjected to the criticism of others, and interlined in another ink by another hand before the schoolboy speaker was allowed to leave with his lesson well conned in his pocket. A Cabinet officer, he goes by express to the capital of New Hampshire, makes his speech, and, without waiting to dine, expresses himself back to Washington, while in Concord he per-

sonally superintends its printing and mails slips to Boston and New York. No member of the administration does all that—forgetting dinners to correct types—merely to make a speech. A great government does not allow its representatives to throw away their time in that manner.

"The man—our Postmaster General—who last spring approached Henry Wilson and wished to know of that most experienced wire-puller in New England whether it is time yet to put Abraham Lincoln in nomination for another term—(a voice—'That time will never come!')—goes in the summer to Concord, with his credentials in his pocket, and makes this speech. It has a significance as the action of the government, as the programme of the future, as the great effort of the administration to perpetuate its power. Now, I for one, have no objection to the Presidency of Abraham Lincoln for four or eight years longer. I told him myself, and I believed it then, and I believe it now—that the man who would honestly put his right hand to the plough of that proclamation, and execute it, this people would not allow to quit the helm while that experiment was trying. (Applause.) Whoever starts the great experiment of emancipation, and honestly devotes his energies to making it a fact, deserves to hold the helm of the government until that experiment is finished. But this programme is a different one. The meaning of this speech, of which I want to read to you a few extracts, is this: In the future there are to be two candidates. Butler is to be one, something like Seymour, and McClellan is to be the other. Radicalism is one point, peace Democracy is the other. Republicanism, specifically has sunk below any point that plummet ever sounded—(applause)—and in the future a radical man and a Peace Democrat are to bear up rival banners. This speech of the Postmaster General is Abraham Lincoln's effort to run between the parties—a compromise candidate. Again, I have no objection to that—mark you! I have so subtle a contempt for the level of Washington office that I am willing the very men who hold them shall hold them in perpetuity—their heirs and assigns forever—(laughter)—provided that in those offices they will honestly do the work of the people and the age. But this speech is the bid of a hybrid politician, born between the upper millstone of the North and the lower millstone of the South, pandering to the prejudices of the worst obstacles to the war, in order that he may continue to feed at the public crib."

Montgomery Blair, in his speech, it seems, advocated the President's colonization scheme, and of this Mr. Phillips says:

"It is foolish and useless in us to say—a trite truth though it be—that no man, with the slightest claim to the name of statesman, can ever name the word 'colonization.' That, no doubt, is true. But it is not because they believe in it that these men never mention it. It is because they know that in the unthinking masses they shall find a chord to work on to serve a base purpose. It is, therefore, to that mass that we should address comments on a speech like this. For this nation to dig down the Alleghenies and fill them up again would be a wise and thrifty use of means compared with colonizing four millions of workmen. But that is not the whole truth, either. There never was in the history of the world such a thing done. Spain expelled the Moors after four centuries of battle. This brainless Cabinet cannot defend its own country without the help of the blacks; of course, therefore, they are in no condition to profit by expelling them by battle. The Spanish precedent, therefore, does not serve. France expelled half a million of Huguenots by starvation, persecution and the gibbet. If this hybrid Cabinet wanted or dared to do that, they are not capable. England drove two millions of Irish from the shelter of her flag by famine and cruel laws. This nation does not propose, and if it were possible to propose such a plan, it could not execute it. The only method of colonization left is to devote the wealth of the nation to making itself bankrupt. What is the creed of Abraham Lincoln I cannot tell. Montgomery Blair is too well informed to believe in colonization. Honest colonizationists have been—but not since 1861 has there been any well informed man so deluded among those whom the Probate Court lets walk our streets."

With this paragraph we leave Mr. Wendell Phillips to the tender mercies of the Administration, who may bring to him as they have done in the past, or apply the lash in turn; but we enter our solemn protest, in the name of a patriotic and Christian people, against their trying to carry out his atrocious bar-barous and damnable doctrines.

NEWS OF THE DAY.

BY TELEGRAPH.

FROM NORTH CAROLINA.

WASHINGTON, July 9.—The following has been received at headquarters:

NEWBURN, N. C., July 7, via FORT MONROE, July 8, 1863.—Maj. Gen. H. W. Halleck, General-in-Chief:

I have the honor to report that the cavalry sent from here, July 8d, under Colonel Lewis Third New York cavalry, have safely returned, having successfully accomplished their mission, and without loss.

They destroyed, twisting the rails, &c., by Gen. Haupt's plan, two miles of the railroad at Warsaw; also destroying for five more miles all the culverts as well as the telegraph.

At Knoxville, Duplin co., an armory was destroyed, with large quantities of small arms and commissary and quartermaster stores, which were burned.

About 150 animals and some 30 prisoners were captured by them, and some 100 men and 300 negro women and children came in with them.

J. G. Foster, Major General Commanding.

CONTINUED RETREAT OF BRAGG.

CINCINNATI, July 9.—A special dispatch to the *Commercial*, dated Tallahatchie, July 8th says, Bragg, yesterday, retreated across the Tennessee river and destroyed the splendid bridge at Bridgeport. Stragglers from the army say that Bragg's forces are demoralized and the army is crumbling as it recedes.