



STAR OF THE NORTH.

Wm. H. JACOBY, EDITOR.

BLOOMSBURG, WEDNESDAY, OCT. 14th, 1863

DEMOCRATIC MEETINGS.

During the last week past the Democracy held some of the largest and most spirited meetings ever held in Columbia county. They were attended by thousands—the people seeming more thoroughly aroused in the cause of Democracy and Liberty than ever at any previous campaign. It is with them, Liberty or Tyranny! They feel that to enjoy their Freedom and Civil Liberty longer they must elect the Democratic Ticket, thereby placing the power and control of this Government into safe hands—with persons whom they can trust and enjoy their constitutional privileges as they have heretofore under Democratic rule. This being hampered and chained down by the hands of the present despotic and tyrannical Administration for exercising a freeman's right, is a thing not to be tolerated any longer by a once free white people. They have borne this despotism as long as they could. A change of rulers is being called for from every quarter, that white men may again enjoy the right of speech, of suffrage, and trial by jury, without the intermeddling of the Washington tyrants and imbeciles.

At **Fredericksburg** a Democratic Mass Meeting was held on the 8th inst., which was the largest political gathering ever assembled in Columbia county. The number of people present have been estimated at from four to six and eight thousand! There were not less than five thousand people in attendance, to the best of our judgment, and we have seen a few gatherings within the past year, though of a military character. The weather was not favorable for an out-door meeting, as it rained considerably of the time during the day. In spite of the inclemency of the weather, a meeting was organized, on the ground prepared for the occasion, and speeches delivered by Joseph C. Beckers, Esq., of Lewisburg, and Col. William Bauman, of Lycoming. They made able and patriotic speeches, and were patiently listened to by both male and female. The speakers were frequently applauded, thus giving the doctrine promulgated a hearty endorsement. At the close, each speaker was the recipient of a beautiful bouquet, prepared by the hand of the fair daughters of Columbia. Hon. CHAS. R. BECKLER presided; and the Vice Presidents were, Hon. John McKeenleys, Hemlock; Hon. Stephen Baldy, Catawissa; Hon. Jacob Evans, Greenwood; Hon. Robert Moore, Danville; Hon. Joseph Deas, Derry; Hon. Peter Ent, Scott; Thos. A. Fenton, B. Esig, Madison; John J. Barkley, Bloom; Daniel S. Vandervice, Esq., Mt. Pleasant; Benjamin Winterstein, Pine; Iram Derr, Jackson; Saml. McHenry, Benton; Richard Fruit, Anthony; and John Moore, West Hemlock. Secretaries—Col. Levi L. Tate, Capt. Thomas Chaffant, Wm. H. Jacoby, and J. S. Sanders, Esqs.

In **Corryham**—Thursday evening, October 8th—the Democracy of that township assembled at the Public House of Henry Gable, Esq., and after the meeting being called to order, Col. J. G. FREZZE, HENRY S. MARSH, Esq., of Schuylkill co., JOSEPH H. CAMPBELL, Esq., of Danville, and W. Wirt, Esq., addressed the Democracy in able and spirited speeches. The staunch and stalwart Democracy of Corryham were out in their might, eager to hear the issues of the campaign discussed in an earnest and patriotic manner. This township is going to do better. She will completely submerge all Abolitionism within her limits. The doctrine of Secession and Abolitionism is a dead letter in Corryham twp. They are in favor of constitutional liberty, free speech, free press, and no suspension of the writ of *habeas corpus* in a State not in rebellion, and maintain that under the constitution there is sufficient power to put down the present rebellion, and had the constitution and laws in accordance thereto been observed and respected by the men in power, this unholy and wicked war would have been brought to a close ere this. But as it is, no one can yet see the end of the difficulty. At the close of the addresses, the speakers were cheered heartily, as well as were our gallant and noble candidate for Governor—GEORGE WASHINGTON WOODWARD. The meeting adjourned, all being highly pleased with the proceedings.

In **Middletown**, on Thursday evening last, the Democracy had a meeting. It was organized by making S. B. M. YASTS chairman, and Lewis Eckroat, John Michael, William Pettit, Geo. Brown, John R. Yoke, Phineas Smith, Daniel Noyes, Thos. Aton, Vice Presidents. Silvester Dietrich acted as Secretary. The meeting was addressed by E. H. LITTLE, Esq., of this place, in his usual able and patriotic manner. The meeting was spirited,—being largely attended for an evening meeting in that section. The Democracy are fairly aroused in little Middletown. Look out for an increased Democratic majority in this township.

At **Scranton**—Friday afternoon, October 9th—the Democracy had a meeting which was presided over by BEN J. WAGNER, Esq., assisted by a number of vice presidents; and Gena Hower, Secretary. After the completion of the organization, earnest, patriotic and spirited addresses were delivered by Gen. Patton, of Bradford, HENRY S. MARSH, Esq., of Ashland; Capt. THOMAS CHAFFANT, Esq., of Broomfield; J. H. CAMPBELL, Esq., of Monticello county, and Col. J. G. FREZZE, of this place. The meeting was an entire success. The speeches were rapidly applauded. We need not fear of having a good report from the Democracy of Locust and adjoining townships on Tuesday, election day. They appeared to be all ready

for the coming contest. At the adjournment, three cheers were given in such a manner, for Woodward and Lowe, that made the welkin ring. The speakers received the thanks of the meeting for their patriotic and earnest efforts made in the cause of Democracy.

In **Braver**, at Franklin Shuman's, on Saturday afternoon, Oct. 10th, E. H. LITTLE, Esq., addressed a large and enthusiastic gathering of the Democracy on the present issues of the campaign. HENRY LANE, sen., presided, assisted by John Shuman, Samuel Case, John Fry, Daniel Romer, Isaac Davis, Esq., Christian Shuman, as Vice President; and Wm. Longenberger and Allen Mann, Secretaries. They had a good meeting.—The speaker did justice to the cause, eliciting from the audience, in several instances, tremendous applause. The meeting adjourned after giving three cheers for the speaker, and soundly cheering their standard bearers, Woodward and Lowe.

In **Rousesburg**—Saturday the 10th inst.—the Democracy had an old-fashioned and spirited meeting. Hon. PETER ENT, was made chairman. Jacob Evans, J. A. Fenton, John Fruit, Iram Derr, Samuel McHenry, Philip Appleman, Samuel Kiser, Robert Robbins, Benj. McHenry, Joseph Ikeler, and John McHenry, Esq., were chosen as Vice Presidents of the meeting. And Isaac A. Dewitt and Andrew J. Albertson, Secretaries. Addresses were delivered by ELIZABETH R. ICKLES, of Millville, and Col. LEVI L. TATE, of the Columbia Democrat. The speeches were of a purely Democratic stripe,—constitutional in every sense of the word. The meeting was well attended—people being present from various sections of the county. Madison township turned out a delegation on horse-back, some thirty! The people are thoroughly aroused this Fall all over! Three cheers for the speakers, and Woodward and Lowe, were given at the close of the meeting with a will that is rarely witnessed at political gatherings.—Rousesburg is in a hot-bed of Abolitionism; but with all that, there are those among them who know their rights dare maintain them.

At **Light Street**,—the evening of the 10th inst.,—the Democracy of Scott and adjoining townships held a meeting in the School House, at which JOSHUA H. FURMAN, Sheriff of Columbia county, presided. The vice presidents were, Wm. White, George Oman, B. F. Reichart, James Freese, Jeremiah Hagenbuch, P. T. Hartman, John G. Jacoby, Wm. Mosteller, James Johnson, Augustus Everhart, Samuel Shoemaker, P. Yoke, J. R. Brugler, Esq. Secretaries—Peter Shug and J. S. Bachman. The meeting being organized, Col. JOHN G. FREZZE, Hon. L. L. Tate and E. R. ICKLES, delivered addresses. The people in this township are like they are in other places mentioned in this column—alive in the cause of Woodward, Lowe and Civil Liberty!—In Scott we may look for quite a change in the vote compared with that cast for Curtin three years ago. Curtin then had a handsome majority, but this Fall his majority will sink into nothingness. We are greatly mistaken if Woodward does not carry the township. This meeting had a good effect. Mark the result. The meeting adjourned in good order.

In **Centre**, a large and enthusiastic meeting was held on Tuesday evening the 6th inst., at the house of John Grover, by the Democracy. PETER MILLER, Esq., presided. J. E. Frederick, Solomon Neyhart, Lafayette Crenay, Jeremiah Hagenbuch, John Dieterich, Wesley Hess, Daniel Neyhart, Jacob Sanders, were vice presidents, and G. A. Herring, Samuel Neyhart, Secretaries. Lieut. A. B. TATE and E. H. LITTLE addressed the meeting. A good turnout was had; and the people of little Centre are all in motion. We can safely put her down for an increased Democratic majority. She will do her duty.

A **DEMOCRATIC MEETING** was held in Franklin twp., Columbia county, on Monday evening last. It was addressed by J. H. CAMPBELL, Esq., of Danville, and E. H. LITTLE, Esq. It was a spirited and patriotic meeting. The Democracy of Franklin are sturdy and true hearted in the cause of Union and Democracy. They stand unwavering, determined to vote for the man of their choice—GEORGE W. WOODWARD. Franklin is soundly Democratic, and good for a snug little majority for the Democratic ticket.

The Democracy of Epy had a meeting on Monday evening last, JOHN ROBINSON, presiding. It was addressed by Col. J. G. FREZZE, in an able and convincing speech, which set the Republicans of that place to thinking. There was a large turnout for the place, considering, too, that it was an evening meeting. Scott township was formerly one of the strong holds of Republicanism. But from what information we can gather, Woodward stock is best in that township this Fall.

The **Phillips and Garrison Party**. The Republican party has finally admitted that they have taken position with Wendell Phillips and William Lloyd Garrison who declare that "the Constitution of the United States is a league with death and a covenant with hell." This announcement is made in the Worcester correspondence of the New York Tribune, which speaking of the late Massachusetts "Republican" convention, says:—

"It will be borne in mind that there were nearly 1,700 delegates in attendance, and that resolutions, radical, without a precedent in the history of this State were under consideration, and thus unanimously adopted. In their admirable speeches, Wilson and Boutwell, Dana and Elliott, ranged themselves fully along side of Garrison and Phillips, and the Convention, with untold, and enthusiastic voice said amen!"

The New York Post a Republican Journal, in decanting upon the probable effect of war upon slavery, says:—
"If slavery is to be continued in this country we WANT THE IRISH and CATHOLICS TO TAKE THE PLACE OF THE NEGROES, and let the MORE INTELLIGENT and MORE VIRTUOUS SLAVES be liberated!"

Legal Tenders—Hope in the Future.

It was related of a high judicial authority of England that, when consulted by a young man who had obtained a party appointment as a Colonial Judge, in the respect to the duties to be discharged, told him to make decisions to the best of his understanding, and he would probably be near right. "But," said he, "beware of giving reasons for your judgements." "False reasoning from misapprehension premises will ruin you." The soundness of this advice has been powerfully illustrated in the decisions reported of the six Judges of the Court of Appeals, who have pronounced in favor of "legal tender paper." The results are law as far as the State of New York goes; but the reasoning of those whom The Tribune with emphatic sneer calls "elected" judges, although that paper was one of the most ardent supporters of that clause of the new Constitution, is such as to convince every clear headed man that the legal tender cannot stand in the United States Courts. The best powers of six judges, of the Court of Appeals in trying to sustain Congress in the assumption have only demonstrated that the measure is indefensible. Hopes are thus awakened that Mr. Chase and his whole scheme of paper will yet be cast off from the shoulders of a long suffering people. The Judges have amid a wilderness of words, claimed the right of Congress to issue paper money and make it legal tender, because, although no powers were granted to do so by the Constitution, that instrument prohibited the States from doing so. This is a singular mode of reasoning, but it was the only one left to those who were first determined to have the power, and then look up authority for it. That no better authority could be procured by all that array of legal talent, proved conclusively that no authority exists. The Constitution contains the following clause:

"The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people."

This provision is very clear and excludes the right of Congress to issue paper money or to make anything a legal tender. This latter fact is one generally overlooked and has been so entirely by the Court of Appeals; but we shall demonstrate it. The following are clauses from the Constitution:

"Congress shall have power to borrow money on the credit of the United States."

"To coin money, to regulate the value thereof, and of foreign coin."

"No State shall coin money, emit bills of credit or make anything but gold and silver a tender in payment of debts."

"Nor shall any person be deprived of life, liberty or property without due process of law."

Now the first power conferred upon Congress was the exclusive one of "coining money;" another clause forbade the States to do so. The coin in the country at that time was mostly Spanish coin, but more or less coins of all nations, of different values. It was requisite for Congress to fix a national coin and adjust the value of all those foreign coins in relation to it. To "coin money" it was requisite to have the material. This was supplied by merchants who imported the metals, took them to the mint, and Congress had them coined for the merchants. Congress was required to regulate the value of the coined money, and it did so by declaring that three hundred and forty-eight grains of pure silver coined should be called "a dollar," or two hundred and thirty-two grains of pure gold should be "an eagle," or ten dollars. There the functions of Congress ended, but it regulated the value of the foreign coins in accordance with these new coins. The merchants brought the metals into the country and Congress coined them and regulated their value. But Congress never made anything a legal tender. The States were to make these United States coins, or any foreign coins, a legal tender, providing they were all gold and silver. They could not make copper or brass or leather or paper or anything else a legal tender, only gold and silver. Up to the passage of the paper money bill by the Republicans the Federal Government never made a legal tender.

The money of the country, the coins, being thus provided, Congress was empowered "to borrow money" on the credit of the Government. The States were forbidden to issue paper money, "emit bills of credit," and a degree was introduced into convention to authorize Congress to "emit bills of credit." This was stricken out, says Mr. Madison, "to cut off all pretext for issuing paper money." Thus the power to issue paper was forbidden to the States and, as deliberately, refused to the Federal Government.

The right to do it is, however, claimed as the right to borrow money. Under this right Congress authorized in 1861 fifty million of paper money payable on their face on demand in gold and silver. Mr. Chase failed to do this, the Treasury became bankrupt, it never paid a dollar for one of their notes, but took them in payment of debts to it. Since the four hundred million of paper has been issued bearing on their face the following:

"The United States will pay the bearer. ONE DOLLAR."

at the Treasurer in New York." Now this promises to pay "one dollar," and is not therefore "a dollar" of itself. What is a dollar? It is according to United States law, Congressional enactment, 345 grains of pure silver, or 23.2 grains of pure gold. Let any one go to the Treasurer and claim the dollar here promised, and he will be laughed at. When Congress authorized the issue of these promises, it passed a law that not only they need not be paid, but that no individual in the whole country who had promised to pay "dollars" need fulfill his contract; that all creditors should take paper instead of gold. Thus a deliberate lie was engraved on these pieces of paper bearing the portraits of Mr. Chase and Mr.

Lincoln, and a confiscation of the property of creditors was ordered by this operation. Thus a man has borrowed in London ten thousand dollars of gold, which he is called upon to pay. He has his pocket-book full of promises to pay him dollars; he seeks one for ten thousand dollars and demands payment. He is offered paper for the amount, but it is worth only seven thousand dollars. He complains, and Mr. Chase's portrait stares at him with hard arrogance. He has had three thousand dollars of his money taken from him "without process of law," and he has no remedy. Mr. Stanton seizes a workman, tears him from his family, handcuffs him, sends him to the army, where, if he is not shot in sixty days, Mr. Chase gives him paper promising to pay him twenty six "dollars," a sum fixed by Congress, in specie. He finds on presenting the notes to the Treasury that they will not pay. If they would pay he could get eight barrels of flour for his money to feed his family. As Mr. Chase won't pay however, he gets only five barrels. He loses equal to three barrels of flour out of the pittance given him for sixty days loss of liberty and risk of life, yet the Constitution guarantees to him that he shall not "be deprived of liberty or property without due process of law." He is told that this is necessary to "save the country." His common sense tells him that this is a lie, invented to cover the other wrong; that Mr. Chase could have "borrowed money" legally to carry on the war, and by proceeding legally abundance of troops could have been had without illegally depriving any one of his liberty.

This is not all. Mr. Chase has issued \$20,000,000 of fractional currency which is now so defaced and dilapidated that at least \$4,000,000 has become confiscated in the hands of the people—can't pass it. Every day the holder finds that the grocer, the market man and the shopkeeper refuses to take the Chase shillings, that his small earnings are confiscated "without due process of law," and he has no remedy. He knows also that when he does pass the paper he loses one-third of his right. He is charged fourteen cents for a pound of sugar. If Mr. Chase paid constitutional coin the sugar would be but eight cents and all the supplies for which his family suffers, would be proportionately less. While his property is thus confiscated, Mr. Chase arrogantly assures the country that he is "borrowing without interest."

LATEST FROM CHARLESTON.

Progress of Gen. Gillmore's Preparations—Advised to Tuesday Last—Early Resumption of Active Operations.

New York, Oct. 9.—The U. S. transport Carlew, from Charleston bar on the morning of the 6th inst., has arrived here.

She left Port Royal on the 4th inst., and towed the Weekawken to Charleston bar. The Palapoco and Passaic were at work, but generally the navy was doing nothing. The correspondent of the Baltimore American, writing from Charleston bar on the 6th inst., says:

"All is quiet except the occasional firing from the rebel forts."

"Gen. Gillmore's preparations are nearly completed, and active operations will soon be resumed."

"The steamers Tah Kee and Commodore Dupont arrived yesterday from Fortress Monroe."

Another Account.

BALTIMORE, Oct. 9.—The following has been received from the correspondent of the American:

"CHARLESTON HARBOR, Oct. 2.—A monstrous inactivity continues to prevail here. The rebel fire upon our working parties has slackened. General Gillmore's works are rapidly progressing. Our batteries now reply to the James Island forts, and occasionally shell the ruins of Fort Sumpter. The health of the army and navy is good. A heavy northwest gale set in last night, but our vessels sustained no damage from it."

"FRIDAY EVENING.—There is considerable firing this evening between our batteries and the rebel works on James Island."

"Fort Sumter was also shelled for a short time this evening."

"There is a heavy cloud of smoke floating over James Island, apparently from a fire in Charleston."

The War Democrats Practical Peace Men.

How many of the so-called leaders of the War Democracy are ready to shoulder the musket and enter the ranks? Are these men whose insatiable thirst for blood demands a still greater sacrifice of human life willing to take the field? Do they mean by their own *peace* acts to fling ridicule on their professions, or do they stay at home that they may partake of the advantages which fall to the share of those who sustain the Government in a vigorous prosecution of the war.

It is about time that the real character of these men was thoroughly understood.—What right have they to insist on the prolongation of a conflict in which they incur no risk? Let every Democrat, who would furnish the Administration with "legitimate means" for the further prosecution of this fratricidal strife, be called upon to enlist, and prove by his acts the sincerity of his professions. Let every one of these so-called leaders of the party who insist upon inserting the war plank in the platform, be required to test the strength of their convictions in favor of the physical force policy, by at once donning the Federal uniform.—This is the way to prove them, and should they shrink from the test, let us hear no more of the war policy, particularly when that policy is to be carried out by the Administration over whose acts they can exercise no control. These men, while they call for more blood, for a prolongation of this hellish strife, at *peace*. Their own acts and professions are in conflict. Theirs is the patriotism that craves nothing. For the Democrat whose acts are in consonance with his professions we entertain a certain degree of respect; but these men are either political tools or political hypocrites.

The country has already had enough of this war cant, this bounding on of others in the track of blood, this insatiable Moloch thirst for human sacrifices. Let all those who claim to lead the Democracy, and whose "voice is still for war," be required to place their lives in the hands of the Administration as they demand others shall do. We are for peace, and so are they, if we are to judge by their acts.

ELECTION RETURNS.

Governor.		Woodward's Majority.	
Beaver,	176	8	168 mj Wood
Benton,			109 do
Berwick Bor.,			
Bloom,	196	286	87 mj Curtin
Brookereek,			
Catawissa,	115	145	30 mj Curtin
Centre,	180	97	83 mj Wood
Corryham,			
Fishersburg,			195 mj Wood
Franklin,			7 do
Greenwood,	159	155	4 do
Hemlock,	167	52	115 do
Jackson,			
Locust,	226	121	105 do
Madison,	212	44	168 do
Main,	105	3	102 do
Millin,	194	42	152 do
Monticello,			22 do
Mt. Pleasant,	115	77	38 do
Orange,	101	19	82 do
Pine,	49	53	14 do
Roaringcreek			
Scott,	151	164	13 mj Curtin
Sugarloaf,	137	29	108 mj Wood

Woodward's maj. as far as heard from in this county is 1186. It may reach 1700! The State is not lost for Woodward if we may judge from the returns from the Abolition strong holds.

The McClellan Testimonial.

The first proposal to present a testimonial to General McClellan met with unexpected approbation, and corps and division commanders, without exception, favored the project, many of them, heading the lists with magnificent sums. All contributions were to be voluntary, and it was found necessary to limit the amount given by private less money should be raised than could be properly disposed of. Twelve thousand dollars were raised in a single corps. Every member of General Meade's staff, except one, contributed. The General himself setting the example, and when the order was received from Washington to discontinue the collection, and refund the money, the astonishment of the officers and men was only equalled by their chagrin, nearly every officer of note in the army having been permitted to receive testimonials. The troops were at a loss to account for this unexpected proceeding, until the malignity which prompted the measure was betrayed in the treatment of officers who interested themselves in the movement. Col. Davis, Assistant Inspector General on the staff of General Meade, a class mate and an intimate friend of General McClellan, who took the subscription list around among the officers at headquarters, has been reduced to the rank of Major, and ordered to Santa Fe. Other officers are under the ban, while the troops, mortified and indignant, pocket their contributions and await a more convenient season.

A Scorching Letter.

Bishop Hopkins on the Reprobates.

A few weeks ago, we published a large part of a pamphlet of Bishop Hopkins letter on Slavery, as written and originally published in January 1861. Since its late re-publication, certain Episcopal Clergymen of Philadelphia, with Bishop Potter at their head published the following "Portent":

"The subscribers deeply regret that the fact of the extensive circulation through this Diocese, of a letter by 'John Henry Hopkins, Bishop of the Diocese of Vermont,' in defense of Southern slavery, compels them to make this public protest. It is not their province to mix in any political canvass. But as ministers of Christ, in the Protestant Episcopal Church, it becomes them to deny any complicity or sympathy with such a defence."

This attempt not only to apologize for Slavery in the abstract, but to advocate it as it exists in the cotton States, and in States which sell men and women in the open market as their staple product, is, in their judgment, unworthy of any servant of Jesus Christ. As an effort to sustain on Bible principles, the States in rebellion against the Government, in the wicked attempt to establish by force of arms a tyranny in the name of a Republic, whose 'corner-stone' shall be the perpetual bondage of the African, it challenges their indignant reprobation.

Philadelphia September, 1863
Alonso Potter, Geo Leeds,
John Rednew, J A Childs,
E A Washburn, Thos C Yarnall,
William Suddards, E Lounsbury,
D R Goodwin, H M Stuhrt,
G E Hare, J G Maxwell,
M A De W Howe, J A Yaughan,
W W Spear, E S Watson,
Jacob M Douglass, Sam Edwards,
H R Spaulman, Joel Rudderow,
P Van Pelt, Geo A Durborough,
C D Cooper, R J Parvin,
W F Padcock, A Bealty,
R D Hall, T S Yocum,
J R Moore, J R Alston,
B D Newline, A Elwyn,
B W Morns, G M Murray,
B S Millen, C G L Richards,
D T Noakes, G A Strong,
R A Garden, J W Robins,
R O Matlack, Thos B Barker,
L W Smith, S Tweedale,
S Appleton, Philip Brooks,
Daniels Washburn, M A Tolman,
D O Kellogg, George Brighurst,
G D Goddard, G W Shinn,
R J Heyniger, C W Duane,
N J Newton, J H Drumm,
Charles A Maison, S Hall,
John Long, G B Allison,
O B Boith, J N Spear,
A B Atkins, Jos N Mulford,
Samuel E Smith, G C Field,
H Hooker, L G Newman,
W N Diehl, R C Evans,
B Watson, E C Jones,
Chas W Quick, J De W Perry,
T Walden, R G Case,
H T Wells, T G Clemson,

To which Bishop Hopkins replies as follows:

TO THE RIGHT EVEREND ALONZO POTTER, D. D.,

Bishop of the Diocese of Penna.:

I have seen, with great amazement, a protest against my letter on the "Bible view of Slavery," signed by you and a long list of your clergy, in which you condemn it as "unworthy as any servant of Jesus Christ," as "an effort to sustain, on Bible principles, the States in rebellion against the Government in the wicked attempt to establish, by force of arms, a tyranny in the name of a Republic, whose corner stone shall be the perpetual bondage of the African," and as such you say that it challenges your "indignant reprobation."

Now my Right Reverend brother, I am sorry to be obliged to charge you, not only with a gross insult against your senior, but with the more serious offence of a false accusation. My letter was first published in January, 1861, more than three months before the war began, at a time when no one could anticipate the form of Government which the Southern States should adopt, or the course which Congress might take in reference to their secession. And when I consented to its republication, I did not suppose that it would be used in the service of any political party, although I had no right to complain, if it were so used, because the letter, once published, became public property. But in its present form there is nothing whatever in it which bears on the question of 'rebellion,' or of the 'perpetual bondage of the African,' or of a 'tyranny under the name of a Republic,' of which slavery should be the 'corner-stone.' On the contrary, I referred, on the last page, to my lecture published in Buffalo in 1850, and to my book called "The American Citizen," published in New York in 1857, where "I set forth the same views on the subject of slavery, adding, however, a plan for its gradual abolition whenever the South should consent, and the whole strength of the Government could aid in its accomplishment."

'Sooner or later,' I added, 'I believe that some measure of that character must be adopted. But it belongs to the slave States themselves to take the lead in such a movement. And meanwhile their legal rights and their natural feelings must be respected, if we would hope for unity and peace.'

With these facts before your eyes, I am totally at a loss to imagine how even the extravagance of party zeal could frame against me so bitter a denunciation. The whole object of my letter was to prove, from the Bible, that in the relation of master and slave there was necessarily no sin whatever. The sin, if there were any, lay in the treatment of the slave, and not in the relation itself. Of course, it was liable to abuse, as all human relations must be. But while it was certain that thousands of our Christian brethren who held slaves were treating them with kindness and justice, according to the Apostles' rule, and earnestly laboring to improve the comforts and ameliorate the hardships of the institution, I held it to be a cruel and absurd charge to accuse them as sinners against the Divine law, when they were only doing what the Word of God allows, under the constitution and established code of their country.

I do not know whether your band of indignant reprobates ever saw my book published 18, 57, but you read it, because I sent you a copy, and I have your letter of acknowledgment, in which, while you dissented from some of my conclusions, you did it with the courtesy of a Christian gentleman. In that letter there is nothing said about my opinions being "unworthy of any servant of Jesus Christ," and nothing of "indignant reprobation." But, *tempora mutantur, et nos mutamur in illis*.

Yes! the times are indeed sadly changed, and you have changed accordingly. For many years you met in brotherly council with these Southern slaveholders. You invited them to the hospitalities of your house, and paid them special deference. The new light of Eastern Abolitionism had not yet risen within our Church, and if you then thought as you now think, you took excellent care that no man amongst your Southern friends should know it. Moreover, your favorite Theological Seminary, only three years ago, was the Virginia school at Alexandria, raised to great prosperity by Bishop Meade, a slaveholder, and I am very sure that nothing at variance with my Bible view of slavery was taught in that institution. Yes! we may well say of you, as of many others—*Quantum mutatus es illo!* How changed is the Bishop of Pennsylvania, in three years, from his former course of conservatism, peace and Scriptural consistency!

But the Word of God has not changed; the doctrine of the Apostles has not changed; the Constitution of our country has not changed; the great standards of religious truth and real civil loyalty remain just as they were: and I remain along with them, notwithstanding this bitter and unjust assault from you and your clergy. I do not intend to imitate your late style of vituperation, for I trust that I have learned, even when I am reviled, not to revile again. I respect the good opinion of your clergy, and am not aware that I have done anything to forfeit it. I respect your office, your talents, your personal character, and the wisdom and success with which, for many years, your Episcopate has been conducted.

But I do not respect your departure from the old and well settled rule of the Church, and from the Apostolic law of Christian fairness and courtesy. I do not believe in the modern discovery of those Eastern philanthropists who deny the divinity of our Redeemer, and attach no importance to the Bible except as it may suit them.

I wish you, therefore to be advertised, that I shall publish, within a few months if a gracious Providence should spare my life and faculties, a full demonstration of the truth "wherein I stand." And I shall prove in that book, by the most unquestionable authorities, that slaves and slaveholders were in the church from beginning; that slavery was held to be consistent with Christian principle by the Fathers and Councils, and by all Protestant divines and commentators, up to the very close of the last century, and that this fact was universal among all Churches and sects throughout the Christian world. I shall contend that our Church, which maintains the primitive rule of catholic consent and adheres all novelties, is bound, by her very Constitution, to hold fast that only safe and enduring rule, or abandon her Apostolic claims, and descend to the level of those who are "driven about by every wind of doctrine." And I shall print your "indignant reprobation," with its list of names, in the preface to my book, so that if I cannot give you fame, I may, at least, do my part to give you notoriety.

That the nineteenth century is a century of vast improvement and wonderful discovery in the arts and sciences, I grant as willingly as any man. But in religious truth or reverence for the Bible, the age in which we live is prolific in daring and impious innovation. We have seen professedly Christian communities divided and subdivided on every side. We have seen the rise and spread of Universalism, Millerism, Pantheism, Mormonism and Spiritualism. We have seen even our venerable Mother Church of England sorely agitated by the contagious fever of change on the one hand towards superstition, and on the other towards infidel rationalism. And we have heard the increasing clamor against the Bible, sometimes from the devotees of geological speculation, sometimes from the bold deniers of miracles and prophecy, and, not least upon the list, from the loud-tongued apostles of anti-slavery. We have marked the orators which cry "Down with the Bible, if it maintains the lawfulness of slavery." We have marveled at the senatorial gloquence which proclaimed that "it was high time to have an anti-slavery God and an anti-slavery Bible." We have heard the Constitution of our country denounced as "a covenant with death and hell." We have heard the boasted determination that the Union shall never be restored until its provisions for the protection of slavery are utterly abolished. And what is the result of all this new philanthropy? The fearful judgement of God has descended to chastise these multiplied acts of rebellion against His divine Government, and what the final catastrophe shall be is only known to Him who seeth the end from the beginning.

After forty years spent in the ministry more than thirty of which have passed in the office of a Bishop, I can look back with humble thankfulness to the Giver of all good for this, at least that all my best labors have been directed to the preservation of the Church from the inroads of doctrinal innovation. At my ordination I promised "so to minister the doctrine and sacraments and discipline of Christ, as the Lord hath commanded, and as this Church has received the same"—and certain it is that "this Church" had not received the modern doctrine of ultra-Abolitionism at that time, as I trust she never will receive it, because its contrary to the Sacred Scriptures. I also promised "with all faithful diligence to banish and drive away from the Church all erroneous and strange doctrines contrary to God's Word," and I made those promises in the true sense which the venerable Bishop White, my Ordainer, attached to them—I believed then, as he believed, that our Southern brethren committed no sin in having slaves and that they were men of as much piety as any ministers in our Communion. I believed, as he believed, that the plain precepts and practice of the Apostles sanctioned the institution, although as a matter of expediency, the time might come when the South would prefer, as the North had done, to employ free labor. Those promises I have kept faithfully to this day—and it, when I am drawing near to the end of my career, I am to be condemned and vilified by you and your clergy, because I still maintain them to the utmost of my slender ability, be assured, my Right Reverend Brother, that I shall regret the fact much more on your account than on my own.

In conclusion, I have only to say that I feel no resentment for the grossly insulting style of your manifesto. The stability and unity of the Church of God are the only interests which I desire to secure, and I am too old in experience to be much moved by the occasional excess of human infirmity.

JOHN H. HOPKINS, Bishop of the Diocese of Vermont.

BURLINGTON, Vt., Oct. 5, 1873.