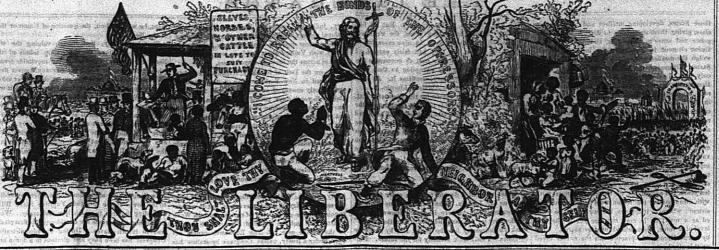
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wing gentlemen constitute the Financia The following generous constitute the financial little, but are not responsible for any debts of the ris:—Westerld Philappe, Eduted Quicer, Education, and William L. Garrinos, Jr.



the inhabitants thereof. this down as the law of nations. I say that mil-

Proclaim Liberty throughout all the land, to all

"Ilay this down as the law of nations. I say that military authority takes, for the time, the place of all municipal institutions, and SLAVERT AMONG THE REST; and that, under that state of things, so far from its being true that the States where sharery crists have the exclusive management of the subject, and only the Pressurery or THE UNIVERSAL EMPANTED STATES, but the COMMANDER OF THE AMONG THE UNIVERSAL EMPANTED STATES, but the COMMANDER OF THE AMONG THE UNIVERSAL EMPANTED STATES, but the COMMANDER OF THE AMONG THE UNIVERSAL EMPANTED AND THE SLAVES. . . From the instant that the slaveholding States become the theatre of a war, civil, service, or foreign, from that instant the war powers of Commands extend to inhesterience with the institution of davery, IN EVERY WAY IN WHICH IT CAN BE INTERESTED WITH, from a claim of indomnity for slaves taken or destroyed, to the decision of States, bardcood with slavery, is a foreign power. . . It is a war power. I say it is a way power of any short of insurrection, Congress has power to company on the war, and atter canny it of, Accountry to the Laws or war, is and by the Laws of war, an invaded country has all its laws and municipal institutions sweet by the board, and wantal rowns taken war.

Our Country is the World, our Countrymen are all Mankind.

J. B. YERRINTON & SON, Printers.

VIL LLOYD GARRISON, Editor.

VOL. XXXIV. NO. 44.

BOSTON, FRIDAY, OCTOBER 28, 1864.

WHOLE NO. 1760.

Selections.

THE GREAT WESTERN CONSPIRACY. Oficial Exposition by Judge Advocate Gen. Holt.

ASTOUNDING REVELATIONS Hatory of the Secret Orders of the Golden Circle, An ican Knights, and the Sons of Liberty. TALLANDIGHAM PRIME COMMANDER OF THE ARM

OF JUDASES. Deershelming Mass of Testimony from Members Order, Soldiers, and Government Detectives.

WAR DEPARTMENT,
BUREAU OF MILITARY JUSTICE,
WASHINGTON, D. C., Oct. 8, 1864. Hon. E. M. Stanton, Secretary of War:

fig. B. M. Summin, exceeding of the property of the second property

ment and usory period in the control of the control to discretality; and, as this investigation the promise arest, in several States, of a number of its promise arest, in several States, of a number of its promise are to their country. the areat, in several States, of a number? of its prominent members and angerous encomies to their country, also been deemed proper to set forth in full the acts adoptopees of this organization, and thus to make hown to the community at large its intensely treascable and revolutionary spirit.

The outject will be presented under the following

sda:

1. Its origin, history, names, &c.

13. its origin, history, names, &c.

13. its extent and numbers.

13. Its send force.

V. Hyritral, oaths, and interior forms.

VII. Its emelic purposes and operations.

VIII. The witnesses and their testimony.

1.—THE ORIGIN, HISTORY, NAMES, ETC.

The servet assectiation first developed itself in 1—178 OBBSEN, INSTORY, NAMES, EV.
This secret association first developed itself in the
Wet in the year 1862, about the period of the first
secreption of troops, which is caned to obstruct
as result. Originally known in servain localities
sube "Mutaal Protection Society," the "Circle of
Soco," or the 'Circle' or "Knights of the Mighty
Eat," but more widely as the "Knights of the Goldec Urcle," it was simply an inspiration of the rebeland, to more widery as the "Anignas of the Coud-ed Circle," it was simply an inspiration of the rebel-les, being little other than an extension among the shortland disaffected at the North of the associa-tion of the latter name, which had existed for some arm at the South, and from which it derived all the diffestions of its presentation.

rem at the South, and from which it derived all the chief features of its organization. Dering the summer and fall of 1863, the Order, that at the North and South, underwent some modifications, as well as a change of name. In consequence of a partial exposure which had been made it he sign and secret forms of the "Knights of the folden Gircle." Sterling Price had instituted as its mecasor in Missouri a secret political association, which headled the "Corps de Belgique" or "Southern Lesgue;" his principal coadjutor being Charles Llant, of St. Louis, then Belgian Consul at that, city, but whose exequatur was subsequently revoked by the Preident on account of his disloyal practices. The speal object of the Corps de Belgique appears that seems ou unite the rebel sympathizers of Missour, with a view to their taking up arms and joining free upon his proposed grand invasion of that Sate, and to their recruiting for his arm in, the in-line.

h tates positively that Davis is a member of the

a rates positively that Davis is a memory of the principal organization, is represented that the "Corps de Belgique" rus soified by Price, and became a Southern section of the O. A. K., and that the new name was generally adopted for the order, both at the North and Sonth

The secret signs and character of the order having

The seriel signs and character of the order having seems known to our military authorities, further softenings in the ritual and forms were introduced, as in the ritual and forms were introduced, as its same was finally changed to that of the O. S. h. of "Order of the Sons of Liberty." Or the "Knights at the Order of the Sons of Liberty." These latter days are represented to have been first instituted, as the new ritual compiled, in the State of Indiana May last, but the new name was at once generally speed throughout the West, though in some localism the association is still better known as the "Ore of American Knights."

Heavning also, the order has received certain had designations. In parts of Illinois it has been add stimes the "Peace Organization," in Kenning the "Star Organization," and in Missouri as a American Organization," and in Missouri as a American Organization outside of the lodges of a cater. In members have also been familiarly singuisted as Butternuts" by the country people in a state of the longer of th

his to be added that in the State of New Xork, and other parts of the North, the secret political assembles, and the secret political assembles, the same objects, to be accomplished, because, by means expressly suited to the localities in slack it is established. For, as the Chief Secretary of this association, Dr. R. P. Stevens, stated in June last to a reliable witness, whose testimony has

been furnished, "those who represent the McClellan interest are compelled to preach a vigorous prosecu-tion of the war, in order to secure the popular sen-timent and allure voters."

II. ITS ORGANIZATION AND OFFICERS.

From printed copies, herectofore seized by the Government, of the constitutions of the Supreme Council, Grand Council, and County Parent Temples, respectively, of the Order of Sons of Liberty, in connection with other and abundant testimony, the organization of the order, in its latest form, is ascertained to be as follows:

1. The government of the order throughout the United States is vested in a supreme council, of which the officers are as Supreme Commander, Secretary of State, and Treasurer. These officers are sleeted for one year, at the annual meeting of the Supreme Council, which is made up of the grand commanders of the several States, ex officio, and two delegates elected from each State in which the order is established.

lished.

2. The government of the order in a State is vested in a Grand Council, the officers of which are a Grand Commander, Deputy Grand Commander, Grand Secretary, Grand Treasurer, and a certain number of Major Generals, or one for each Military District. These officers also are elected annually by representatives "from the County Temples, each Temple being entitled to two representatives, and one additional for each thousand members. This body of representatives is also invested with certain

Temple being entitled to two representatives, and one additional for each thousand members. This body of representatives is also invested with certain legislative functions.

3. The Parent Temple is the organization of the order for a county, each Temple being formally instituted by authority of the Supreme Council, or of the Grand Council or Grand Commander of the State. By the same authority, or by that of the officers of the Parent Temple, branch or subordinate temples may be established for townships in the county. But the strength and significance of this organization lie in its military character. The secret constitution of the Supreme Council provides that the Supreme Commander "shall be commander-in-thief of all military forces belonging to the order in the various States when called into actual service;" and further, that the Grand Commanders "shall be commandershacking for the military forces of their respective States." Subordinate to the Grand Commander in the State are the "Major Generals," each of whom commands his separate district and army. In Indiana, the Major Generals are four in number. In Illinois, where the organization of the Order is considered most perfect, the members in each Congressionel District compose a "brigadier," which is commanded by a "Brigadier General." The members of each county constitute a "regiment," with a "colonel," in command, and shose of each township form a "company." A somewhat similar system prevails in Indiana, where also each company is divided into "squads," each with its chief—an arrangement intended to facilitate the querrilla mode of warfare in case of a general outbreak or local disorder.

The "McClellan Minute Guard," as appears from a circular issued by the Chief Secretary in New York in March last, is organized upon a military basis similar to that of the order proper. It is composed of companies, one for each election district, tan of which constitute a "brigade," with a "brigadier goneral" at its head. The whole is placed under the authority of a "co

tated to occupy also the position of chief of staff to
the Supreme Commander.

The Grand Commander in Indiana, H. H. Dodd,
has just been tried at Indianapolis by a military commission for "conpiracy against the Government,"
"violation of the laws of war," and other charges.
The Deputy Grand Commander in that State "is
Horace Heffren, and the Grand Secretary, W. M.
Harrison. The Major Generals are W. A. Bowles,
John C. Walker, L. P. Milligan, and Andrew
Humphreys. Among the other leading members of
the order in that State are Dr. Athon, State Secretary, and Joseph Ristine, State Auditor.

The Grand Commander in Illinois is — Judd, of
Lewiston; and B. B. Piner, of Springfeld, who is

on; and B. B. Piper, of Springfield, who is

The Grand Commander in Illinois is — Judd, of Lewiston; and B. B. Piper, of Springfield, who is entitled "Grand Missionary" of the State, and designated also as a member of Vallandigham's staff, is one of the most active members, having been busily engaged throughout the summer in establishing temples and initiating members.

In Kentucky, Judge Bullitt, of the Court of Appeals, is grand commander, and with Dr. U. F. Kalfus and W. R. Thomas, jullor in Lonisville, two other of the most prominent members, has been arrested and confined by the military authorities. In New York, Dr. R. F. Stevens, the chief secretary of the McClellan Minute Guard, is the most active cetansible representative of the secret order.

The greater part of the chief and subordinate officers of the order and its branches, as well as the principal members' thereof, are known to the Government, and, where not already arrested, may regard themselves as ander a constant military surveillance. So complete has been the exposure of this secret league that, however frequently the conspirators may change its name, forms, passwords, and signals, its true purposes and operations cannot longer be concealed from the military authorities.

It is to be remarked that the Supreme Council of the Order, which annually meets on February 22d, convened this year at New York city, and a special meeting was then appointed to be held at Cheago, on July 1, or just prior to the day then fixed for the convention of the Democratic parly. This convention having been postponed to August 23, the special meeting of the Supreme Council of the Order, which annually meets on February 22d, convened this year at New York city, and a special meeting of the Supreme Council was also postponed to August 27, at the same place, and was duly convenied as peech made before that body, alluded approvingly to the session of the Sons of Liberty at Chicago at the same time, as that of an organization in harmony with the sentiment and projects of the convenitor in the convenition.

tion.

It may be observed in conclusion, that one not fully acquainted with the true character and intention of the order might well suppose that, in designating to officers by high military titles, and in imitating in its organization that established in our arcicle.

mies, it was designed merely to render itself more popular and attractive with the masses, and to invest its chief with a certain sham dignity; but when 'it is understood that the order comprises, within itself a large army of well-armed men, constantly drilled and exercised as soldiers, and that this army is held ready at any time for such forcible resistance to our military authorities, and such active co-operation with the public enemy as it may be called upon to engage in by its commanders, it will be perceived that the titles of the latter are not assumed for a mere purpose of display, but that they are the chiefs of an actual and formidable force of conspirators against the life of the Government, and that their military system is, as it has been remarked by Colonel Sanderson, "the grand lever used by the rebel Government for its army operations."

III .- ITS EXTENT AND NUMBERS

III.—ITS EXTENT AND NUMBERS.

The "Temples" or "Lodges" of the order are numerously scattered through the States of Indiana, Illinois. Ohio, Missouri, and Kentucky. They are also officially reported as established, to a less exatent, in Michigan and the other Western States, as well as. in New York, and also in Pennsylvania, New Hampshire, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New Jersey, Maryland, Delaware, and Tennessee. Dodi, the Grand Commander of Indiana, in an address to the members of that State in February last, claims that af the next annual meeting of the Supreme Concil, (in February, 1865.) every State in the Union will be represented, and adds, "this is the first and only true national organization the Democratic and Conservative men of the country have ever attempted." A provision made in the Constitution of the Council for a representation from the Territories shows, indeed, that the widest extension of the order is contemplated.

In the States first mentioned, the order is most strongly centred at the following places, where are situated its principal "temples." In Indiana, at Indianapolis and Vincennes; in Illinois, at Chicago, Springfield, and Quincy (a large proportion of the lodges in and about the latter place having been founded by the notorious guerrilla chief, Jackman;) in Ohio, at Cincinnati, Dayton, and in Hamilton county (which is proudly termed by members "the South Carolina of the North"); in Missouri, at St. Louis; in Kentucky, at Louisville; and in Michigham during his banishment, either by letters addressed to him through two prominent citizens and members of the order cover and members of the order of the profess of the order with Vallandigham them of the county two prominent citizens and members of the order of the order of the profess of the order of the orde

had by the leaders of the order with Vallandighan during his banishment, either by letters addresset to him through two prominent citizons and mem bers of the order, or by personal interviews at a Windsor, C. W.) It is to be added that the regular places of meeting, as well as the principal, rendez, rous and haunts of the members in these and less

Government.

The actual numbers of the order have, it is believed, never been officially reported, and cannot, therefore, be accurately ascertained. Various estimates have been made by leading members, some of which are no doubt considerably exaggerated. It has been asserted by delegates to the Supreme Council of February last, that the number was there represented to be from 800,000 to 1,000,000; but Vallandigham, in his speech last summer at Dayton, Ohio, placed it at 500,000, which is probably much nearer the true total. The number of its members in the several States has been differently estimated in the reports and statements of its officers. Thus, the force of the order in Indiana is stated to be from 75,000 to 125,000; in Illinois, from 100,000 to 140,000; in Ohio, from 80,000 to 108,000; in Kentucky, from 40,000 to 70,000; in Missouri from 20,000 each. Its representation in the other States above mentioned does not specifically appear from the testimony; but, allowing for every exaggeration in the figures reported, they may be deemed to present a tolerably faithful view of what, at least, is regarded by the order as its true force in the States designated.

It is to be noted that the order, or its counterpart, is probably much more widely extended at the South

It is to be noted that the order, or its cou It is to be noted that the order, or its counterpart, is probably much more widely extended at the South even than at the North, and that a large proportion of the officers of the rebel army are represented by most reliable witnesses to be members. In Kentucky and Missouri, the order has not hesitated to admit as members not only officers of that army, but also a considerable number of guerrillas, a class who might be supposed to appreciate most readily its aims and purposes. It is fully shown that as lately as in July last several of these ruffians were initiated into the first degree by Dr. Kalfus, in Kentucky.

A review of the testimony in regard to the armed force of the order will materially aid in determining

I to read the order will materially and in determining its real strength and numbers.

Although the order has, from the ontset, partaken of the military character, it was not till the sumer or fall of 1863 that it began to be generally organized as an armed body. Since that date its officers and leaders have been busily engaged in place. ficers and leaders have been busily engaged in placing it upon a military basis and in preparing it for a revolutionary movement. A general system of drilling has been instituted and secretly carried out. Members have been instructed to be constantly provided with weapons, and in some localities it has been absolutely required that each member should keep at his residence, at all times, certain arms and a specified quantity of ammunition.

In March last, the entire armed force of the order, capable of being mobilized for effective service, was represented to be 340,000 men. The details, however, upon which this statement was based are imperfectly set forth in the testimony, and it is not known how far this number may be exaggerated.

evice, was represented to be 340,000 men. The details, bowever, upon which this statement was based are imperfectly set forth in the testimony, and it is not known how far this number may be exaggerated. It is abundantly shown, however, that the order, by means of a tax levied upon its members, has accumulated considerable funds for the purchase of arms and ammunition, and that these have been procured in large quantities for its use. The witness Clayton, on the Irial of Dodd, estimated that two-thirds of the order are furnished with arms.

Green B. Smith, grand secretary of the order in Missouri, states in his confession of July last: "I know that arms, mostly revolvers, and ammunition have been purchased by members in St. Louis for send to members in the country where they could not be had;" and he subsequently adds that he himself alone clandestinely purchased and forwarded, between April 15th and 19th last, about 200 revolvers, with 5,000 percession caps and other ammunition. A muster roll of one of the country lodges of that State is exhibited, in which, opposite the name of each member, are noted certain numbers, under the heads of "Missouri Republican." "St. Louis Linion," "Auzeiger," "Miscellaneous Periodicials," "Books," "Speeches," and "Reports;" titles which, when interpreted, severally signify single-barrelled guast, doubled-barrelled guas, revolvers, pricate ammunition, pricate lead, company powder, company lead; the roll thus actually setting forth the amount of arms and ammunition in the possession of the lodge and its members.

In the State of Ohio and Illinois the order is claimed by its members to bu unusually well-armed

with revolvers, carbines, &c.; but it is in regard to arming of the order in Indiana that the principal statistics have been presented, and these may sever to illustrate the system which has probably been pursued in most of the States. One intelligent witness, who has been a member of the order, estimated that in March last there were in possession of the order in that State 6,000 muskets and 60,000 revolvers, beside private arms. Another member testifies that at a single lodge meeting of two hundred and fifty-two persons, which he attended early in the present year, the sum of \$4,000 was ubscribed for arms. Other members present statements in regard to the number of arms in their respective counties, and all agree in representing that these have been constantly forwarded from Indianapolis into the interior. Beek & Brothers is designated as the firm in that city to which most of the arms were consigned. These were shipped principally from the East; some packages, however, were sent from Cincinnati, and some from Kentucky, and the boxes were generally marked "piek axes," "hardware." "mails," "household goods, "ke.

General Carrington estimates that in February and March last nearly 30,000 gans and revolvers entered the State, and this estimate is based upon an actual inspection of invoices. The true number introduced was therefore probably considerably greater. That officer adds that on the day on which the sale of arms was stopped by his order, in Indianapolis of amminition, which had been shipped to the firm in Indianapolis of which H. H. Dodd, Grand Commander, was a member; that other arms about to be shipped to the same destination were seized in New York city, and that all these were claimed, as the private property of John C. Walker, one of the major generals of the order in Indiana, and were represented to have been "purchased for use a few friends." It is to be added that at the office of Hon. D. W. Voorhees, M. C., at Terre Huute, were discovered letters which disclosed a correspondence between him and

There remains further to be noticed, in this con There remains further to be noticed, in this connection, the testimony of Clayton upon the trial of Dold, to the effect that arms were to be furnished the order from Nassau, N. P., by way of Canada; that, to defray the expense of these arms or their transportation, a formal assessment was levied upon the lodges, but that the transportation into Canada was accelled to be foreigned by the Canada was accelled.

A statement was made by Hunt, Grand Command-A statement was made by Junt, Grand Command-er of Missouri, before his arrest, to a follow-mem-ber, that shells and all kinds of munitions of war, as well as infernal machines, were manufactured for the order at Indianapolis; and the late discovery in Cincinnati of samples of hand-grenades, conical shells, and rockets, of which one thousand were about to be manufactured, under a special contract, for the O. S. L., goes directly to verify such a state-ment.

about to be manufactured, under a special contract, for the O. S. L., goes directly to verify such a statement.

These details will convey some idea of the attempts which have been made to place the order upon a war footing and prepare it for aggressive movements. But, notwithstanding all the efforts that have been put forth, and with considerable success, to arm and requip its members is fighting men, the leaders of the order have felt themselves still very deficient in their armament, and numerous schemes for increasing their armament, and numerous schemes and continued the continued of the control of the conspiracy, need not as evineing the animal of the conspiracy, need not

for the purposes of the order.

The despicable treachery of these proposed plans, as evincing the animal of the conspiracy, need not be commented upon.

It is to be observed that the order in the State of Missouri has counted greatly upon support from the enrolled militia, in case of an invasion by Price, as containing many members and friends of the O. A. K.; and that the "Paw-Paw Militia," a military organization of Buchanan county, as well as the militia of Platte and Clay counties, known as "Flat Foots," have been relied upon, almost to a man, to join the revolutionary movement.

V.—ITS BITUAL, OATHS, AND INTERIOR FORMS.

portion of these enter the order, supposing it to be a "Democratic" and political association merely; and the history of the order furnishes a most striking illustration of the gross and criminal deception which may be practised upon the ignorant masses by unscrupplous and unprincipled leaders. The members of the lower degrees are often for a considerable period kept quite unaware of the true purposes of their chiefs. But to the latter they are bound by their obligation "to yield prompt and implict obedience to the utmost of their ability, without remonstrance, hesitation, or delay," and mean-hile their minds under the discipline and teach-

travagant phraseology, would excite in the mind of an educated person only ridicale or contempt, but upon the illiterate they are calculated to make a deep impression, the effect and importance of which were doubtless fully studied by the framers of the instrument.

were doubtless fully studied by the framers of the instrument.

The oath which is administered upon the introduction of a member into any degree is especially imposing in its language. It prescribes as a penalty for a violation sof the obligation assumed, "a shameful death;" and further, that the body of the person guilty of such violation shall be divided in four parts and cast out at the four "gates" of the temple. Not only, as has been said, does it enjoin a blind obedience to the orders of the superiors of the order, but it is required to be held of paramount obligation to any oath which may be administered to a member in a court of justice or elsewhere. Thus, in cases where members have been sworn, by officers empowered to administer oaths, to speak the whole truth in answer to questions that may be put to them, and have then been examined in reference to the order and their connection therewith, they have not only refused to give any information in regard to its character, but have denied that they were members, or even that they knew have not only refused to give any information in regard to its character, but have denied that they were members, or even that they knew of its existence. A conspicuous instance of this is presented in the cases of Hunt, Dunn, and Smith, the chief officers of the order in Missouri, who, upon their first examination under oath, after their arrest, denied all connection with the order, but confessed, also under oath, at a subsequent period, that this denial was wholly false, although in accordance with their obligations as members of the order. Indeed, a deliberate system of deception in regard to the details of the conspiracy is inculcated upon the members, and studiously pursued; and it may be mentioned in this connection, as a similarly despicable feature of the organization, that it is held bound to injure the Administration and officers of the Government, in every possible manner, by misrepresentation and falsehood.

Members are also instructed that their oath of membership is to be held paramount to an oath of allegiance, or any other oath which may impose obligations inconsistent with those which are assumed upon entering the order. Thus, if a member, when in danger, or for the purpose of facilitating some traitorous design, has taken the oath of allegiance to the United States, he is held at liberty to violate it.

ened with the penalties of perjury, in case of their answering falsely to questions propounded to them in regard to the order before a court or grand jury.

The signal, signals, passwords, &c., of the order are set forth at length in the testimony, but need only be briefly alluded to. It is a most significant fact, as showing the intimate relations between the northern and southern sections of the secret conspiracy, that a member from a Northern State is enabled to pass without risk through the South by the use of the signs of recognition which have been established throughout the order, and by means of which members from distant points, though meeting as strangers, are at once made known to each other as "brothers." Mary Ann Piman expressly states in her testimony that whenever important despatches are required to be sent by rebel generals beyond their lines, members of the order are always selected to convey them. Certain passwords are also used in common in both sections, and of these none appears to be more familiar than the word "Na-obars to be more familiar than the word " Nu-oblac," or the name." Calhoun "spelt backward, and which is employed upon entering a temple of the first degree of the O. A. K.—certainly a fitting password to such dens of treason.

lt is to be observed that the order in the State of Missouri has counted greatly upon support from the enrolled militia, in case of an invasion by Price, as containing many members and friends of the O. A. K.; and that the "Paw-Paw Militia," a military organization of Buchanan county, as well as the militia of Platte and Clay counties, known as "Flat Foots," have been relied upon, almost to a man, to ioin the revolutionary movement.

Y.—ITS RITUAL, OATHS, AND INTERIOR FORMS.
The ritual of the order, as well as its secret signs, paswords, &c., has been fully made known to the military authority. In August last, one hundred and twelve copies of the ristaal of the O. A. K. were seized in the office of Hon. D. W. Voorhees, M. C., at Terre Haute, and a large number of rituals of the O. S. L., together with copies of she constitutions of the councils, &c., already referred to, were found in the building at Indianapolis, occupied by Dodd, the Grand Commander of Indiana, as had been indicated by the Government witness and detective, Stidger. Copies were also discovered at Louisville, at the residence of Dr. Kalfus, concealed within the mattress of his bed, where, also, Stidger thad ascertained that they were kept.

The ritual of the O. A. K. has been furnished by the authorities at St. Louis. From this ritual, that of the O. S. L. does not materially differs. Both are termed "progressive," in that they breve wide for first separate degrees of membership, and contemplate the admission of a member of a lover degree into a bigher one only upon certain wouchers and proofs of fitness, which, with each according degree, are required to be stronger and more imposing.

Each degree has its commander or bead; the first or lower degree only do the first or lower

VL-ITS WRITTEN PRINCIPLES

The "Declaration of Principles," which is a forth in the ritual of the worder, has already be alluded to. This declaration, which is special framed for the instruction of the great mass members, commences with the following specio

framed for the instruction of the great mass of members, commences with the following specious proposition:

"All men are endowed by the Creator with curtain rights, could as far as there is equality in the capacity for the appreciation, enjoyment, and exercise of those rights." And sabsequently there is added: "In the Divine economy, no individual of the human race must be permitted to encumber the cartle, to mar its aspects of transcendent beauty, nor to impode the progress of the physical or intellectual man, neither in himself nor the race to which he belongs. Hence, a people, upon whatever plane they may be found in the ascending scale of humanity, whom neither the divinity within them nor the inspirations of divine and beautiful nature around them can impel to virtuous action and progress onward and upward, should be subjected to a just and humann servitude and intelage to the superior race, until they shall be able to appreciate the benefits and advantages of civilization."

Here is the whole theory of human bondage—the right of the strong, because they are strong to despoil and enslave the weak, because they are weak! The languages of the earth can add nothing to the cowardly and loathsome baseness of the doctrine, as thus announced. It is the robber's creed, sought to be nationalized, and would push back the hand of the dial plate of our civilization to the darkest periods of human history. It must be admitted, however, that it furnishes a fitting "cornerstone" for the government of a rebellion, every fibre of whose body and every throb of whose soul is born of the traitorous ambition and slave-pen inspirations of the South.

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fibre of whose body and every throb of whose soul is born of the traitorous ambition and slave-pen inspirations of the South.

To these detestable tenets is added that other permicious political theory of State sovereignty, with its necessary fruit, the monstrous doctrine of secession—a doctrine which, in asserting that in our federative system a part is greater than the whole, would compel the General Government, like a Japanese slave, to commit "hari kari" whenever a faithless or insolent State should command it to do so.

Thus, the ritual, after recting that the States of

less or insolent State should command it to do so. Thus, the ritual, after reciting that the States of the Union are "free, independent, and sovereign, proceeds as follows:

the Union are "ree, independent, and sovereign, proceeds as follows:

"The Government designated 'The United States of America' has no sovereignty, because that is an attribute with which the people, in their several and distinct political organizations, are endowed, and is inalianable. It was constituted by the terms of the compact, by all the States through the axpress will of the people thereof, respectively—a common agent, to use and exercise certain named, specified, defined, and limited powers which are inherent to the sovereignites within those States. It is permitted, so far as regard; its status and relations, as common agent in the exercise of the powers carefully and jealously delegated to it, to call itself supreme, but not 'sovereign.' In accordance with the principles upon which is founded the American theory, Government can exercise, only delegated power; hence, if those who shall have been chosen to administer the Government shall assume to exercise powers not delegated, they should be regarded and treated as ususpers. The reference to "inhese powers not delegated, they should treated as usurpers. The re-

To this is added, as a corollary, "It is incompatible with the history and nature of our system of government that Federal authority should cocree by arms a sovereign State."

The declaration of principles, however, doe not stop here, but proceeds one step further, as follows:

"Whenever the chosen officers or delegates shall fall or refuse to administer the Government in strict accordance with the letter of the accepted Constitution, it is the inherent right and the solemn adi imperative duty of the people to resist the functionaries, and if need be to expel them by force of arms! Such resistance is not revolution, but is solely the assertion of right—the exercise of all the noble attributes which impart honor and dignity to man-hood."

hood."

To the same effect, though in a milder tone, is the platform of the order in Indiana, put forth by the Grand Council at their meeting in February last, which declares that "the right to alter or abelian their Government, whenever it Leils to secure the blessings of liberty, is one of the inalianable rights of the people that can never be surrendered."

Such, then, are the principles which the new member swears to observe and abide by in his obligation, set forth in the ritual, where he says: "I do solemnly promise that I will ever cherish in my heart of hearts the sublime creed of the E. K. (Excellent Knights.) and will, so far as in me lies, illustrate the same in my intercourse with men, and will defend the principles, thereof, if need be, with my trate the same in my intercourse with men, and will defend the principles thereof, if need be, with my life, whensoever assailed, in my own country first of all. I do further solemily declare that I will never take up arms in behalf of any Government which does not acknowledge the sole authority or power to be the will of the governed."

In the same connection may be quoted the following extracts from the ritual, as illustrating the principle of the right of revolution and resistance to constituted authority insisted upon by the order:

"Our swords shall be unsheathed whenever the great principles which we aim to inculcate and have sworn to maintain and defend are assailed."

Again: "I do solemnly promise that, whensoever

have sworn to maintain and defend are assailed."

Again: "I do solemnly promise that, whensoever the principles which our order inculcates shall be assailed in my own State or country, I will defend these principles with my sword and my life, in whatsoever capacity may be assigned me, by, the competent authority of our order."

And further: "I do promise that I will, at all times, if need be, take up arms in the cause of the oppressed—in my own country first of all—against any power or Government usurped which may be found in arms and waging war against a people or peoples who are endeavoring to establish or have inaugurated a government, for themselves of their own free choice."

Moreover, it is to be noted that all the addresses

inaugurated a government, for themselves of their own free choice.

Moreover, it is to be noted that all the addresses and speeches of its leaders breathe the same principle, of the right of forcible resistance to the Government, as one of the tenets of the order.

Thus P. C. Wright, Supreme Commander, it his general address of December, 1848, after urging that "the spirit of the fathers may animate the free minds, the brave hearts, and still unshackled limbs of the true democracy," (meaning the members of the order), adds as follows: "To be prepared for the crisis now approaching, we must catch from afar the earliest and faintest breathings of the spirit of the storn; to be successful when the storm comes, we must be watchful, patient, bave, confident, organized, armed."

torse bu ((Concluded on the fourth pages) wird , were

SPEECH OF WENDELL PHILLIPS, ESQ.

TREMONT TEMPLE, BOSTON, Thursday Evening, October 20, 1864.

I shall venture to speak to you to night on the Pres

idential Election.

Let me begin with some statements in which we all agree—statements touching the nature of the war, the metives which led to it, and the indispensable conlitions of any durable peace.

This civil war is no accident—no clus

ans civil war is no accident—no chance jostling of little interests one against the other; its end as hard to guess as its beginning. On the contrary, it is the inevitable death grapple of ideas forever irreconcila-ble with each other. The struggle began when Free-dom and Slavery were brought face to face in 1380 by the adoption of the Constitution. For seventy years the weapone. the adoption of the Constitution. For seventy year the weapons were arguments and votes. In that aren every thoughtful man saw, four years ago, that sia-very touched its downfall. Warned and made des-perate by that defeat, Slavery appealed to arms. How long this military form of the struggle, this civil war will last, no one qua-tell. How near its alose will bring us to the end of the "irrepressible conflict," none can sell. This only every man can see the none can tell. This only every man can see, ther will always be some form of struggle between thes two fees, Slavery and Freedom, until one or the other gains a perfect and entire victory—until one supersedes the other wherever our flag floats. No one who believes in a just God can doubt which will in the end crush out and supersede the other. Every one knows that, in the nature of things,

"The ethereal mould, Incapable of stain, must soon expel Her misobler, and purge off the baser fire, Victorious."

But how and how soon I these are the questions. Wil this war scourge from the continent the monster and all his brood for shall it close, and leave the fester ing remains to poison and embitter our future for many a year? Who can tell?

But to this we are all agreed, it is the duty of every good citizen to do his utmost that the nation may resp the greatest possible advantage from this war If it be possible to make it result in the immediate and entire abolition of the system of slavery amon us, then we should strain every nerve to secure th result. All that the most sdvanced Republicans offe us to-day is a constitutional prohibition of slavery bauched and beirayed by its leaders.

Such a peace, to be sure, would not be the end of the Irrepressible conflict. No man, no nation; can be at peace while its conscience and life are at odds. Our institutions rest on the idea of perfect equality every man equal before the law. Toward that goal, Tocqueville has shown us that the whole race is tend-ing by Irresistible gravitation. Toward that goal, this struggles by definite and long-avowed purpos There will never be rest till we reach it. There ought to be no rest till we reach it. But no matte hether this tendency be good or bad; that it exist and overbears all opposition, no man will deny Science must either prove the negro not a man, of politics must admit his equality in the army, at the ballot-box and the Senate Board. The South sough consistency in a bastard science; afraid, like Me tenguieu, to allow that the negro was a man, lest th vorid should infer that they were not Christians: the North acknowledged the negro's manhood in theory, and trampled on it in fact. This inconsistency has polsoned her literature, her politics and her religion for seventy years. It will continue to do so for seven stendred, if it shall exist so long. Until it ceases, real peace is impossible. I believe now, as I have siwaya done, that there can be no real peace, no duraregonstruction of the Union, except based on the

Mr. Lincoln's model of reconstruction is the ex perment in Louisians. which puts all power into the hands of the unchanged white race, sourced by defeat, bating the laboring class, plotting constantly for aristocratic leatitutions. To reconstruct the robel States on that model is only continuing the war in the Senate chamber after we have closed it in the field Such reconstruction, leaving the South with its labor and capital at war, puts the whole payment of the debt on the industrious North, and in that way it will hang on us for half a century. Such reconstruction makes the freedom of the negro a sham, and perpetu ates slavery under a softer name. Such retion, leaving the seeds of discontent and division is the South in places of power, tempts and facilitate other rebellion, at the instigation or with the aid o French Mexico. Such reconstruction dooms us to second or third-rate place among nations, and provoke foreign insuit and aggression.

twenty years, unless we admit the black to citizen d the ballot, and use him, with the white, as th ship and the ballot, and use him, with the white, as the basis of States. There is not in the rebel States sufficient loyal, white, basis to build upon. If we refuse this method, we must subdue the South, and hold it as territory until this generation of white onen has passed away, and their sons, with other feelings, have taken their places, and Northern capital, energy and immigration have forced their way into the South. Should we adopt that plan, and wait for such changes, twenty years must elapse before we can ventur States. Meanwhile, a large and expensiv army, and the use of despotic power by a governmen holding half its territory and citizens as subjects make every thoughtful man tremble for the fate of free government. A quick and thorough reorganiza tion of the States, on a democratic basis, every man and race equal before the law, is the only sure and speedy

y to save the Union. I urge it not for the black and sake alone; but for ours—the nation's sake. Mr. Lincoln's offer of amoesty has been accepted men with wealth in their hands and treason in their hearts all over West Virginia, Missouri, Tennessee and Louisiana. This is the class which has always hated the democratic tendency of the Union, and still hates it. This is the class which rebelied to freak the Union, and their purpose is changed. Military defeat has not converted these me the scremess of defeat is only added to the bitterness the screness of defeat is only added to the bitterness of their old hate. Make peace on the basis of that amnes ty proclamation, and you increase the evil a thousand fold. These men, the moment our army returns, will wield those States against us, and while they crush the negro at home, will send to Washington t same conspirators to cripple the Union that they did before 1860. No theory of State Government can deny their full right to do so. Slavery out of the question, I should myself defend their clear right so to use their power.

How shall we avert this? There was a time, in How shall we avert this? After was a time, in 1861 and 1862, when the Government, using its vast influence over a people roused to lofty heroian, might by appropriate constitutional amendments have guaranteed the Union forever in the Southern have guaranteed the Union forever in the Southern States by basing it on the negroes indestructible love and need of it. At that time, if an Abolitionist or a statesman had been at the head of the nation, the swortl of war might easily have cut this Gordian knot. Lack of knowledge, lack of vigor, lack of purpose-jack of loyalty in the highest sense of the worst, or the part of the Government, has forfeited that Goodgiven opportunity, and has brought us instead a united South and a divided North.

The only war ones to us took as call the could be a sense of the contraction of the country was the country of the coun

The only way open to us now is to call the poor whites of the South into political existence, and thu nd this aristocratic anti-Union power which dn has reëstablished. Hith and besotted, they have be besotted, they have been driven in herds lot-box, as Mr. Davis, General Harding Calhoun directed. Northern skill, enter-

ed as a man; if he may not die yet to the just level of a voter, his manhood must be earred. Only by a true Democratic practice can the nation breed up this elly in the convictions and habits of the South. In this necessarily show admenter, the south. In this necessarily slow education of the poor whites, we need not only the example of consistent practic by the Federal Government, but we need also the weight of the non-voting four million blacks grappled to us by links stronger than steel—gratitude for justice and fair play. In any attempt to govern there by mercly playing off one class against the other, we shall be beaten. Said a most sagacious Tennessee lawyer to me within a week—"Leave one square inch, one thread of the slave system, and the old slaveholders will rule us as before, and use us ever against the Union." Mr. Whalley, member of the House of Representatives from West Virgina, made a similar remark to the House in still more emphatic terms. State laws and customs will continue for to crush the negro, while he has no ballot to years to crush the negro, while he has no canot to defend himself; and this will keep alive class hatred, and poison State politics. But let the Federal Govern nt, in all its branches, in every act, ignore the ference between white and black, be blind to color and soon its preponderating influence will lift State habits to its own level, and make true democracy pos sible. This shows the kind of man and policy I deem indispensable the next four years—why I demand a President disposed and resolved to admini ter the government in this mood,—which Mr. Lincoln has never done, either in the army or in civil affairs, even since his Proclamation of January, 1863.

You see I come round again to the corner-stone of justice and equal rights. I am an Abolitionist still as well as a citizen. The experience of thirty years assures me that no peace basis but one of justice to the name is resulted. the negro is possible. I should acout it as infamous if it were possible. For twenty-five years I sough to break the Union in order to secure justice. I seek to save it now only for the same end-justice I know as well as any man the value of a true na tionality. No words can adequately describe it. But even a true nationality is nothing to me when weigh-ed against justice. That sham nationality we have had-a herd of States kept together, as a great orato said, by partnership in hunting slaves—I detest. The same curse I once asked of God on the old Union, I shall pray for any new one which does not rest o absolute justice. War, war forever, oh God! until

this nation acknowledges the manhood of the negro!

So much for the nature of the war and the conditions of any durable peace. One word now as to the motives which inspired the war. If you ask nine out of ten of the Republican editors and speakers in this canvass. "What are we fighting for?" they will reply, "For the Union—nothing more—mothing leas—nothing else." This Lbelieve is the idea which lightens out of the gorgeous eloquence of Everett yesterday at Fancuil Hall. When I quote blim for it, I can give it no more honorable endorse ment; for, since 1861, few men have a more honorable or enviable record than Edward Everett.

But with due deference let me say, this popular statement has only a homosopathic proportion of truth-about truth enough to furnish a basis for Congressional resolve. But it would never hold we ter under cross examination in any county court What made the North, in 1861, resist the South's at tack ! Had that been the simple and only motive the North would, in my opinion, have yielded, as she had done a score of times, and secured, on infamous conditions, an infamous Union. The North chose conditions, an infamous Union. The North chose war instead of submission as the means to save the Union, in 1861, because she perceived that war would practically destroy slavery, and give the nation at the same time the right solemnly to abolish it. But for this motive, I do not believe the North would have ever accepted the Southern challenge. All our hisshows this. Every man familiar with 1861 one tory snows this. Every man initial will look one inch below the surface has facts to prove it heaped up and running over. The South, judging us by Washington alone, had a right to expect, as she did, the to a nobler level. You remember that struggle age what Macaulay calls "a sullen priesthood and a raving crowd "-that hurricane which swept over us, tearir sects to pieces, scattering parties in and tearing up colossal reputations by the roots. It that storm Webster's frigate foundered at dead o sight, and Seward's dory keeled bottom-side up and

Moulded by that long and faithful teaching, the masses clutched eagerly the opportunity to reconstruc the Union on an anti-slavery basis—one sure to last and worthy to last. But for the Anti-Slavery agits tion, the North would have had neither opini purpose capable of joining battle with the South in defence of our idea of the Union. But for that agita-tion, the North would have submitted to have the Union either broken or remodelled, as South Caroli na pleased.

And no matter what Jefferson Davis may say and every confederate authority) that the South

Again: after years of war, Lincoln, on the 1st of January, 1868, summoned the negro to our aid, and pledged the nation's honor and power for his freedom It is, therefore, no longer true, if it ever was, that we is, therefore, no longer true, if it ever was, that we fighting only for union. No; as the President claimed, to the music of Niagara's thunder, we

fight now for union and the liberty of the negro.
You see, therefore, that what we need as the basis
of honorable peace is the real and substantial freedom of the negro, not its mere form; what we began th war for, and what we have since solemnly pledged our selves to, is that. Up to this point, with most of wha I have said I suppose the larger portion of those I have the honor to address will agree. Here, if at all our paths separate. You will say to me, grant it all; Mr. Lincoln acknowledges the manhood of the negro, and will use all the means of the nation to prot He announces Union and Liberty as the objects of th war. If I could believe to him, I, like you, would accept his re-nomination, and deem his re-election a judicious act. But I judge him by his words and feeds, and holding him to that test, I dare not tru him with our future. [This announcement was re-ceived in marked silence, and created considerable attention. Several persons interrupted the speaker inquiring as to whom he would trust, &c., to whi nent, he paid no attention.]

The moment, he paid no attention.]

The military horizon is so bright that we may reasonably hope the next four years will see this war close, and the form and basis of reconstruction will test the honesty and statemanship of the nation. The more brilliant and decisive our military success, the greater the danger of a false magnanimity in the hour of compromise. Such an hour is infinitely hour of compromise.

those States, developing intellect and thrift in this class, giving them something to defend, and intelligration of the section is the stronger? But all his class, giving them something to defend, and intelligration that the section is the stronger of the section is the stronger of the section in the section as an indisolated that section is the stronger of the section is the stronger. The section is the stronger of the section is the stronger of the section is the stronger of the section in the section of the section is the stronger of the section in the section in the section is the stronger. The section is the stronger? But all his section is the section in the section in the section in the section is the stronger? But all his section is the section in the s

Again: let me say that any uses a more to throw memories to-night, I do not recall in order to throw blame on Mr. Lincoln. I have neither time nor wish for recrimination. There is a well-known phrase, "Indemnity for the past, and security for the future." bame to the past of the past of the future."

Indemnity for the past, and security for the future."

I ask no indemnity for the past. Let by gones be by gones. I only seek security for the future. I interest your attention to Mr. Lincola's record only to the your attention to Mr. Lincola's record only to judge his character and bias. American citizens trusted at this critical hour with the future of our children, the fate of the negro, and the honor of Dem fully and anxio to give a predominant, an almost omnipotent influence over the most momentous period of the nation's Av done. I am perfectly willing, here and now, for the nent, to concede that he mean purpose of this argument, to concede this is meaning the right, and has only missed it—intended the public good, but has only mistaken the way. Cardinal DeBetz says that "irresolute men often wish an end but reluct at the necessary means." Let this explain

You will remind me that he pledged his Niagara to Union and the abolition of slavery Granted. I will not say, what I really believe, that the pledge was wrung out of him by the pressure of the Cleveland movement, and is, in a very large de gree, only an electioneering act. I will accept it without question. Let me remind you, in return, nmon wars, not one in ten ever gain they at first demanded; and of civil wars, not one in four ever did so. Reconstruction, then, will be may bargain. In a bargain, neither party ever all he sets out with asking. We must expect, there fore, that when the bargain is made, one or the other of the two claims made at Niagara will be wholly o in part aurrendered. This is inevitable. Mr. Lin coln's offer is Union and Abolition. On one or the other he must compromise. Which is it likely to be If William Lloyd Garrison stood in the President' place, I should have no fears. I should feel tha though he might yield on the question of Union, he would never surrender a hair's breadth on that of

In the first place, remember he is a politician; no like Mr. Garrison, a reformer. Politicians are like the fore leg and shoulder of a horse,—not an upright bone in the whole column. That which is not itself rooked, stands crooked. But for this the beast could not move. Reformers are Doric columns. Weight But our politician, whose function is to bend,-with out it the State could not move .- how much will he end, and to which side,—the Union side or the Abo

ition side! Look at his life and judge.

Bear in mind, while we examine it, that it was Slavery which struck at the nation's life; that the war was accepted to free the negro; and that the na-tion's necessity has forced it to link its fate with tha of the negro. Now, then, observe how unduly tende he President has been toward the South : how un proach the negro, or use his aid. Vigorous, despote decisive, every where else, he halts, hesitates, delays

to hurt the South or help the negro.

First, look at the policy of the war. At a Cabine eeting, (or something equivalent to it,) held early in the summer of 1861, it was distinctly determine ot to fight the South, not to hurt it, but only to arrande North in terror and strength, and wait for the ffect, which it was thought would be conciliation We were to show the South what we could do, bu not do it, lest her pride be wounded and compromise rendered impossible. Mr. Blair was the only dissen-tient. He thought war should be carried on upon military not political principles, but was overrnled This policy continued for more than a year, and ex-plains the dreary nightmare of McClellan. For lifteen This weary months the President flung away the treasur of the North, and let her sons rot inactive. Raymond of the New York Times, the President's most pro ent champion, has written the history of the Ac stration, and devoted a chapter to McClellan. Read it,—accept every fact as stated,—and you will see that very defence shows the President wholly unfit for his place, provided his only object was to fight down the rebellion. Any man so conducting his ow business would be bankrupt in a year, and deserve to be. Yet we have Montgomery Blair's uncontradicted se. Yet we have Montgomery reiterated affirmation, that, for political reason the President "concerted," last August, to put McCle lan at the head of an army. Mr. Lincoln himself told Congress, in July, 1861, that the Government's greatest perplexity was to avoid receiving troops faster than it could provide for them. "In a word, the people will save their Government, if the Government itself will only do its part indifferently well. When 1864 opened on us with the Confederacy in such flush of strength and defiance, it seems to me i proved that Government had not done its duty eve ation and on Democratic institutions to say that the Administration did as much, militarily, as it might It is a fouler libel still to say that it led the people forward to the adoption of wise measures as fast as public opinion would bear. Bear with me, fellowtizens, while I say that Government down with such lavish treasure as we did. The world has seen no such fighting since Waterloo, if even then. Taking this into account the war has been a failure compared with what it should have been. Notwithstanding bull-dog Grant, he old sea kings Farragut and Dupont, the Sheridan and Hooker,-notwithstanding Sherman' cool peraistency, more like an unyielding law of na-ture than a mere human will,—the blood of Sedgwick and Wadaworth,—Butler, the indefatigable, equal to every emergency,—and Fremont, statesman and sol-dier alike,—spite of all, means and results weighed against each other, the war is a failure. A little knot of artisocratia, discountenanced by their own fellow-citizens, standing on a volcano of four million slaves, presumes if rebel against, twenty million shrewd, brave, rich, and roused men,—against the richest and most skillful people in the world,—and defice them for four years! Is that success! Either Democratic in-stitutions are a failure, or our use of them is,—choose! attrations are a railure, or our use of them is —cnoose; who raised, as Moncure Cooway says, McClellan from a petty Western Copperhead into the colossal power which divides and affrights the nation! Who called back to life the Democratic party, killed by the wind of the cannon ball against Sunster! Abraham

Second. Mr. Lincoln does not lack vigor. He car be despote when it suits him; yes, go up to, and beyond even, his war power of despotism, when he cleases. In these four years, he has been declaive hour of compromise. Such an hour is infinitely more critical than Antienm or Gettyaburg. There, we may fully expect that, in the long run, victory will rest with the strongest battalions; and who.

Look at his despotism. I do not mean his necesous every where except on the slave que is is another reason why I fear he will ber

Lincoln's halting, half way course-neither hot no Manting to save the North without hurting th

South. Mark you! this failure sprung from no want of brains, but want of purpose—of willingness to strike

of the President, are these: J. It is the settled policy of our Government never to surrender criminals to any foreign power, unless where we are bound by treaty to do so. This is not only acknowledged to be the settled policy of our Government, but it was recognized as the general law of nations, both in Westminster Hall and the House of Peers, so late as 1842, in the Crocle case. 2 The Executive cannot act even under a treaty, unless Congress by statute has directed the method. 3. Our Government must be furnished with such existence of the pressure suit as furnished with such evidence of the person's guilt as courts-would here justify his commitment for trial. We tories-have no treaty with Spain, and of course no law knowle of Congress to execute one. No tittle of evidence against Arguelles was offered our Government.—You have just seen the method of surrendering Muller, the London murderer; openly, in face of day; means, and time, and counsel given him for de fence, and to scrutinize the charges against him.
Arguelles, unaccused, in any legal sense, is stealthily
kidnapped in the early morning, and without one
friend being informed, without one moment given him
to explain or defend himself, is consigned to a foreign dungeon. Mr. Seward confesses that the act was at exception to the whole course of our history. You all know that the Constitution gives the President no right to arrest any man. Congress has given him t right to arrest one situated like Arguelles. Of court e plea of military necessity has no place in this case It is a wanton, needless act of usurpation and despoism on the part of the President. Napoleon of mitted no greater offence against national law he sent the kidnapped Deputies to Cayenne. U. S. Senate knows all this as well as we do, and postponed the case to December for fear of ruin to the Republican party in this canvass.

3. Gen. Frank Blair commands now a corps of the U o. een. Frank Diair commands now a corps of the U. S. army, by the President's order, without any com-mission. He had held a commission as major general. To serve Mr. Lincoln's political purposes, he allowed Gen. Blair to resign his office, take a seat in th House of Representatives, and speak and vote there and then resume his place in the army. His con mission be could not give him back. That was forever, since the Constitution provides (Art. I., 6.) "No person holding any office under the I States shall be a member of either House (of Con gress) during his continuance in office." The first act that Blair did in the House of Representatives, after placing his resignation in Lincoln's hands, vacated his generalship. He could not be major ge eral again without the Senate's concurrence the President well knew Mr. Blair would never have Hence he sent him to command a corps without a commission. The Senate submitted in silence Louis Napoleon did nothing worse, in principle, of the 2d December, 1851. The sham French Senat of Peers has since done nothing more shameful that this sycophancy of our Senate. For whom was this despotic act ventured? For Frank Blair, whose intrigues have thus far held back Missouri from being a free State; whose sole purpose in entering the House was to insult Chase, the only member of the Cabinet; and who, fro present moment, has omitted no opportunity to belch forth his colonization bigotry in the most insulting terms he could select. For Frank Blair, whose brother, a member of the Cabinei, poisoned our New England air in 1863 with his impudent advocacy of colonization, and whose intrigues have nearly if no wholly lost us the Free Constitution of Maryland Cannot Mr. Lincoln be vigorous,—aye, break law in his onset,—when it suits him? And, judging by such instances as these, which side in this great controver

sy suits him best ? 4. One Hahn has been appointed and acts as Gov ernor of Louisiana by a private, unofficial note of Abraham Lincoln. Another act of wanton and need-less unurpation on Lincoln's part. This, however, is only a part of his whole gigantic usurpation in taking to himself the whole matter of reconstruction. The President manipulates into existence sham military Boards in Tennessee, Arkansas, and Louisiana, bap tizes them State governments, and it is asserted by an Senator that they are to be and ought to be permitted to vote in this Presidential election. It is to carry out this unblushing scheme that he vetoed the Congressional bill last July (there is really no veto under our Constitution, but we ise the term for convenience,) a veto which drew forth the only manly act done by the Republicans for twelvemonth; I mean the protest of Messre: Wade

and Davis. I call the whole action of the President usurpation because reconstruction cannot begin in any State till war ends. Whenever and wherever war ends, all au-thority to reconstruct rests in Congress; every act of the Executive under the idea of reconstruction is usurpation, wanton, needless, and preeminently dan-gerous. If we had statesmen and not partisans in Congress, the first act of the President of this nature would have been met by impeachment, or full warn ing of it, unless the step was retraced. I am an Ab-olitionist, and rejoice in everything which prolongs this war now that its prolongati comes necessary to the freedom of the negro. But I am also a citizen and watch vigilantly for the welfare of constitutions If Mr. Lincoln should use such votes

These certainly are acts of pure despotism, and such do not recal them now as matter of accusation against the President, so much as to show that he can be energetic, vigorous and decisive where it suits him; and if he is not so in protecting and using the negro, it is only from lack of wish. But in themselves these acts are of grave importance in judging the Admin-istration and the President. You think little of these things now, shutting your foolish eyes, scaling them tight with childish confidence in Abraham Lincoln. But suppose McClellan should be elected, and, with Chicago managers behind him, inherit these despotic tools Mr. Lincoln has manufactured—what then? Suppose he should exercise the right, without law, Constitution, or evidence of crime, to kidnap men in their bed-chambers, and answer congressional inquiry by telling them he knew it was opposed to all law and, precedent, but it was his will? Suppose, without consulting the Senate, and without commissions, he precedent, but it was his will? Suppose, willout a ments. Agreed. The country says amen,—lays free should put Vallandigham, Seymour and Wood is speech, personal liberty, the blood of sons and the "cath of the nation cheerfully on the altar. Then Mr. Suppose he should claim exclusive right to recontrol to the nation cheerfully on the altar. Then Mr. President turns toward slavery—Is it the root of the rebellion? Age and the schelling of asks the Nation. Its, says the President. with the aid of some convenient Banks to help him, and yeto all bills that interfered with his plan? All the Kation, which sees the whole Government swallowed up by General McClellan on the one hand, and ling he was only following in such steps of his filustrious predecessor as had been silently or expressly approved by the Republican party, and endorsed at Baltimore.

been undertaken,) still no one of them ever asked forernment to abolish always merely because it was sinful. When Mr. Lincoln had got power by a wearing to austain a pro-lavery Constitution, no one ever saked him to do an official act "in mere deference to his abstract judgment and recling on slavery." We have only called on the Government to touch slavery as a righteous, efficient and necessary means to save the Union. But let us recur to Mr. Lincoln's record. In his debate with Douglas, in 1808, he would not grant the negroes citizenship or suffrage—was opposed to their political or social equality—and believed the two races could never ilys together.

In Congress, he made himself prominent by adding to the power of the Infamous Fugitive Slave Bill—extending the area, to which it would apply. When he left home to assume the Fresidency, his first pledge was to return slaves. During his administration, Congress has been busy and glorious in a dozen antislavery measure—admitting negroes to teatify in courts—abolishing slavery in the District and Territories—freeing the slaves of rebels and others—accommending Tiberia and Henry-legent to de-

tories-freeing the slaves of rebels and others-ac justice to the colored soldier in the matter &c. &c. Of originating all these, the merit belongs wholly to Congress. We do not hear of any effort of the President connected with them. He only co-operated, and in some (as confiscation) reluctantly cooperated. Their effort to guarantee his own Proc-lamation he vetoed. Bear in mind that the North accepted the war mainly, if not wholly, to get means of abolishing slavery—that the South re to save it-and that Mr. Lincoln, in his interview, September, 1862, with the Chicago Committee, said, Slavery is at the root of the rebellion, or at least its

Still, after that long interview between the Presi dent and the Border State, representatives, in July, 1862, Mr. Horsce Maynard, one of those present, thus describes to Mr. Lincoln the impression it made on

him :—

"Your whole administration gives the highest assurance that you are moved, not so much from a desire to see all men everywhere made free, as from a desire to preserve free institutions for the benefit of men already free; not to make slaves free, men, but to prevent free men from being made slaves; not to destroy an institution which a portion of us only consider bad, but to save an institution which we all alike consider good. I am satisfied that you would not ask from any of your fellow-citizens a sacrifice not in your judgment imperatively required by the safety of the country. This is the spirit of your appeal, and I respond to it in the same spirit."

December, 1892 inst horse his francingtion Proc.

December, 1862, just before his Emancipation Proclamation, Mr. Lincoln says, in a letter to Fernando Wood, that if the South will only subm general amnesty will be granted; and asks that if Mr. Wood knows anything of a disposition on the part of the South to do so, he will inform him, the President adding, "such information might be more valuable before the lst of January than after it." An intimation which confirms all we learn elsewhere of the re-Include with which he consented to issue his pro might aid him to avoid it. In his message to Congress, a year after, December, 1863, the President says he had "nored the rebellion could be suppressed with-out resorting to it (Emancipation) as a military meas-

But he reveals his disposition on this matter most clearly in his letter to Mr. Greeley, August, 1862. He says :- "If there are those who would not save the Union unless they could at the same time save slavery, I do not agree with them." That is true; nobody ever thought so ill of him. Farther: "If there be those who would not save the Union unless they could, at the same time, destroy slavery, I do not agree with them." That is true; nobody ever thought so well of him. He goes on: "My paramoun object is to save the Union, and not either to save or to destroy slavery." Agreed: very allowable and right for an officer under the Constitution of 1789. He adds: "If I could save the Union without freeing any slave, I would do it." Here I differ; and this is the very spot where the Statesman and Abolitionist part company with Mr. Lincoln. That I am not catch-ing at a chance phrase to judge him unfairly, let mo remind you that he reliterates the same principle still more emphatically in his letter dated April, 1864. He tells Mr. Hodges that he vetoed Fremont, and then Cameron, and then Hunter, because he thought hour of indistrensable secessity had not come. adds that he endeavored, in March, May and July, 1862, by earnest appeals to the Border States, to aver that necessity, and when finally driven to Emancipa-tion, he used it doubting whether he should get greater gain or loss from it.

er gain or loss from it.

"This is a vasily important statement by which to test the President's mood on this questicht, and on that mood depends largely our fature. This word "necessary" has played, a large part in our constitutional history. The Constitution gives Congress stitutional history. The Constitution gives Congress

power to make all laws necessary and proper for carrying into execution. Its other powers. Strict constructionists, specially at the South, have contended that this means indispensably necessary; Congress on under this clause, only use such means as it is no pretation accepted at the North and by the Suprem Court is that " necessary " means co "necessary " means;—that is, it may build forts as requisite and convenient for war. Yet war could be and has been made without forts, hence they are no indispensably necessary, and if the Southern constrution prevailed, Congress could erect no fortification So of the use of iron-clads, monitors, and steamship not indispensable ; navies existed hundreds of year

submit to his election; every lover of constitutional liberty would be bound to rejst it in the horizontal liberty would be bound to rejst or rights, he interprets this word "necessary "as bov-ering what (to use his own words in his message of March, 1862,) " seems indispensable, or may obvious ly promise great efficiency." But when he looks South toward Southern institutions, it means "abso-South toward Southern matitutions, it means intelly indispensable." Journals and men talk too free ly about the Government—suppress the one, and send the other to Fort Warren! Suspend habear corpus, and let Mr. Seward's. "little bell!" supersede all courts, State and Federal! All right! In these things, Mr. Lincoln only did his duty, and deserves the thanks of all good citizens. But, n irk, he does not try for a of all good citizens. But, mark, he does not try for a few months or years whether he could not get along with the ordinary course of law, indictments, juries, judges and State juila. Oh, no; to suspend habeas corpus is an efficient and convenient means to austain the Government, therefore it is necessary in the sense of the Constitution and war power. No need to try whether you could whether you could not get along in the old ordina way. This is a good way and sure, therefor at once, and waste no time, treasure or blood in exper-iments. Agreed. The country says amen,—lays free President turns toward slavery—Is it the root of the rebellion 1 asks the Nation. Yes, says the President. Why not at once cut it up and end the rebellion 1 asks

Baltimore.

Rut let us come directly to the Emancipation question, and Mr. Lincoln's general bearing toward the graphing with and offending Southern and slaveholdingero, and by a fair examination of his whole record fit ourselves to judge which, at the final settlesome more sacred constitutional guarantee than tre-speech and personal liberty have; or, 2nd, he dread

believes that if it be not quite true that "a term is no rights which a white man is bound to reper in the same and the same arights and wrongs are to be a settled before a negro is attended to. One wite, sentide before a signo is a stended in. One wise deer of these must be the reason why sieus "nyu vain its shroud almost I wo years before the Prefix
in its shroud almost I wo years before the Prefix
in explain that long criminal delay. When ye had
to explain that long criminal delay. When ye had
to explain that long criminal delay. When ye had
to explain that long criminal delay. When ye had
does not wholly or largely and one poisoned by he
hold the casting vote in that final settlement he
the slave's rights and the North hang trushing.
Do not avoid this by saying, "Oh! M. Islend al
not believe then that the negro would fight; he have
better now." That is evasion, and not replus frue
that the negro had been a very poor seller al
that the negro had been a very poor seller. In
that the negro had been a very poor seller al
an average laborer must be a gain, and sely i
gain, unless Mr. Lincoln feared that Emergine
would so fire the Southern heart and Northern mahead avaints it is a. gain, untess air, Lancoun reared that Emanaged would so fire the Southern heart and Northern open-would so fire the Southern heart and Northern open-head against us as more than to countertained the woods so the second reason and the second reason and the pain; which is only my second reason and the pain; which is only my second reason and the pain; which is dread of the "South" as it storp, self at Charleston and Chicago, and contempts de negro. This canvass, showing how strong the law cratte parry has become under his nursing, value make him more timid and unfit. If dread one water, North and South, delayed Emancipain, and vation, North and South, delayed Emancipain, and contains why he has not yet done justice to the sen vatism, North and Ooden, decayed commerciation at explains why he has not yet done justice to the sem-in any, thing, as I shall show, and now turns the colin any thing, as I same same, and may joins the cid shoulder to radicalism, why may not that the fet make him sacrifice us next year in making peace! In leed, I suspect that man who uses whole de Massachusetts, and only half despotism in South Car.

lina.
"I would save the Union if I could without freeing "I would save the Union if I could without freeing a slave"! Suppose he and Fernands Wood, in Becember, 1862, had patched up a prace without freeing a slave, and then follow Mr. Lincot to the har of listory. "You held the Nation in your hand when slaver rebelled it," "Yes." "You had the right to free every the slave of the slave slave." "Yes." "You knew it would be a mortal blow at the rebellion?" "Yes." "And yet you slave." Yes. 'You knew it would be a mortal blow at the rebellion t' ''Yes." "And yet you hoped and struggled to make peace and avoid libe-ty?" "Yes." Would not History nawer. "I need no delicate scales of Christianity to weigh such size. Paganism hisses from her grave of two thousand enrs-Qui non vetat, cum debeat et possit, julet. He ho does not abolish when he might and ought, etc. ishes. Go, new founder of Slavery!

But you will say this is unjust to Mr. Lincoln. He would have freed the slave if he had believed that free negroes would have given us any help. He held tree negroes would have given us any neight liabed back from freeing them because he would not nichtle Union merely to help the slave. To that I away, this ingrained Tory who believed a man would as fight because he was black is not the man to settle the terms of peace where the negro is so nearly conce ed. I answer again, the man who knew so little what the North went to war for is not the man to mould in conditions of peace. Ignorance of his own time and contempt for the negro are not just the qualities to stereotype into law what our sons are dying for in

Do you say Mr. Lincoln has unlearned contempter the negro? Let us inquire and see.

In July, 1861, at the motion of Lorejor, the Home

Modern Power of the Constitution of the Consti

of Representatives resolved, 93 to 55, that "it is no part of a soldier's duty to return fugitive slaves." A formal Bill was enacted March, 1862. Weigliff, of Kentucky, said in the House that Grant returned twelve from Fort Donelson, February, 1862, Sentin Grimes, in April, '62, charged "those high in military office" with this guilt. Mr. Sumner at that time de-nounced McCook, Buell, Hooker, and Halleck's isfamous order No. 3, banishing all fugitives from or lines. Show me from that day till now among the crowds of offenders one officer whom Mr. Lincoln has ver punished for this infamous offence! Is this the heart, this the fair play and sense of justice, that the negro or the Northerner can trust with the keen bar which is to issue in peace?

In December, 1861, Congress denounced the horrible brutalities of the Districtjail, -showing that Christendom could hardly parallel it. The marshal had the almost incredible impudence to deny admission to Ses-ators. The North shook with indignation at the bybarous and impudent violation of all law in the tree ment of the colored race there. For more than a year Mr. Lincoln refused to remove the cruel and bruti marshal. I am not sure that he has even yet done so

In January, 1862, Mr. Lincoln summoned the black into the army, the War Department promising then the same treatment as white soldiers. He silves, in his letter to Hodges, that he has there some 30,000 enrolled. Their help he says is indispensable. He never freed them, he says, out of any regard for them; no, only when he could not help it. He confesses be could not now do without them. At any moment since that 1st of January, he might have paid these sdispensable allies the same as he paid white salar.

The best lawyers in the land told him so. The retreaties of radicals were met with trifling and valger replies. He never moved. It was the summer of 1864 before he even asked his legal advier, Mr. Bata, for his opinion. Congress specially authorized him to act on that opinion. Mr. Bates tells him that white here and black soldiers stand legally on the same level The President still refuses to treat them so is the motor of pay. Is this the man to watch their rights in the

conferences touching peace? Fort Pillow ! Those two words tell the whole sad history. In July, 1863, Mr. Lincola amounced that if any black soldier were killed in tichnion of the laws of war, a rebel captive should be exceed. The came the massacre of Fort Pillow. Mr. Lincola came the massacre of Fort Pillow. Mr. Liceas went to Baltimore, and promised to carry set his order if any atthentic case was brought to his notice. A Congressional Committee lays the sworn evidence of Fort. Pillow before him. Nothing is done. Went the stable Congressional Committee lays the sworn evidence of the congression of the co Fort Fillow before him. Nothing is done. Weenle rebel Gen, Jones puts fitty of our white effects such five, Government, is quick to put the same number of the same rank under their five, and stop die comp-Ah, but the victims there were white i help had right Childs. Talk Same as a company of the comp-tions. which the President must attend to! When black men, in our uniform were taken prisoners in Virgini, and sold into slavery, the President tells the Chicago committee, in 1862, "Mr. Greeky says us shall de mothing about it. What could I de?" For mai with only half a million of men is arms, and for million of dollars a day to spend, and a hot, indignat nation to sustain him. nation to sustain him, what could be de! Butlet, to be sure, always finds a way to stop rebel cases when pointed at his trenches full of black soldier. the merely spikes them with a Brigadier or two, and soon with the sure of the sure. soon "all is quiet at the front." But, to be ser, what could one poor, weak, isolated Presided do in such cases? He has no will, and therefore to my

New Orleans! Freedmen whipped to their un-rail allowed to pass from town to town, or to make the own bargains, by, the favorite, General Banks. Free colored men twice give the city to us-more to Banks; but they cannot vote, even when the once to Banks; but they cannot vote, even when the President breaks every Louisiana law to stuff the bi-fot-boxes with soldiers' ballots, and manufactures a ot-boxes with soldiers' ballots, and manufacture sham State out of refuse to balance Massachus

siles which was a same as an as a same as an as a same as an an as a same a same as a same as a

the electoral college.
Missouri is told that the radicals do not represent Mr. Lincoln, who goes for "gradual" emancipation.
In consequence of this and Frank Blair's intrigen. Missouri is still a slave State, and we only deer yih hope, are not sure, that Maryland is saved from Mr. Lincoln's other per. [Montgomery Blair—both Cobnizationists, as Mr. Lincoln is to this day, so far as the world knows. Chivalogy. world knows. Chivalrous men! willing that the them a country, but meaning to make the first are peace and power to export their defenders! Her peace and power to export their defenders! Her nobly the negro has fought his way to recognize and respect! fought his way to it against a President and respect! fought his way to it against a President who has recognized the peace of the peace o and respect I fought his way to it against a President who has poured contempt upon him in word and deed I. He proposes to colonize men with the ame right to their native land as himself; and he tells the Chicago elergymen, at a time when he himself refines to accept the negroes' service, that a lany de mhlag but eat, and he feared if he gave them mus-tre, it would only be giving them to rebela!" How tre, it would only be giving them to rebela!" How sait the uterer of such words blush when, he hears girtheuterer of the hears and Petersburg! Wet e's the evidence of any change of heart or opin-

Do not these things show an undue tenderness to Do not the South, and an undue and dangerous reli grid the South, and of the second of the second second second of the second sec slavery act ! How long the list, begin h Phelps, Fremont, Butler, of those ex ied and proscribed because they begged the Presi-led, as Everett says, to "draw this new weapon from icol, as Everett says, to disk "? The President never is armory of public law "? The President never is armory made one step towards the negro; has ministrily made one step towards the negro; has sere sere kept step with Congress; never moved in that direction till driven by terrible disaster or im-criest public opinion. Emancipation itself was not praired till the world cried Shame! and the North, ding at every pore, widows and orphans, childless and mothers, shook the Capitol with their deand momers, amount the Capitol with their de-pends. Be sure, therefore, you keep alive such pres-tor, or Weed will own him next term.

But that great act, the Emancipation Proclamation

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1863. This trusty friend of the negro, to whom andly trust our and his future, knows that many se bines; layers doubt its validity, yet vetoes the effort of Congress to strengthen and endorse it! The only members of his Cabinet who ever pledged ther so members of his construction the war, and covering the state of the every stave-Blair and Severa, who have controlled there in spite of the head of the Cabinet—yes, retained there in spite of the remonstrance of fourteen States in 1863, and the request of even the Baltimore Convention for his re-The New York Times, Lincoln's organ, think the President is bound by it neither officially nor per the frements is some system of accusing for per-scally. Mr. Weed, whose support was of importance enough to be bought with the gift of the New York Castom-House, and by turning Chase from the Cab got, laments that Lincoln should ever so unneces and have yielded himself to the radicals, and as a false position!

Mr. Seward's home organ tells us that Mr. Lincoln Mr. Sevaria a nome of gain cens us that Mr. Lincoln and be elected by Mr. Seward's friends, and will coorne with them; and the Econing Post, best of the Republican journals, said, Oct. 17, 1864—

ne Republican journals, said, Oci. 17, 1864—

No, there is but one mode of getting at peace, and ast so rall who are in arms against the Constitution stlaws to lay down their arms. Let them do that, at our armies will quickly disperse; let them do that, at our armies will en os subjugations, no reverges, at subjugations, no reverges, at subjugations, and the we shall meet them in the subjugations of the subjugation of subjugation of

Yes, only Union! and we will all modify, to any ex our opinions about liberty, to suit these rebels to not imagine that I stand alone in this judgment of the President, though others are seemingly silent today. Judge Durant, of New Orleans, says,-

bdy. Judge Durant, of New Orleans, says,—
The journalists, politicians and public men of our sentry hold two sets of opinions, one for their prists use, which they believe in, the other for public fagity; on that what appears to be public opinion annot be treated-as the opinion of the public. If this is not cease, the cause of liberty is in danger. Our ledling men look too much to the candidate, and too late to the law and the people. In secret they depice the calamity of a choice they dare not repudiate, found the announced fear that opposition would secure the secrets of an anti-national candidate."

I find the same insincerity or timidity here. The publicans, been of the Whigs, have no faith in the people. That a the reason why I feel we shall nevlong both the Nation in any line of policy till we ge aurtain section of the Democrate into the Republi mh. Let maquate to you the private opinions of dues leading Republicans:—not their cliance stree but their ripe, solemn, reiterated counsels to thir friends. I quote nothing which has not bethere since the lat of May last, and I quote no man shair civil life does not stand on a level like that of second in the service, and no one who is not my at active supporter of Mr. Lincoln. "Mr. Lin this reflection would be a disaster," says one. "It

vail be national destruction," says another. "voil rather see McClellan President, and oppos im, than kill the virtue of the Republican party by melogring for Lincoln another four years," says a circ. "Out of twenty-four Republican Senators with its week for the control of the c my six voted for Lincoln's renomination," says "There is no such thing as a government Whitegon—no purpose there," says a sixth.
Whether the Cabinet be good or bad, there's not taker mough/in Lincoln for a President in such are coming," says a seventh. " Lincoln is it when but is safe if managed by the Radicals, no dervise, manfully declares Winter Davis. "En ar the Union League of the third city of the Union ad you would fancy by the talk there was not a Lin in man there," says the ninth.

Two years ago, the most influential paper west of mountains long debated whether or not to demand Lincoln's withdrawal. "The Supreme Court almost likely set aside the proclamation," said the thet man in the House to me, in January, 1863; but to reald rather trust our chances there than trust limits to appoint judges there. Wade submits to lands, but even repeats his indignant protest against a surption in the beginning of his speech. Been the news of Atlanta came, the leading Republicated Wassel Wassel of New York were a committee to ask Lincoln brithdray, and their circulars were scattered over a vest appointing a new convention. News of At-tax end, appointing a new convention. News of At-tax case, and they succumbed. I hardly know of a leading Republican press or speaker who did not to date the succumber. the that plan his countenance.

all this testimony and action prove the unfitness be Fretident, in the opinion of radical men, to tail the peace which is coming. How then did le Useala succeed to be renominated, and hence to that he South has used for seventy years. She ta rat to say to the North, "Submit to my terms, all treak the Union," and till 1861 the North, that is risk division amounted. So Union, and till take the Union, and the By using the same mea this is the division, submitted. So Lincoln, put the down his foot, said to Massachusetts and the Re Submit, or risk dividing the Re which party if you dare!" They submit, and he smitr di you dare! "They submit, and ne smitr di be situation. Perhaps on political and provads they can do nothing else, and he cambridge the street. But I am no politician. I risked distinct the Union for the slave's sake, and I dere, in the slave's sake, and I dere, in cause, to risk dividing the Republican party. the President has never done an act, and nev a bur from fear. He fears Weed, Seward and Sin today, and acts so as to conciliate it. Mr. barthe Costom-House, and Seward runs round centry disgracing the Nation with his offers to p honor and all for peace. But Mr. Lincoln price will obey Radicalism, for all that, if Rad-, instead of putting its hand on its mouth when it is the state of the s us as Weed; and this is the my talk to you to night.

sepublicans why they submit, and they We have made such a reputation for Mr. "".— We have made such a reputation for arrive to that he can safely defy us, and is master of similar." A poor reply, I think, specially when a west told them this fall.—" Together, you can a lead to the safe which there is plentially as a such other of both which there is plentially as the safe which is t each other, of both which there is plenti rould have made them masters of t be too late, I beg to remind them of Dry

"Idjets only may be equaned twice." Part let them now pursue a policy of timid, indis-lands relies toward the President, which will to frighten them from protest if next summer he drags at Niagara. Good wages for a single day's work at them into shameful compromise. Let them remember this was the folly which lifted the dwarf McClei-tost, I, a reformer, refused the Republican half fost, ber this was the folly which lifted the dwarf McClel-lan, and set him on the shoulders of power; this the policy that enabled the Baltimore Convention to defy the party. No more such mistakes. Sheridan used to say he had beard of men knocking their brains out sgainst brick walls, but never of building brick walls specially and only in order to knock one's brains out. And yet this is the policy pursued. Witness the of-fer of the Evening Post; and, further, listen to one of Mr. Lincoln's able advocates—Mr. Tilton, of the Independent-at Latimer Hall, Brooklyn. He says

fer of the Beesing Post; and, further, listen to one of Mr. Lincols's able advocates—Mr. Tilton, of the Independent—at Latimer Hall, Brooklyn. He says:

"As other gentlemen have apoken on other topics, let me advert to Slavey. I regret that so many voices, speaking for the Union cause, are silent out this question—pushing it saids as irrelevant. Have they forgotre, the Baltimore platform? It stands on two pillars—the overthrow of the Bebeillion, and the prohibition of Slaveyr. Therefore, when Bepublican speakers make the War question in slence, they are not faithful to the banner they bear—they tear it iff twain, and lift only half. The Baltimore platform lays fully before the people the Slavery question. If, therefore, this question is to be higled to rest in Republican meetings, touched tenderly, called secondary, passed over as a theme on which the less said the better, then one great purpose of the Baltimore platform as laready defeated before the day of battle in November." ** * "It is lamentable to notice how many influential Republicans are speaking and writing as if we ought, for prudential reasons, to thrust out of sight the nobler half of the Baltimore platform. The Constitutional amendment is not awarded its due share in the nobler half of the Baltimore platform. The Constitutional amendment is not awarded its due share in the nobler half of the Baltimore platform. The Constitutional amendment is not awarded its due share in the nobler half of the Baltimore platform. The Constitutional amendment is not awarded its due share in the nobler half of the Baltimore platform. The Constitutional amendment is not awarded its due share in the nobler half of the Baltimore platform. The Constitutional amendment is not awarded its due share in the nobler half of the Baltimore platform. The Constitutional amendment is not awarded its due share in the nobler half of the Baltimore platform. The Constitutional amendment is not awarded its due share in the canvass. It is avoided as a subject which, to free constitutio

These are true and loyal words. So are the manful of Davis and Wade, heard above the sirer

song of caucus praise.

I know and regret that some even of the have stood with me on a disunion platform for twenty years submit, and support Mr. Lincoln as "the less of two evils." When, till now, did the anti-slavery cause have scales to weigh moral evils? Outsiders offer such Abolitionists the equivocal phrase of being "good men attempting half measures when whole measures are impossible, and thus turning reforming minorities into majorities." Reform never acknowledges edges that whole measures are impossible. Reform never planned, nor believed it possible-nor allowabl if it were possible—to change minorities into majori-ties, by lowering its demands and proclaiming itself content with half measures. Politics believes that, content with half measures. Politics believes that, and acts accordingly; does what it can, not what it ought. There may be an hour sometimes—once in five hundred years—when it is so necessary to put some great man, only given to the world once in an age, into office, that conscience may, perhaps, be par-doned if she shuts her eyes, and not only submits but aids in the inevitable. But, in my opinion, this is no such hour, add Mr. Lincoln is by no means such an exceptional man, ripened, like the aloe, only once in an age. I see no reason for descending from my level of Reformer to that of politician,—no reason offered by any Republican issue or candidate. The anti-slavery party cannot safely thus desert its post To be unwilling to risk dividing the Republican party, by demanding absolute justice of men who believe in it, is to throw discredit on our maxims of twenty years' use. I know of no one who claims support f Mr. Lincoln, except as a choice of evils, and to avert McClellan and Disunion. But we have always said the Union is nothing weighed against justice. change? We have always demanded the whole lor The Fremonters offered us half in 1856. We too the risk of refusing, and brought in Buchanan Horace Mann, surely as honest a man as Lincoln offered us half a loaf in the dark night of 1850. W refused; and was our outside moral protest wasted No; it, and it alone, made 1861 and its gallant resistance possible. It, and it alone, add save from Buchanan. ble. It, and it alone, saved what little the natio did save from Buchanan. Why change our method now? "Fear nothing but fear," as Conway so apily quotes from Montaigne. Mr. Lincoln shakes his finger at political Massachusetts, crying, "Risk dividing the party if you dare!" Political Massachusetts suc-cumbs, sullen and reluctant, but silent. Anti-slavery Massachusetts neither succumbs nor is silent. She calls out, over the heads of these noisy and insir or silent and discouraged leaders, to the carnest men of the nation, "Save your own cause!" This is the people's cause, and I am willing, Mr. Lincoln in 1862 being witness, to trust them with it; it is safe to trust them with it; that course has saved liberty the last thirty years. We know its value by experience. But the people must know the truth, and the whole truth. No two sets of opinions, one for clubs and another for the hustings. I turn to the earnest men of the Republican party, and remind them that only by of the Republican party, and remind them that joiny by linking the people to their side and support have they ever been able to make headway against the selfish-ness of party, the ignorance and toryism of the con-servative. Let not the people be induced or perfaith in any man more than his purpose and character justify. I charge them with inducing and permitting this, while they know, by thirty years' experience on

now and always, in season and out, fidelity to the North and the slave. I am speaking to those who will ignore party, and pause long before they do any act which leads the country to believe they trust Abraham Lincoln Arcanam Lincoin.

You ask me why not try more direct methods. I did. I gave all of influence I had to that Cleveland movement, which pledged itself to absolute justice, whose official con ittee offered a letter of mine, a radical as I could make it, as part of the platforu radical as I could make it, as part of the platform, to their candidate, and he accepted it. History will search and tell why the door opened by Cleveland to the earnest and leading men of both parties, at their request, was not used. I only here repeat my firm belief that that section of the Democratic party which looked to Cleveland (and allowed itself to be merged in Chicago only because Alanta's good news merged in Chicago only because Alanta's good news came a day too late) will have to be won into the Recame a day too late) will have to be won into the Re-publican ranks before this nation can be long held to any line of policy, good or bad. But the Cleveland movement did gallant and yeomanly service. It put the only anti-slavery plank into the Baltimore plat-form; it tossed Montgomery Blair out of the cabinet. omery Blair out of the cabinet form; it tossed Montgomery Blair out of the cabine though, to be sure, it has not wrenched him from th President's heart; and the Cleveland men were thos schon it did concern Mr. Lincoln to reach by his pledge

this slave question, that such appeals in the past to

the people have done nothing but good; indeed, been our only check on bad men and weak men, and our only salvation. I am speaking to those who stand on the political level, and mean to vote. To them I say,

the political tever, and invariant Be vigilant, and demand imperiously of your party, now and always, in season and out, fidelity to the

Cleveland! When Cleveland withdrew its whole loaf, I. a reformer, refused the Republican half fost, and resumed my agistion. I have no great fear of the South; we can defend ourselves from her. It is deception, a timidity, a shortcoming on the part of our own leaders, that makes our greatest dauger. Indeed, I regret that my old friends see, no longer two to ever with me. As for the common world, the

eye to eye with me. As for the common world, the Daily Advertiser, Evening Post, Tribune, the Governor and Senators, whose volces are loudest in this canvass their dissent does not surprise me. twenty years to find out that the Al twenty years to find out that the Abolitionists were no fasaties, and to join as in 1851. I cheerfully grant them ton years more to see, not men like trees walking, but clearly, the whole meaning of this issue and its needs. Day dawns gradually from twilight to noon, for all who keep their eyes open; for those who will open their eyes wide enough only to take in a party platform or candidate, it remains always twilight. Beform cries always, "No danger in opening your eyes wide!" Lincoln will obey the strongest or show Only agitation will keep us the strongest or show Only agitation will keep us the strongest, or show him that we are so. Agitate! agitate! now, in the harvest time, when every ear in the nation is one, when hearts and minds are malleable! Indeed, genthe prevnant words of Macaulay. "The true s the pregnant words of Macaulay the pregnant words of Macaulay, "The tree secret of the power of agitators is the obstinacy of Governments. Liberal governments make moderate citizens," Mr. Lincoln, in 1848, when he opposed the Mexican war, dared to tell Polk and his party that it was the duty sh, in such times, b ent and the Country. Mr. Seward writes to Adams, Sept. 10, 1862 :

writes to Adams, Sept. 10, 1862:

"In this country especially, it is a habit not only entirely consistent with the Constitution, but even essential to its stability, to regard the adaminstration at any time existing an DISTINCT AND SEPARATE PROMING OVERNAMENT ITSELP, and to concast the proceedings of the one without the thought of disloyally to the other. We might possibly have had quicker success in suppressing the insurrection if this habit could have rested a little longer in abeyance; but, on the other hand, we are under obligations to save not only the unity or the integrity of the country, but also its in estimable and precious Constitution. No one can safely say that the resumption of the precious popular habit does not tend to this last and most important consummation, if at the same time, as we confidently expect, the Union shall be saved."

Can I do any great harm by a fanaticism which Seward approves, and of which Lincoln sets the ex-

Gentlemen, I will cheerfully support any man for the Presidency whom I believe honest, capable, and resolved to end this war so as "to form a more perfect union," to " insure domestic tranquillity " forever, " to establish justice" for all men of every race, and to "secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our ng by ourselves every one born e flag, and every one who takes refuge beeath it. Against every other man I mean to agitate till I bayonet him and his party into justice.

The Liberator.

BOSTON, FRIDAY, OCTOBER 28, 1864.

SPEECH OF MR. PHILLIPS.

Under great pressure for lack of space, we devote more than one-third of our present number to a speech delivered by our friend Wendell Phillips at the Tre-mont Temple, on Thursday evening, 29th inst. We print it not only in accordance with our usual habit i his particular case, but all the more readily because, as he has kept ellent for more than four months on as he has kept signed for more than four months on the great issues of the times, there is naturally a de-aire widely felt to know his present views and feelings, especially pertaining to the approaching transcendent-ly important Presidential election; and because, as our readers fally understand, we feel compelled strongly to dissent from many of his statements, and dee much of his criticism of Mr. Lincoln to be not only exceedingly ill-timed, but severely unjust. We give the speech as carefully prepared by himself, and cor siderably extended since delivered, from his own many script. Of course, we have not any space, if we had the disposition, to go into a critical review of it; but we cannot allow it to pass without expressing our regret to perceive what seems to us a set purpose-pri ma facie—to represent Mr. Lincoln in the worst possi-ble light, to attribute to him the worst possible motives, to hold him up as an imbecile and a despot, and to damage his chance of re-election to the tent, as one who is only a selfish political trickster, seeking his own personal ends, who deserves impeach ment for what he has done, and who will prove recreant to his heaven-attested pledges to the cau the millions whom he has by proclamation set free from their fetters, at the earliest convenient opportu-nity! And this in face of the fact, that the entire slaveholding South is in hot rebellion, and the im mense Copperhead forces at the North in organized conspiracy, to overturn the Government as administered by Abraham Lincoln, for the sole alleged reason that he is the political representative of Northern anti-slavery sentiment, inflexibly bent upon the abolition of slavery, and incurably diseased with "nigger on the brain"! And this, too, in disregard of the va-rious death-dealing blows given to the slave system, and of the emancipation and advancement of a mighty negro host, by Mr. Lincoln and under his administra tion! Now, when a man occupies a position and avows sentiments, on the slavery question, which concen-trates upon himself the murderous hatred and the treasonable hostility of every negro-contemner and every advocate of the chattel principle in the land, and when the most tremendous consequences are wrapped up in the struggle for his re-election to the Presidency, concerning freedom and free institu it seems to us that to join in an outery against him is not the part of wisdom or statesmanship. The indict-ment of Mr. Lincoln, by Mr. Phillips, is a most sweep ing one. In the case of the arrest and rendition of the Cuban piratical slave-trader Arguelles, Mr. Phil-lips not only accuses Mr. Lincoln of "stealthily kidnapping" him, but asserts that " uced or per- against him was offered our Government." Strange mitted, at this momentous hour, to put one iots of faith in any man more than his purpose and character spirit and purpose as Mr. Lincoln is alleged to be, he should have been in such hot haste to seize a notorious and most perfidious dealer in human flesh! Mr Phillips accuses the President of many other Finished accuses the President of many other "acts
of pure despotism "—of being "an ingrained Tory "—
of cherishing "contempt for the negro "—of withhold ing, to this hour, the just wages due the colored sol diers—of "stuffing the ballot-boxes with soldiers lots in order to manufacture a sham State" in L of bullying Massachusetts and the Republican party by saying, "Submit, or risk dividing the Re publican party if you dare!"—&c., &c. Look at an arraignment of Mr. Lincoln from another quarter. That learned Copperhead prosecutor, A. Oakey Hall, of New York city, made a speech at New Haven or the same evening in which Mr. Phillips spoke which, among the crimes and misdemeanors he laid to Mr. Lincoln's charge, were " treason, homicide, ar son, kidnapping robbery, perjury, blasphemy, profan se objects and ends are so diametri cally opposite, to be particularly desirable at this jun

> How the loyal and liberty-loving people of the cour How the loyal and userly-loving people of the coun-try regard Mr. Lincoln's trustworthiness for the next four years, in spite of every effort to diagrace him, the coming election will emphatically show. There never was a more abortive or a more ludicrous gathering held, politically speaking, in our judg-ment, than the Cleveland Convention. Yet our friend \$1.75. Dutility taxants it with assessible seasons.

Mr. Phillips invests it with astonishing powers, and attributes to it the most magnificent results!—The relation of Tenterden steeple to the Goodwin sands.

PARKER FRATERNITY LECTURES.

The third lecture of the course bet

She said it was stated, in Gen. McClellan's letter ac cepting the nomination of the Chicago Convention that the preservation of the Union was the sole avowed object for which the war was commenced. It was also stated in the Chicago platform that the war has been for four years a failure. Both of these assertion are false as the hearts that conceived them and th

are fase as the hearts that conceived them and the lips that tattered them.

Commencing with the act of accession adopted by South Carolina in 1860, the speaker gave a minute sketch of the early movements of the rebels, and declared that no one was better fitted to continue the clared that no one was better fitted to continue the policy thus begun than Gen. McClellan, Professor of the New Gospel of Peace. Compromise is the cry of the party herepresents. Compromise formerly meant national dishonor, now it means national death. Those who sustain McClellan, understanding his position, are clearly traitors; those who sustain him without such understanding are grossly deluded.

understanding are grossly deladed.

It is now proposed to assemble a Convention to treat for Peace. This would be merely the revival of an old failure. Such attempts have been made in Congress over and over again. The Crittenden compromise was one of these, and this failed through the ac tion of the South, as examination of the votes of he Congress-men would show. The South refused a Peace Congress in 1861. She should have none in 1864, except on the battle-field, and at the cannon'

mouth.

The North, and even Massachusetts, so particularly complained of, had denied the South no just claim had refused it no right, had indicated upon it no injury, by confession of secessionists themselves. And it is absurd to claim a justification of secessic fact that one-fiftieth part of one per cent. of a certain species of property, being ill-treated, and having legs

to run with, has chosen to run away.

After giving a severely accurate description of the defects and errors of the Chicago platform, the locturer proceeded to say that, strange and incredible as in proceeded to say man, strange and might seem, that platform actually commenced with a truth, saying that the Democratic party were devoted to the Union in the future as in the past.

to the Union in the future as in the past.

Miss Dickinson then described some of the specific acts of treason of Mason and Slidell, Yancey and Beauregard, Floyd and Touccy, Bragg and Buchanan, and proceeded to say that some men at the North were the special representatives, the color-bearers, of these Such a man was the candidate of the Demo cratic party for Vice President; one whose vote if Congress opposed every bill for giving aid to the Gov-ernment; and one who was quite consistent in voting against the bill preventing disloyal men from holding office, because its success would have prevented his from being Vice President. To descend a little—to the consideration of McClellan, their candidate fo the Presidency,-he is right in declaring his belief that the record of his public life was kept in view when the nomination was made. Most certainly it was so kept in view!

The speaker next gave a scorching review of Mc Clellan's military career. When asked his judgment respecting the force needful to capture New Orleans, he said it would require 50,000 men, and he could not spare them. Farragut and Ben. Butler thought oth erwise, and took that city with a comparatively incon-siderable force. (The mention of these names called

siderable force. (Anomalism of the Medical State of Cord.) Gen. McClellan's first military reputation rested upon the exploits of Rosecrans and others in West Virginia. He afterwards captured the wooden guns and then spent six weeks before Yorkat Manassas, and then spent six weeks before York town, burrowing in the mud. The battle of Antic tam was one of the grandest victories of the army of the Potomac, but who fought and won it? McClellan? But Hooker on one side, and Burnside on the other. McCiellan was sitting five miles in the rear.
After the defeat of Lee, he allowed him to sleep on the
battle field, then gave him a day to bury his dead, state. The action of Maryland becomes important battle field, then gave him a day to bury his dead, then gave him another to move across the Potomac, then gave him another to move across the Potomac, as the first example in our history of a slave community revolutionized from within, and her career will be and seventy-two hours after the battle he telegraphed to Washington that he had sent Gen. Pleasanton "in Let the welcome and encouragement of her sister briefly, as an army officer he has been everywhere deficient; as a General he has been always defeated. The freedman within our army lines, and the slave ficient; as a General he has been always defeated who is yet debarred from them, may sleep more would be a supplied to the presidency, he sees no way of ending the way the proclamation is now at an but by a compromise with rebels; wearing the unit. form and bearing the arms of his country, he uses that position and those arms to stab his country to the heart; announcing that the Union is not to be abandoned, he yet says nothing of the public debt, nothing of confiscation measures, nothing of emancipation.
What a contrast with the actual President of the
United States! Whatever criticisms (the lecturer said) she had heretofore made upon him, it must h admitted that past ages have seen no act shining with such divine splendor as the dash of a pen that gave freedom, and manhood and womanhood, to three milons of chattels. (Great applause.)

McClellan wishes to reverse this state of things, t nullify this decision, to send the soldiers, who have worn our uniform, shed their blood in our defence, up eld our tottering banner, and helped win our glorious victories, back into bondage. Shall this act of infamous ingratitude be perpetrated? We answer The soil of the whole South has Neveri Neveri The son of black patriots, fighting in their country's cause, that it can never again bear the footstep of a slaveholder or of a slave. Jefferson Davis says, We will have independence rextermination. They shall not have indep endence If they desire and prefer it, let them have extermina

The lecture lasted an hour and a half, receiving requent applause from an immense audience next lecture is to be delivered by Professor Goldwin Smith, of England, who nobly deserves and will as uredly draw an overflowing house.—c. K. W.

"THE FREE SOUTH."

years, the weekly anti-slavery newspaper bearing the above title has again been established by William S. Balley at Newport, Kentucky. The number now is-sued bears date October 19th, 1864, and is the 30th

umber of the 10th volume since its comm In the conduct of this paper heretofore, Mr. Bailey has given a signal example of courage and good pri ciple combined with moderation. Advocating the a lition of slavery, exposing the injustice of slave laws, making f omments on the various pernicious in ces of the peculiar institution, and doing all this in a slave State, he of course met with determined op position from the wealthy and powerful among its in But so calm and reasonable were his statements, that it was only by a perversion of even the pro-labery laws of Kentucky that an indictment bould be found against him, and Lynch law was re-peatedly brought in aid of the slow process of ordina-relations. ry litigation, to put an end to his paper. He and his family labored with immense energy and industry sgainst these discouraging circumstances, and used very available means of defence against the cowardand brutal persecution which was employed again em. And when, at length, his office was sacked by a mob, and his press and types thrown into the river, be applied himself, with quiet perseverance, to the means of replacing them. He now starts again with a new press, new type, and an enlarged paper, and with the circle of his friends enlarged by the new cir-cumstances in which Kentucky finds herself.

The new paper makes a very respectable a nice, and at first sight would be taken for a No cates the recreating of Auranau America, as well as the great mass of Republicans and Democrats. It represents that a change of opinion, similar to what we see in the North, is taking place in Kentucky, and that many old-time advocates of shavery and partisan democracy are accommodating themselves to the new order of things; and it looks forward hopefully to the speedy extirpation of slavery and overthrow of the rebellion. cky, and

The price of The Free South is \$2.50 per ann ill be glad to receive Northern as -C. K. W.

LETTERS FROM NEW YORK. NO. XIX.

New York, Oct. 20, 1864. It was the cold-blooded observation of Hawthorne, in one of his papers to the Adantic Monthly, that John Brown deserved to be hung, if only for so abominably miscalculating the chances of success. The mailty of this aporthegm requires no discussion; the loost may be madeled. logic may be made to serve any turn. Any man who has learned the result of the three State election has well and who persists in voting for McClellan with a confident expectation of his election, will merit the fate of the Virginia martyr. There can be no question of the Virginia martyr. There can be no question of the popular voice on the 8th of November. For all practical purposes, the ballots have been al-ready cast and counted, and Mr. Lincoln may proceed to readjust himself in his chair for, a second term of office. Our victories, nevertheless, have not been gained without a struggle, and should stimulate rath-er than slacken our zeal in preparing for the declaive counter next month. The Gove peeds the strongest possible assurance of the cordial sympathy of the people; and the larger the majority at the polls, the holder and more radical will be the dealings of our unsignatures with the social and military rebellion against Republicanism. In the coming four years, what a task is to devolve upon the nation! Peace to be won with the sword—treason to be punished—the root of revolve retirement—the Constitution is the contract of the ished—the root of revolt extirpated—the Constitution remodelled—the Union gradually restored—old scars removed or concealed—new industries, new societies, new experiments in self-government. Scanty enough will be all the intellect, experience, devotion and pa-

triotism which we can contribute to these great du ties, and little will they avail if co-operation be wanting—if the members of the body politic be equally divided.

The interest which the soldiers evinced in the late elections, and the preponderance of their votes where these were allowed them, are proof, if any were needed, that our volunteers were inspired by no groveling otives when they abandoned their home motives when they apandoned their notice to the field of battle, and that the love of arms has not obliterated the sense of their civil obligations. In the army indeed is our hope. Without it, the maintenance of our national supremacy, much less our na-tional integrity, would be impossible. Without it, the fruits of victory would be in danger of turning to ashes in our hands. Such a double stay to the Republic is the citizen soldier: our protection in the present, our security for the future. Witness what he has done for Maryland. His ballots decide in favor of freedom the scales which inclined the other way, and against the iniquitous weights of a brutal aristocracy

against the imputious weights of a brutal aristocracy
he flings his aword in as the ransom of his State.

The new Constitution is the brightest, the imperishable trophy of Maryland's loyal warriors, nor can
any honor in her bestowal discharge posterity from
gratitude to them, so long as men can define slavery,
and remember who saved them from its accursed
sway. Meanwhile the nation calmiy accepts, without comprehending the transfer. out comprehending, the transfer of a people one system of labor to another, from one section of the Union to another. We hear no outcry against the barbarity of immediate emancipation, no protest against the neglect to compensate the master. These latter-day Abolitionists scarcely deign to consider such trivial objections; they are not to be frightened by a bugbear, they know the real despoiler of the State. The action of Maryland becomes important

and. Soon enough, if not so soon as we desired, the place of the Chief Justice has been vacated, and can be filled by one imbued with the principle of human equality. The change is as good as a battle gained. What further hope has slavery, except in the leniency of her comparers a servery in comparing and disjustice. of her conquerors? except in compromise and diplo-macy? A new era dawns upon American jurisprudence, of which we have witnessed the lowest abaseent. Henceforth before the national tribunal hu manity will have rights which citizens are manity will have rights which citizens are bound to respect; and liberty will be one of these rights, and the earnings of industry another. "The Angel Death" is not less the world's fair friend than "the good great man's." Mr. Chase is most prominently talked of as the successor (let me forget the late incumbent) of Jay and Marshall. Other names mentioned are not supposed to bit and are concentrationed are not supposed. tioned are not superior to his, and are generally those men who already are occupying positions from which they can ill be spared. The Ex-Secretary seems opportunely at liberty to serve his country a second time with fidelity and dignity. Before my next letter will have appeared in your

columns, the November election will be over, amid a universal sense of relief. Men prefer settlement to certainty, even when the former is merely delusive as it was in all the years preceding the present revolu-tion. Happily, the new composition of affairs is not likely to be founded on an earthquake; and after the nd Tuesday in November, it will be safe to chalk out definite plans in life, and to build with a view out creates. For a little more than a fortnight the two great parties of the land will confront each other, and prepare for battle. The one is radiant with loyalty to the State and to Liberty. The other is like the ghoul of the Arabian story, who are rice before her husband with a tooth-pick, and at night battened her husband with a tooth-pick, and at night battened secretly upon corpses in the graveyard: the Demo-cratic party makes its petty show of patriotism before the public, and conspires apart for the overthrow a free, republican government. The conflict is near, and it will be desperate; but the cannibal faction will be crushed.

Mrs. Frances Ellen Harper. This eminent ar ti-slavery lecturer, of long standing, delivered one of her able and eloquent addresses on "The Mission of the War," Sunday evening, Oct. 23, 1864. It was on her most felicitous efforts, and highly app by the large and enthusiastic andie and enthusiastic audience which cro-ng-house of the first Independent Bap ut, the discourse was full of ought, reason, and wit. And it is but due to say, all who listen to her will appreciate her power.

Mrs. Harper is at present in Boston. The friends
of bleeding humanity will be abundantly satisfied by

nviting her to their own place, to please the ear s instruct the heart.

Mrs. Harper is better known by her former name-rances Ellen Watkins.

Address, No. 9, Gardner street, Boston, Mass.

Among various other matters designed for but excluded from our present number, in conse-quence of the great length of Mr. Phillips's speech, and of Judge Advocate General Holt's exposition of great Western Conspirat

Gen. Banks is in Boston, and will speak in Faceuil Hall on Saturday and Monday evenings next. Several book notices are unavoidably deferred this week.

THE FREEDOM OF MARYLAND.

WASHINGTON, Oct. 19. The President was served this evening, and spoke as follows, being freently interrupted by applicuse?

nated this evening, and spoke as follows, being frequently interrupted by applease?

"I am notified that this is a compliment paid me by the loyal Marylanders resident in this District. I infer that the adoption of the new Constitution for the State furnishes the occasion, and that it your riews the extirpation of sheery constitutes the chief merit of the new Constitution. Most heartily do I congratulate you, and Maryland, and the nation, and the world upon the event. I regret that it did not occur two years sconer, which I am aire would have saved ta the nation more money that would have saved ta the nation more money that would have met all the private loss incident to the nessure; but it has come at last, and I sincerely hope in friends may fully realize all their anticpations of good from it, and that its opponents may by its effects be agreed bly and profitably disappointed.

A word upon snother subject. Something said by the Secretary of State in his recent speech at Auburn, N. Y., has been construed by some into this, that if I shall be beaten at the election, I will between then and the end of my constitutional term do what I may be able to ruin the government. Others regard the fact that the Chicago Convention adjourned not size dis, but to meet again if called to do so by a particular individual, as the intimation of a purpose, that if the nomines shall be elected, he will at once selze control of the Government. I hope the good people will permit themselves to suffer no uncasiness on either point. I am struggling to maintain the Government, not to overthrow it. I therefore say that if I shall live, I shall remain President nuit the 4th of next March, and that whoever shall be duly installed as President on the 4th of March, and that in the interval I shall do my utmost that whosever is to hold the helm for the next voyage shall start with the best possible chance to save the ship. This is due to the people both on principle and under the Constitution. Their will, constitutionally expressed, is the ut Their will, constitutionally expressed, is the ultimate law for all. If they should deliberately resolve to have immediate peace, even at the loss of their country and their liberties, I know not the power or right to resist them. It is their own business and they must do as they please with their own.

I believe, however, they are still resolved to preserve their country and their librations.

I believe, however, they are still resolved to preserve their country and their fiberty, and in this, in office or out of it, Fam resolved to stand by them. I may add that in this purpose to save the country and its liberties, no classes of people seems to early unanimous as the soldiers in the field and the seamen and all their the water of it! Wo should quall when they do not? God bless the soldiers and seamen and all their they commended: seamen, and all their brave of

A VICTORIOUS WEEK.

This week has been one of the most spirited times of the war, as it became that week to be in which fell the 87th anniversary of the surrender of Burgoyne and the 88d anniversary of the surrender of Cornwallis,—October 17th, 1777, and October 19th, 1781. Gen. Sherman has baffled Gen. Hood; Gen. Rosecrans has taken the field against Gen. Price, who has, apparently, got into bad quarters in Missouri; Gen. Grant is pushing operations against Richmond; and Gen. Sheridan, on the 18th, won one of the greatest successes of the war, defeating Gen. Longstreet, for Early,) taking more than 2000 prisoners, many cannon, and much miscellaneous spoil. A number of minor successes are reported; one of the most agreeable of which is the defeat of 280 rebels at Fort Donelson, which was the work of only 80 colored soldiers—a handsome exploit, and as creditable to Lieut. Johnson, who fell fighting gallanity at the head of his men, as to the soldiers. The war, it will be seen, goes on well. The political field, too, affords a most encouraging spectacle; and in three weeks we shall have mighty triumphs to mention. In Pennsylvania, the Republican majority, including the soldiers voice, will be 12,000 or thereabouts; and in Indiana, 22,000. Ohlo's Republican majority including the soldiers voice, will be 12,000 or thereabouts; and in Indiana, 22,000. Ohlo's Republican majority including the soldiers voice, will be 12,000 a gained in Maine. This soldiers voice, will be 12,000 or thereabouts; and in Indiana, 22,000. Ohlo's Republican majority including the soldiers voice, will be 12,000 or thereabouts; and in Indiana, 22,000. Ohlo's Republican majority including the soldiers voice, will be 12,000 or the Republicans in the next House of Representatives; and the Senate has jalways been theirs, and will so remain.—Boston Tradel of Steurney.

The results of Gen. Sheridan's operations in the Shenandoah Valley are footed up as follows: prisoners captured, 8800; cannon captured, 78; small arms, 12,100; calssons, 25; wagons, 260.

12,100; calssons, 25; wagons, 280.

ETF From Missouri; we learn that heavy fighting was going on all Saturday between Gen. Curtis and the main army of Price. The losses were heavy, and it was thought the Rebels had suffered much more severely than the Union army. Gen. Pleasanton, with his cavalry, was pressing hard on the rear of the enemy. A dispatch from Leavesworth, dated the 21st, says that Gen. Blunt had been all that day, stubbornly resisting the advance of the Rebel Price's army toward the western part of the State of Missouri. Gov. Carney; of Kansas, shaving: telegraphed that the danger was very great, and to send to the front every available man, troops were going forward rapidly. Gen. Sheridan officially states that he pursued the lying Rebels nearly-too Mr. Jackson, and that the evidences of an entire rout were complete on every hand. The Rebels nearly took 24 pleces of artillery from us early in the inorming, but Sheridan not only retook them, but added nearly as anny more to them, and they are now at his bradquarters. The Valley is strewn with arms and equipments, thrown away by the enemy, and not less than three hundred wagons have been captured or destroyed. Fifteen hundred of our wounded and 1,600 Rebel prisoners have arrived in Washington.

strewn with arms and equipments thrown away by the enemy, and not less than three hundred wagons have been captured or destroyed. Fifteen hundred of our wounded and 1,000 Rebel prisoners have arrived at Martinsburg. Gen. Custer arrived in Washington on Saturday with ten captured Rebel battle-flags. We have additional particulars of the seizure of the steamship Ronoke by Rebel pirates, under Lieut. Braine: The Rosnoke left Havana on the 20th of last month for this port, and about ten o'clock on that night, the Rebels, by a sudden movement, succeeded in securing all the officers. After seeing the passential of the seeing the s

EF E. H. HEYWOOD will speak in Cummington, Sun In Florence, Friday evening, Nov. 11.

MARRIED In Lynn, Oct. 11, by Rev. Samuel Johnn, Dr. HENRY C. AHLBORN to Miss EMILY, daughter of James N. Buffum, Esq., all of Lynn.
In the Church of the Holy Ghost, Heidelberg, Ger

An the Courts of the Holy thost, Heidelberg, Germany, August 18, by Stadspfarrer Schellenberg, Rev. Thomas Vickens of Hoston, to Karncina Kaynanna, youngest laughter of the late Martin Sceberger, Superintendent of the Orphan Asylum in Heidelberg.

A NEW MONTHLY MAGAZINE.

THE PRIEND OF PROGRESS. NO. 1, for November, contains Rev. O. B. Frothing-ham's Discourse before the Alumni at Cambridge, entitled, "THE NEW RELIGION OF NATURE," with a varie-sty of other contributions. \$2 per year. Single numbers, 20 cents. To be had of the Newsdealers.

C. M. PLUMB & CO, Publishers, Oct. 28.

SENATOR WILSON'S BOOK, SHOWING what the present Administration has a

History of the Anti-Slavery Measures of the 37th and 38th Congresses.

blaves used for Insursectionary purposes made Free.
Fugitive Slaves not to be returned by Fercoss in the Army.
The Abolition of Slavery in the District of Columbia.
Fresident's Proposition to Ald States in the Abolishmen; of
Slavery.
Frohibition of Slavery in the Tames.

Slarery.

Slarery in the Territories, retain Slaves to be made Free. 14 April 19 Apr

All the Colored Soldiers.

Aid to the States to Emmelpate their Slaves.

Amendment of the Constitution.

Confinement of Colored Persons in the Washington Jail.

Negro Testimony.

The Constwine Slave Trade.

Color no Disqualification for Carrying the Malia.

12 NO.—Extra Corn—32. And States of the Color.

12 NO.—Extra Corn—32. And States of the Color.

ALSO NOW READY :

THE YOUNG CRUSOE: OR ADVENUES OF A SHIPMENDER OF A SHIPMENDER OF BY Dr. Harley. 12mc. mith six full page and a profusion of smaller illustrations, in Appare's best style. \$1.50. Boys will find this one of most entertaining and attractive books produced for their delight this year.

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aster next year, and give him the weapon

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ROB

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THE MORNING COMETE!

BY REV. S. P. SHITH.

It is coming, it is coming,
As comes the blessed rain,
When the burning best and dryness
Have scorched the waving grain; We hall the early promise—
Tis not in vain to wait;
If the help serves Gon's great purpose,
It never comes too late. ming, it is coming, It is coming, it is coming.
Said the slave, whose heavy toll
Was grinding bone and mustle,
As the cart-wheel grinds the soil;
The trail of Desolation
That marks the War's red wrath,
Reveals, where Faith stands waiting,
The Almighty's coward path. It is coming, it is coming,
As somes the gentle dew
On the weary, fainting flowers,
When the nountide heat is through;
It comes in silent sweetness,
To comfort and to bless.
We nover hear it comins.

We never hear it coming, But it blesses none the less. It is coming, it is coming,
As the Giant, rested, wakes,—
As our the distant hill-tops
The morning reduces breaks;
While the soldier on his picket
His solemn rigil keeps,
The light already glimmers
On the highest regged steeps.

It is coming, yes, 'his coming,
But, O Prophet, Poet, when?

We have lavished forth, like water,
Our treasure and our men.
We watch the cloudy pillar
That guides our devious way,
And, blinded in the darkness,
Gan hide our Watth, dalay. Gop bids our Faith delay. It is coming, it is coming-Love can calm the maddened brain. Love can caim the maddened brain And the Palm-tree and the Pinc-tree Interlace their boughs again; The Corn and Cotton ripen For the Loyal and the Brave, And Freemen till the scres

It is coming, it is coming—
Prace o'er all the land shall rest,
With a Glory and a Beauty
Like Evening in the West;
The noentide brightness lingers, But Gob can bid it glow; The forest sleeps in acorns, But Gob can make it grow.

Of a Land without a SLAVE! "

NO SLAVE BENEATH THE FLAG. No slave beneath that starry flag,

The emblem of the free!

No fettered hand shall wield the brand That smites for Liberty ! No tramp of servile armies Shall shame Columbia's shore; For he who fights for Freedom's rights Is free forevermore!

Go tell the ashes of the braves Who at Por Hudson fell; Go tell the dust whose holy trust Stern Wagner guards so well; Go breathe it softly, slowly, Where'er the patriot slave For right has fied; and tell the dead He fills a freeman's grave!

Go tell Kentucky's bondmen true, That he who fights is free; And let the tale fill every gale That floats o'er Tennessee; Let all our mighty rivers
The story Southward po The story Southward pour, And every wave tell every slave Zo be a slave no more

For ever let it fly ! with lightning rolled in every fold,
And flashing victory!
God's blessing breathe around it;
And when all strife is done, May Freedom's light, that knows no night,

Make every star a sun! —N. Y. Tribun

No [slave beneath that grand old flag !

TO THE PILOT OF THE SHIP OF STATE. Though furious winds and tempests rage,
And lightnings flash and thunders roar;
Though all the elements engage,
Their fury on the Ship to pour,
Stand firm and steady at your post;
For If you yield, the Ship is lost.

Though on the billows fiercely tost, And breakers threaten to destroy ; Though sail and spar are rent and lost,
And false lights glitter to decoy,
Stand firm and hteady at your poet;
For if you yield, the Ship is lost.

ough part the crew be mutineers, And officers should recreant prove; Though friends take counsel of their fears, And from her course the Ship would move, Stand firm and steady at your post; For if you yield, the Ship is lost.

Though thicker gloom and darkness lower, And more obscure appears the way,
Remember 'tis the midnight hour
Of darkness which precedes the day;
Stand firm and steady at your post,
And saw the ship, whater the cost !
oxbury, Mass.

OUTOBER.

The summer, slow retreating from the heaven Returns a space, earth's beauty to behold,
And through the mists of parting tears she sen
One last fond smile to haunts beloved of old.

Like the Egyptian queen in ancient story, That garbed herself all royally to die, The year around her folds her robe of beauty, And stands a queen beneath the pallid sky;

And round her regal form, like hushed attendants, The forcets stand in anguished meanings tossid, For neath her splender heaves to death her bosom, Smote by the aspic of the untimely frost. Like Casar, soon will come the chill December,

To gase upon her form whence life is fled : And the wild winds that wail around her dying, Will shrink in anguish o'er the bright year dead.

WHAT IT IS TO LOVE

Love! I will tell thee what it is to love!

It is to build with human thoughts a shrine
Where hope sits brooding like a beauteous dor
Where time seems young, and life a thing ne seems young, and life a thing divine All tastes, all pleasures, all desires To consecrate this sanctuary of bliss; Above, the stars in cloudless beauty shine Around the streams their flowery margins kiss; And if there's heaven on earth, that heaven is su

Yes, this is love, the steadfast and the true, The immortal glory that bath never set;

The best, the sweetest boon the heart e'er knew; Of all life a sweets the very assected yet!

Of all life a sweets the very assected yet!

Of who can but recall the swa they mot

To breathe in some green walk their first young row

While summer flowers with moshlight daws were wet,

And the wind sights soft around the mountain brow,

And all was rapture then, which is but memory now. CHARLES BWATE.

Selections.

THE GREAT WESTERN CONSPIRACY.

(Concluded from first page.)

Thus, too, Dodd, Grand Commander of the order in Indiana, quoting, in his address of February last, the views of his chief. Vallandigham, and adopting them as his own, 84721

"He (Vallandigham) judges that the Washing-ton power will not yield up its power, until it is taken from them by an indignant people, by force of creas."

taken from them by an indignant people, by force of arms."

Such, then, are the written principles of the order in which the neophyte is instructed, and which he is sworn to cherish and observe as his rule of action, when, with arms placed in his hands, he is called upon to engage in the overthrow of his Government. This declaration—first, of the absolute right of slavery; second, of State sovereignty and the right of secession: third, of the right of armed resistance to constituted authority on the part of the disaffected and the disloyal, whenever their ambition may prompt them to revolution—is but an assertion of that abominable theory which, from its first enunciation, served as a pretext for conspiracy after conspiracy, against the Government on the part of Southern traitors, until their detectable plotting culminated in open rebellion and bloody civil war. What more appropriate name, therefore, to be communicated as a password to the new member upon his first admission to the secrets of the order could have been conceived than that which was actually adopted—that of "Calboun!"—a man, who, baffled in his lust for power, with gnashing teeth turned upon the Government that had lifted him to its highest honors, ad upon the country that had borne him, and, down to the very close of his fevered life, labored incessarily, to scatter far and wide the seeds of that poison of death now upon our lips! The thords which now pierce and tear us are of the tree he planted.

VII.—ITS SPECIFIC PURPOSES AND OPERATIONS.

The state of the control of the cont

outbreaks were, so doubt, in most cases, inclied by the order, and engaged in by its members. In Indiana nearly two handrad persons were indicted for conspiracy against the Government, resisting the draft, &c., and about say of these were instructed, in the army of the construction of

from them on each occasion about \$80 worth of caps, besides a number of pistols and cartridges, which she carried in person to Forrest's command, besides a much larger quantity of smilar articles which she caused to be forwarded by other agents. The guerillas if Missouri also received arms from St. Louis, of the O. A. K., in Missouri, and a special emissary of Price, was arrested while in the act of transporting a box of forty revolvers by railroad, to a guerilla camp in the interior of the State. Medical stores in large quantities were also, by the aid of the order, furnished to the enemy; and a surgeon in Louisville is mentioned as having made \$75,000 by sauggling medicines through the lines of our army. Supplies were in some cases conveyed to the enemy through the medium of professed loyalists, who, having received permits for that purpose from the United States military authorities, would forward their goods, as if for ordinary purposes of trade, to a certain point near the rebel lines, where by the continuous of the owners, the enemy would be enabled to seize them.

tain point near the rebel lines, where by the connivance of the owners, the enemy would be enabled
to seize them.

1. Co-operating with the Enemy in radds and sivessims.—While it is clear that the order has given sid,
both directly and indirectly, to the forces of the rebels, and to guerilla bands, when engaged in making
incursions into the border States, yet because, on
the one hand, of the constant restraint upon its
action exercised by our military authorities, and, on
the other hand, of the general success of our armies
in the field over those of the enemy, their allies at
the North have never thus far been able to carry
out their grand plan of a general armed rising of
the order, and its co-operation on an extended scale
with the Southern forces. This plan has been twofold, and consisted—first, of a rising of the order, in
Misseuri, sided by a strong detachment from Illinois,
and a co-operation with a rebet army under Price;
second, of a similar rising in Indiana, Ohio, and Kentucky, and a co-operation with a force under Breckthridge, Buckner, Morgan, or some other robel commander, who was to invade the latter State. In this
case the order was first to cut the railroads and telegraph wires, in order that intelligence of the movement might not be sent abroad, and the transportation of Federal troops might be delayed, and then
to seize upon the arsenals at Indianapolis, Columbus,
Springfield, Louisville, and Frankfort, and furnishing such of their number as were without arms, to
kill or make prisoners of department, district, and
post commanders, release the robel prisoners at Rock
Island, and at Camps Morton, Douglas, and Chase,
and thereupon join the Southern army at Louisville
or some other point in Kentucky, which State was
to be permanently occupied by the combined force.
At the period of the movement, it was also proposed

ally members of a secret treasonable association, similar in all respects to the K. G. C., at the meetings of which they had been incited to the commission of the crimes for which they were tried and

10. Assessmantion and Murder.—After what has been disclosed in regard to this infamous league of traitors and ruffains, it will not be a matter of surprise to learn that the cold-blooded assassination of United Carles has been included in their derillish scheme of operations. Green B. Smith states in his confession that "The secret assassination of United States officers, soldiers, and Government employees has been discussed in the connells of the order, and recommended." It is also, shown in the course of the testimony that is along the connells of the order, and recommended." It is also, shown in the course of the testimony that is along the connells of the order, and recommended that is a surprise of the foother for the purpose of patients in was proposed to form a secret police of members of the order, for the purpose of patients and soldier that could be reastly disposed of that this proposition was coolly considered, and finally rejected, not because of its findish character—no voice being raised against its criminality—but because only it was deemed premature. At Louisville, in June last, a similar scheme was discussed among the ordige for the waylaying and but chemical to the second proposed the part of the purpose of the reast of the purpose of the propose of the reast of the purpose of the

5. Members of the order, who, upon a fall acquaintance with its principles, have been speaking upon the property of the proper

They are also especially useful as full comboning those of other witnesses regarded as most rus.

6. Officers of the order of high rank, who has been prompted to present confessions, more a least need to the order and their consensulation of the order and their consensulation. The principals of these are Hun, Data and Smith, grand commander, depart of the order in Resourt, to whose statements frequent referees have been made. These confessions, though it was to the Government much valuable information in garded and disingenuous, have farmised to the Government much valuable information in garded and disingenuous, have farmised to the Government much valuable information in gard to the secret operations of the order, excelling in Missouri, the affiliation of its leader with Pric. &c. It is to be noted that. Dunn makes the statement in common with other witnesses that, in entering the order, he was quite ignorant of its true purposes. He says: "I the says: "I the says: "I the says: "I have say taken in the dark, without reflection and without how ledge."

7. Deserters from our army who, upon being apprehended, confessed that they had been induced and assisted to desert by members of the order. It was, indeed, principally from these confessions that the existence of the secret treasonable organistic of the K. G. C. was first discovered in Joisan in the year 1862.

connection of the control of the con