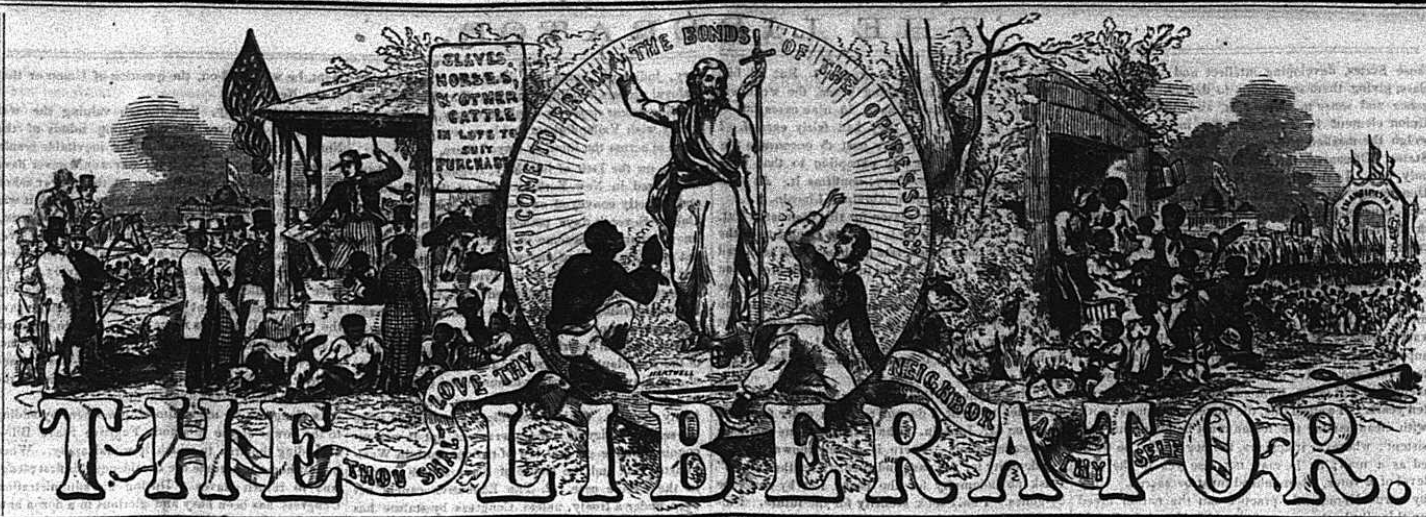


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W. LLOYD GARRISON, Editor.



Selections.

THE GREAT WESTERN CONSPIRACY.

Official Exposition by Judge Advocate Gen. Holt. ASTOUNDING REVELATIONS! History of the Secret Orders of the Golden Circle, American Knights, and the Sons of Liberty.

WAR DEPARTMENT, BUREAU OF MILITARY JUSTICE, WASHINGTON, D. C., Oct. 8, 1864.

Gen. E. M. Stanton, Secretary of War: Sir: Having been instructed by you to prepare a detailed report upon the mass of testimony furnished me from different sources in regard to the secret associations and conspiracies against the Government...

During more than a year past, it has been generally known to our military authorities that a secret organization, affiliated with the Southern rebellion, and chiefly military in its character, had been rapidly extending itself throughout the West. A variety of agencies, which will be specified herein, have been employed, and successfully, to ascertain its nature and extent, as well as its aims and its results; and, as this investigation has led to the arrest, in several States, of a number of its prominent members as dangerous enemies to their country, it has been deemed proper to set forth in full the acts and purposes of this organization, and thus to make known to the community at large its intensely treasonable and revolutionary spirit.

- I. Its origin, history, names, &c. II. Its organization and officers. III. Its extent and numbers. IV. Its creed. V. Its ritual, oaths, and interior forms. VI. Its written principles. VII. Its secret purposes and operations. VIII. The witnesses and their testimony.

1.—ITS ORIGIN, HISTORY, NAMES, ETC. The secret association first developed itself in the West in the year 1862, about the period of the first organization of troops, which is aimed to obstruct and prevent the progress of the Southern rebellion...

During the summer and fall of 1863, the Order, both 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 of the signs and secret forms of the "Knights of the Golden Circle," its name was changed to that of the "Order of the Sons of Liberty."

Meanwhile, also, there had been instituted at the North, in the autumn of 1863, by sundry disloyal persons, prominent among whom were Vallandigham and F. C. Wright, of New York, a secret order, intended to be general throughout the country, and at once to extend influence and power, and at the same time to be a counterforce to the Order of the Sons of Liberty...

Upon the institution of the principal organization, it is represented that the "Corps de Belgique" was modified 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 South.

The secret signs and character of the order having become known to our military authorities, further modifications in the ritual and forms were introduced, and its name was changed to that of the "Order of the Sons of Liberty."

It is to be added that in the State of New York, and other parts of the North, a secret political organization, known as the "McClellan Minute Guard," was formed to be a branch of the O. A. K., having substantially the same objects, to be accomplished, however, by means expressly suited to the localities in which it is established.

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

II.—ITS ORGANIZATION AND OFFICERS.

From printed copies, heretofore 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 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 a Supreme Commander, Secretary of State, and Treasurer. These officers are elected 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.

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, and 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 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-chief 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 commanders-in-chief of the military forces of their respective States."

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 guerrilla mode of warfare in case of a general outbreak or local disorder.

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, and each constitute a "brigade," with a "brigadier general" at its head. The whole is placed under the authority of a "commander-in-chief." A strict obedience to the part of members to the orders of their superior is enjoined.

The first "Supreme Commander" of the order was F. C. Wright, of New York, editor of the New York News, who was, in May last, placed in arrest and confined in Fort Lafayette. His successor in office was Vallandigham, who was elected at the annual meeting of the Supreme Council in February last. Robert Holloway, of Illinois, is represented to have acted as Lieutenant General, or Deputy Supreme Commander, during the absence of Vallandigham from the country. The Chief Secretary of the State is in Missouri, the principal officers were Charles L. Hunt, grand commander, Charles E. Dunn, deputy grand commander, and Green B. Smith, grand secretary. Since the arrest of these three persons, (all of whom have made confessions, which will be presently alluded to,) James A. Barrett has, as it is understood, officiated as grand commander. He is stated to occupy also the position of chief of staff to the Supreme Commander.

The Grand Commander in Indiana, H. H. Dold has just been tried at Indianapolis by a military commission for a conspiracy 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. Athol, State Secretary, and Joseph Ristine, State Auditor.

The Grand Commander in Illinois is—Judd, of Lewistown; and B. E. Eyer, of Springfield, who is styled a "Grand Minister" 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, jailor in Louisville, 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 ostensible 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 under a constant military surveillance. So complete has been the exposure of this secret league that, however frequently the conspirators may change its name, passwords, and signals, its true purposes and operations cannot 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 Chicago, on July 1, or just prior to the day then fixed for the convention of the Democratic party. This convention having been postponed to August 29, the special meeting of the Supreme Council was also postponed to August 27, at the same place, and was duly convened on that day, and it is remembered that a vessel accordingly.

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III.—ITS EXTENT AND NUMBERS.

The "Temples" or "Lodges" of the order are numerous scattered through the States of Indiana, Illinois, Ohio, Missouri, and Kentucky. They are also officially reported as established, to a less extent, 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.

General Carrington estimates that in February and March last nearly 30,000 guns 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, nearly 1,000 additional revolvers had been contracted for, and that the trade could not supply the demand.

It is to be added that the regular introduction of arms into the Department of the North had been reported in General Orders of March last, a seizure was made by the Government of a large quantity of revolvers and 135,000 rounds of ammunition, which had been shipped to the firm in Indianapolis of which H. H. Dold, 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 a few friends.

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It appears, in the course of the testimony, that a considerable quantity of arms and ammunition was brought into the State of Illinois from Burlington, Iowa, and that ammunition was shipped from New Albany, Indiana, into Kentucky; it is also represented that Vallandigham had been arrested on his return to Ohio, it was contemplated furnishing the order with arms from a point in Canada near Windsor, where they were stored and ready for use.

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 actually to be furnished by the Confederate authorities.

A statement was made by Hunt, Grand Commander of Missouri, before his arrest, to a fellow-member, 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 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 equip its members as fighting men, the leaders of the order have felt themselves still very deficient in their armament, and numerous schemes for increasing their armed strength have been devised.

Thus at the time of the issuing of the general order in Missouri requiring the enrollment of all citizens, it was proposed in the lodges of the O. A. K. at St. Louis, that certain members should raise companies in the militia, in their respective wards, and thus get command of as many Government arms and equipments as possible for the future use of the order. Again it was proposed that all the members should enroll themselves in the militia instead of paying commutation, in this way obtaining possession of United States arms, and having the advantage of the drill and military instruction.

In the councils in the order of Kentucky, in June last, a scheme was devised for disarming all the negro troops, which it was thought could be done with much difficulty, and appropriating their arms for the purposes of the order. The despicable treachery of these proposed plans, as evincing the animus 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 "Fitz Foots," have been relied upon, almost to a man, to lead the revolutionary movement.

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IV.—ITS RITUAL, OATHS, AND INTERIOR FORMS.

The ritual of the order, as well as its secret signs, passwords, &c., has been fully made known to the military authorities. In August last, one hundred and twelve copies of the ritual 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 copies of the O. S. L., together with copies of the constitutions of the councils, &c., already referred to, were found in the building at Indianapolis, occupied by Dold, 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 had 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 differ. Both are termed "progressive," in that they provide for five separate degrees of membership, and contemplate the admission of a member of a lower degree into a higher one only upon certain vouchers and proofs of fitness, which, with each ascending degree, are required to be stronger and more imposing.

Each degree has its commander or head; the Fourth or "Grand" is the highest in a State; the First or "Supreme" the highest in the United States; but to the first or lower degree only the great majority of members attain. A large proportion 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 unscrupulous 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 implicit obedience to the utmost of their ability, without remonstrance, hesitation, or delay," and meanwhile their minds, under the discipline and teaching to which they are subjected, become educated and accustomed to contemplate with comparative unconcern the treason for which they are preparing.

The oaths, "invocations," "charges," &c., of the ritual, expressed as they are in bombastic and extravagant phraseology, would excite in the mind of an educated person only ridicule 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.

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 of 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 of its existence.

A conspicuous instance of this is presented in the case of Hunt of 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 deplorable feature of the organization, that it is held bound to ignore 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 on the first occasion, his obligation to the order being deemed superior to any consideration of duty or loyalty prompted by such oath.

It is to be added that where members are threatened 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, they are instructed to refuse to answer such questions, alleging as a ground for their refusal that their answers may criminate themselves. The testimony shows that this course has habitually been pursued by members, especially in Indiana, when placed in such a situation.

Beside the oaths and other forms and ceremonies which have been alluded to, the ritual contains what are termed "Declarations of Principles." These declarations, which are most important as exhibiting the creed and character of the order, as inspired by the principles of the rebellion, will be fully presented under the next branch of the subject.

The signs, 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 Pitman 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 appear to be more familiar than the word "Natchez," or the name "Calboun" 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 ends of treason.

Beside the signs of recognition, there are signs of warning and danger, for use at night as well as by day; as for instance, signs to warn members of the approach of United States officials seeking to make arrests. The order has also established what are called "battle-signals," by means of which, as it is asserted, a member serving in the army may communicate with the enemy in the field, and thus escape personal harm in case of attack or capture. The recent reports of these signs, as represented to have been adopted by the order in a five-pointed compass star, worn under the coat, which is to be disclosed upon meeting an enemy, who will thus recognize in the wearer a sympathizer and an ally. A similar star of German silver, hung in a frame, is said to be numerous displayed by members or their families in private houses in Indiana, for the purpose of insuring protection to their property in case of a raid or other attack; and it is stated that in many dwellings in that State a portrait of John Morgan is exhibited for a similar purpose.

Other signs are used by members, and especially the officers of the order, in their correspondence. Their letters, when of an official character, are generally transmitted by special messengers, but when transmitted through the mail, are usually in cypher. When written in the ordinary manner, a character at the foot of the letter, consisting of a circle with a line drawn across the centre, signifies to the member who receives it that these statements as written are to be understood in a sense directly the opposite to that which would ordinarily be conveyed.

It is to be added that the meetings of the order, especially in the country, are generally held at night and in secluded places, and that the approach to them is carefully guarded by a line of sentinels, who are armed only by means of a special contrivance, which is termed the "picket."

V.—ITS WRITTEN PRINCIPLES.

The "Declaration of Principles," which is set forth in the ritual of the order, has already been alluded to. This declaration, which is specially framed for the instruction of the great mass of members, commences with the following specious proposition: "All men are endowed by the Creator with certain rights, equal as far as there is equality in the capacity for the appreciation, enjoyment, and exercise of those rights." And subsequently there is added: "In the Divine economy, no individual of the human race must be permitted to encumber the earth, to mar its aspects of transcendent beauty, to impede the progress of the physical or intellectual, and enslave the weak bodies they are created to be. Hence, a people, upon whatever plane they may be found in the ascending scale of humanity, who 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 humane servitude and intolence 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 bodies they are created to be. Hence, a people, upon whatever plane they may be found in the ascending scale of humanity, who 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 humane servitude and intolence to the superior race, until they shall be able to appreciate the benefits and advantages of civilization."

To these detestable tenets is added that other pernicious 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 reciting that the States of the Union are "free, 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 inalienable. It was constituted by the terms of the compact, by all the States through the express will of the people thereof, respectively a common agent, to use and exercise certain powers, specified, defined, and limited powers which are inherent to the sovereignties within those States. It is permitted, so far as regards 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 to them, they should be regarded and treated as usurpers. The reference to 'inherent power,' 'war power,' or 'military necessity,' on the part of the functionary for the sanction of an arbitrary exercise of power by him, we will not accept in palliation or excuse."

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

The declaration of principles, however, does not stop here, but proceeds one step further, as follows: "Whenever the chosen officers or delegates shall fail or refuse to administer the Government in strict accordance with the letter of the accepted Constitution, it is the inherent right and the solemn and 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 manhood."

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 abolish their Government, whenever it fails to secure the blessings of liberty, is one of the inalienable 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 of the Golden Circle), and will defend the same in my intercourse with men, and will defend the principles thereof, if need be, with my life, whenever assailed, in my own country first of all, and I do further solemnly 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, whenever assailed in my own State, or in any other State, by those who would deprive me of my life, or my property, or 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 people 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 and speeches of its leaders breathe the same principle—the right of forcible resistance to the Government, as one of the tenets of the order.

Thus P. C. Wright, Supreme Commander, in his general address of December, 1863, 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 South; to be successful when the storm comes, we must be watchful, patient, brave, resolute, organized, armed."

It is to be added that the meetings of the order, especially in the country, are generally held at night and in secluded places, and that the approach to them is carefully guarded by a line of sentinels, who are armed only by means of a special contrivance, which is termed the "picket."

"Proclaim Liberty throughout all the land, to all the inhabitants thereof."

"I lay this down as the law of nations. I say that military authority takes, for the time, the place of all municipal institutions, and SLAVERY AMONG THE REST; and that, under that state of things, so far from its being true that the States where slavery exists have the exclusive management of the subject, not only the PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES, but the COMMANDER OF THE ARMY, HAS POWER TO ORDER THE UNIVERSAL EMANCIPATION OF THE SLAVES." From the instant that the slaveholding States become the theatre of a WAR, CIVIL, REVOLUTORY, or foreign, from that instant the war power of CONGRESS extends to interference with the institution of slavery, IN EVERY WAY IN WHICH IT CAN BE INTERFERED WITH, from a claim of indemnity for slaves taken or destroyed, to the cession of States, burdened with slavery, to a foreign power. . . . It is a war power. I lay it as a war power; and when your country is actually in war, whether it be a war of invasion or a war of insurrection, Congress has power to do as it pleases; and by the laws of war, an invaded country has all its laws and municipal institutions swept by the board, and MARTIAL LAW TAKES THE PLACE OF THEM. When two hostile armies are in martial array, the commanders of both armies have power to emancipate all the slaves in the invaded territory.—Q. ADAMS.

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Here is the whole theory of human bondage—the right of the strong, because they are strong, to despoil and enslave the weak bodies they are created to be. Hence, a people, upon whatever plane they may be found in the ascending scale of humanity, who 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 humane servitude and intolence to the superior race, until they shall be able to appreciate the benefits and advantages of civilization."

To these detestable tenets is added that other pernicious 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 reciting that the States of the Union are "free, 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 inalienable. It was constituted by the terms of the compact, by all the States through the express will of the people thereof, respectively a common agent, to use and exercise certain powers, specified, defined, and limited powers which are inherent to the sovereignties within those States. It is permitted, so far as regards 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 to them, they should be regarded and treated as usurpers. The reference to 'inherent power,' 'war power,' or 'military necessity,' on the part of the functionary for the sanction of an arbitrary exercise of power by him, we will not accept in palliation or excuse."

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

The declaration of principles, however, does not stop here, but proceeds one step further, as follows: "Whenever the chosen officers or delegates shall fail or refuse to administer the Government in strict accordance with the letter of the accepted Constitution, it is the inherent right and the solemn and 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 manhood."

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 abolish their Government, whenever it fails to secure the blessings of liberty, is one of the inalienable 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 of the Golden Circle), and will defend the same in my intercourse with men, and will defend the principles thereof, if need be, with my life, whenever assailed, in my own country first of all, and I do further solemnly 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, whenever assailed in my own State, or in any other State, by those who would deprive me of my life, or my property, or 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 people 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 and speeches of its leaders breathe the same principle—the right of forcible resistance to the Government, as one of the tenets of the order.

Thus P. C. Wright, Supreme Commander, in his general address of December, 1863, 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 South; to be successful when the storm comes, we must be watchful, patient, brave, resolute, organized, armed."

It is to be added that the meetings of the order, especially in the country, are generally held at night and in secluded places, and that the approach to them is carefully guarded by a line of sentinels, who are armed only by means of a special contrivance, which is termed the "picket."

(Continued on the fourth page.)

THE PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION.

SPEECH OF WENDELL PHILLIPS, ESQ.

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

I shall venture to speak to you to-night on the Presidential Election.

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

This 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 irreconcilable with each other. The struggle began when Freedom and Slavery were brought face to face in 1789 by the adoption of the Constitution. For seventy years the weapons were arguments and votes. In that arena every thoughtful man saw, four years ago, that slavery touched its downfall. Warned and made desperate by that defeat, Slavery appealed to arms. How long this military form of the struggle, this civil war, will last, no one can tell. How near its close will bring us to the end of the "irrepressible conflict," none can tell. This only every man can see, there will always be some form of struggle between these two foes, 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 eternal motto, Inexpugnable, must soon expel Her mischiefs, and purge off the base fire, "Victory."

But how and how soon? These are the questions. Will this war scourge from the continent the monster and all his brood? Or shall it close, and leave the festering filth remains to poison and embitter our future for many a year? Who can tell!

But in this we all agree, it is the duty of every good citizen to do his utmost: that the nation may reap the greatest possible advantage from this war. If it is possible to make it result in the immediate and entire abolition of the system of slavery among us, then we should strain every nerve to secure that result. All that the most advanced Republicans offer us to-day is a constitutional prohibition of slavery throughout the Republic. Once I claimed more, and thought it might be wisely and hopefully struggled for. But that was before the nation had been debauched and betrayed 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 tending by irresistible gravitation. Toward that goal, this nation struggles by definite and long-avowed purpose. There will never be rest till we reach it. There ought to be no rest till we reach it. No matter whether this tendency be good or bad; that it exists and overbears all opposition, no man will deny. Science must either prove the negro not a man, or politics must admit his equality in the army, at the ballot-box and the Senate Board. The South sought consistency in a bastard science; afraid, like Montezuma, to allow that the negro was a man, lest the world 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 poisoned her literature, her politics and her religion, for seventy years. It will continue to do so for seven hundred, if it shall exist so long. Until it ceases, real peace is impossible. I believe now, as I have always done, that there can be no real peace, no durable reconstruction of the Union, except based on the suffrage and equality of all men, without distinction of color.

Mr. Lincoln's model of reconstruction is the experiment in Louisiana, which puts all power into the hands of the unchanged white race, sored by defeat, hating the laboring class, plotting constantly for aristocratic institutions. To reconstruct the rebel 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 perpetuates slavery under a softer name. Such reconstruction, leaving the seeds of discontent and division in the South in places of power, tempts and facilitates another rebellion, at the instigation or with the aid of French Mexico. Such reconstruction dooms us to a second or third-rank place among nations, and provokes foreign insult and aggression.

There is no plan of reconstruction possible within twenty years, unless we admit the black to citizenship 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 men 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 would elapse before we can venture to rebuild States. Meanwhile, a large and expensive army, and the use of despotic power by a government holding half its territory and citizens as subjects, make every thoughtful man tremble for the fate of free government. A quick and thorough reorganization of the States, on a democratic basis, every man and race equal before the law, is the only sure and speedy way to save the Union. I urge it not for the black man's sake alone; but for ours—the nation's sake.

Mr. Lincoln's offer of amnesty has been accepted by 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 rebelled to break the Union, and their purpose is unchanged. Military defeat has not converted these men; the voraciousness of avarice has only added to the bitterness of their old hate. Make peace on the basis of that amnesty 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 the 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 to use their power.

How shall we avert this? There was a time, in 1861 and 1862, when the Government, using its vast influence over a people roused to lofty heroisms, might by appropriate constitutional amendments have guaranteed the Union forever in the Southern States by basing it on the negro's inalienable love and need of it. At that time, if an Abolitionist or a statesman had been at the head of the nation, the sword of war might easily have cut this Gordian knot. Lack of knowledge, lack of vigor, lack of purpose, lack of loyalty in the highest sense of the word, on the part of the Government, has forfeited that God-given opportunity, and has brought us instead a united South and a divided North. The only way open to us now is to call the poor whites of the South into political existence, and thus withstand this aristocratic anti-Union power which Mr. Lincoln has established. Hitherto ignorant, poor, and despised, they have been driven in herds to the ballot-box, as Mr. Davis, General Harding or John C. Calhoun directed. Northern skill, enterprise, business and wealth must invade and permeate

those States, developing intellect and thrift in this class, giving them something to defend, and intelligence and sense to defend it, and thus secure a Union element in Tennessee, for instance, to outweigh the masked treason which now governs those States. Of course, this is a long process, but it is the only one. In this struggle between Aristocracy and Democracy, Northern civilization, based on Democracy, must command itself to the mind, plant itself in the hearts of these five millions, and we must create there that love of Union which God gave us ready made, and indelible in the negro's heart, and which we so madly flung away.

In this work of education, the Federal Government must lead the way. With its great power and vast patronage, it may command attention and buy support anywhere, in time. Said Cassius Clay to me ten years ago, "Give me the patronage of the Government, and I'll make Kentucky an Abolition State in ten years." To effect this, the Government must work with clean hands; the lesson must be plain and consistent; wherever it appears, the negro must be treated as a man; if he may not rise yet to the just level of a voter, his manhood must be sacred. Only by a true Democratic practice can the nation breed up this ally in the convictions and habits of the South. In this necessarily slow education of the poor whites, we need not only the example of consistent practice 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 merely 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. Whaley, member of the House of Representatives from West Virginia, made a similar remark to the House in still more emphatic terms. State laws and customs will continue for years to crush the negro, while he has no ballot to defend himself, and this will keep alive class hatred, and poison State politics. But let the Federal Government, in all its branches, in every act, ignore the difference 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 possible. This shows the kind of man and policy I deem indispensable the next four years—why I demand a President disposed and resolved to administer 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 negro is possible. I should account it as infamous if it were possible. For twenty-five years I sought 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 nationality. No words can adequately describe it. But even a true nationality is nothing to me when weighed against justice. That sham nationality we have had—a herd of States kept together, as a great orator said, by partnership in hunting slaves—is a detestable sham. The same curse I once asked of God on the old Union, I shall pray for any new one which does not rest on 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 her. 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—nothing less—nothing else." This I believe is the idea which lights out of the gorgeous eloquence of Everett yesterday at Faneuil Hall. When I quote him for it, I can give it no more honorable endorsement; 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 homeopathic proportion of truth—about truth enough to furnish a basis for a Congressional resolve. But it would never hold water under cross-examination in any county court. What made the North, in 1861, resist the South's attack? 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 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 history shows this. Every man familiar with 1861 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 usual submission from the North. But the Abolitionists, in thirty years of agitation, had lifted the people to a nobler level. You remember that struggle against what Macaulay calls "a sullen priesthood and a raving crowd"—that hurricane which swept over us, tearing the sects to pieces, scattering parties in fragments, and tearing up colossal reputations by the roots. In that storm, Webster's frigate foundered at dead of night, and Seward's dory keeled bottom-side up and drifted.

Moulded by that long and faithful teaching, the masses clutched eagerly the opportunity to reconstruct the Union on an anti-slavery basis—one sure to last, and worthy to last. But for the Anti-Slavery agitation, the North would have had neither opinion nor purpose capable of joining battle with the South in defence of our idea of the Union. But for that agitation, the North would have submitted to have the Union either broken or remodelled, as South Carolina pleased.

And no matter what Jefferson Davis may say in his mad despair, we all know (witness Stephens and every confederate authority) that the South seeks independence only to save slavery.

Again: after years of war, Lincoln, on the 1st of January, 1863, 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 are fighting only for Union. No; as the President proclaimed, 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 the war for, and what we have since solemnly pledged ourselves to, is that. Up to this point, with most of what I have said I suppose the larger portion of those I call our paths separate. You will say to me, here it all; Mr. Lincoln acknowledges the manhood of the negro, and will use all the means of the nation to protect it. He announces Union and Liberty as the objects of the war. If I could believe in 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 deeds, and holding him to that test, I dare not trust him with our future. [This announcement was received in marked silence, and created considerable attention. Several persons interrupted the speaker, inquiring as to whom he would trust, &c., to which, at 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 statesmanship 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 more critical than Antietam or Gettysburg. There, we may fully expect that, in the long run, victory will rest with the strongest battalions; and who

doubts which section is the stronger? But all history shows us that, in making peace, the weakness and disloyalty of leaders have, in nine cases out of ten, led the people half they had fairly earned. I see nothing in Mr. Lincoln's past to encourage the hope that we shall be any exception to that rule. Every thing, on the contrary, confirms it. At such an hour, I have no faith in Abraham Lincoln.

Let me give you my reason for this distrust. But, first, let me allow that he is the only candidate in the field. As for that Confederate gambit which anchored off Chicago, August 29th, and invited G. B. McClellan to be captain, my only wish is may as soon meet her Kearse, and join her sister pirate Alabama in the ocean's depths! And may her would-be captain not be so lucky as his brother Semmes! May he find no English swifder to save him from the fate he deserves!

Again: let me say that any fact which I recall to your memory 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." I ask no indemnity for the past. Let by-gones be by-gones. To only seek security for the future. I invite your attention to Mr. Lincoln'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 Democratic institutions, we are bound to scrutinize carefully and anxiously the man to whom we are about to give a predominant, an almost omnipotent influence over the most momentous period of the nation's existence. I allow all his merits—remember all he has done. I am perfectly willing, here and now, for the purpose of this argument, to concede that he means the right, and has only misread it—intended the public good, but has only mistaken the way. Cardinal DeRetz says that "irresolute men often wish an end, but reject at the necessary means." Let this explain Mr. Lincoln.

You will remind me that he pledged himself at 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 degree, only an electioneering act. I will accept it without question. Let me remind you, in return, that of common war, not one in ten ever gained all they at first demanded; and of civil wars, not one in four ever did so. Reconstruction, then, will be matter of bargain. In a bargain, neither party ever gets all he sets out with asking. We must expect, therefore, that when the bargain is made, one or the other of the two claims made at Niagara will be wholly or in part surrendered. This is inevitable. Mr. Lincoln's offer is Union and Abolition. On one or the other he will compromise. Which is it likely to be? If William Lloyd Garrison stood in the President's place, I should have no fears. I should feel that though he might yield on the question of Union, he would never surrender a hair's breadth on that of Liberty for all men. Can I put the same trust in Abraham Lincoln?

In the first place, remember he is a politician; not 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 crooked, stands crooked. But for this the beast could not move. Reformers are Doric columns. Weight may crush them, but can neither bend nor break. But our politician, whose function is to bend,—without it the State could not move,—how much will he bend, and to which side,—the Union side or the Abolition 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 nation's necessity has forced it to link its fate with that of the negro. Now, then, observe how unduly tender the President has been toward the South; how unduly and dangerously reluctant he has been to approach the negro, or use his aid. Vigorous, despotic, 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 Cabinet meeting, (of something equivalent to it,) held early in the summer of 1861, it was distinctly determined not to fight the South, not to hurt it, but only to array the North in terror and strength, and wait for the effect, which it was thought would be conciliation. We were to show the South what we could do, but not to do it, lest her pride be wounded and compromise rendered impossible. Mr. Blair was the only dissentient. He thought war should be carried on upon military not political principles, but was overruled. This policy continued for more than a year, and explains the dreary nightmare of McClellan. For fifteen weary months the President flung away the treasure of the North, and let her rest for inactive. Raymond, of the New York Times, the President's most prominent champion, has written the history of the Administration, 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 the rebellion. Any man so conducting his own business would be bankrupt in a year, and deserve to be yet. We have Montgomery Blair's uncontradicted and reiterated affirmation, that for political reasons, the President "concerted," last August, to put McClellan 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 that that Government had not done its duty even "indifferently well." It is a foul libel on a generous nation 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, fellow-citizens, while I say that no nation ever loaded its Government down with such lavish treasure as we did. The world has seen no such fighting since Waterloo, if ever there. Taking this into account, the war has been a failure compared with what it should have been. Notwithstanding bull-dog Grant, the old sea-kings Farragut and Dupont, the dash of Sheridan and Hooker,—notwithstanding Sherman's cool persistency, more like an unyielding law of nature than a mere human will,—the blood of Sedgwick and Wadsworth,—Butler, the indefatigable, equal to every emergency,—and Fremont, statesman and soldier alike,—spite of all means and results weighed against each other, the war is a failure. A little knot of aristocrats, disesteemed by their own fellow-citizens, standing on a volcano of four million slaves, presume to rebel against twenty million shrewd, brave, rich, and roused men,—against the richest and most skillful people in the world,—and defeat them for four years? Is that success? Either Democratic institutions are a failure, or our use of them is,—choose! Who raised, as Monroe Conway says, McClellan from a petty Venetian 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 Sumter? Abraham Lincoln's halting, half way course—neither hot nor cold—wanting to save the North without hurting the South. Mark you! this failure sprung from no want of brains, but want of purpose—of willingness to strike home.

Second. Mr. Lincoln does not lack vigor. He can be despotic when it suits him; yes, go up to, and beyond even, his war power of despotism, when he pleases. In these four years, he has been decisive and vigorous every where except on the slave question. This is another reason why I fear he will bend on this side when the final settlement is made. Look at his despotism. I do not mean his neces-

sary, judicious, honorable despotism. Suppressing dissolvent presses, sending traitors to Fort Warren, suspending *habeas corpus*, in legal, necessary, to his honor. I only wish Vallandigham had been sent to prison instead of across the lines, or stayed there.

But, on the 11th of last May, Arguelles, a Cuban, was seized in New York by order of the President, and secretly conveyed on board a vessel bound for Cuba. Several days passed before even his wife knew what had become of him. The seizure was not made by virtue of any writ or order of any court, but on the simple order of the President. The State Department had been informed that Arguelles was guilty of trading in slaves. The reasons which made it a clear case of kidnapping (I mean no disrespect)—that is the legal description of the offence on the part of the President, are these: 1. 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, but it was recognized as the general law of nations, both in Westminister Hall and the House of Peers, so late as 1842, in the Creole 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 evidence of the pravo's guilt as would here justify his commitment for trial. We have no treaty with Spain, and of course no law of Congress to execute one. No title 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 defence, 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 an 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 no right to arrest one situated like Arguelles. Of course the plea of military necessity has no place in this case. It is a wanton, needless act of usurpation and despotism on the part of the President. Napoleon committed no greater offence against national law when he sent the kidnapped Deputies to Cayenne. The 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. S. army, by the President's order, without any commission. 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 the House of Representatives, and speak and vote there, and then resume his place in the army. His commission he could not give him back. That was gone forever, since the Constitution provides (Art. I, Sect. 6), "No person holding any office under the United States shall be a member of either House (of Congress) 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 general again without the Senate's concurrence, which 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, on the 2d December, 1851. The sham French Senate of Peers has since done nothing more shameful than this sycophancy of our Senate. For whom was this despotic act ventured? For Frank Blair, whose intrigues have thus far held Missouri from being a free State; whose sole purpose in entering the House was to insult Chase, the only anti-slavery member of the Cabinet; and who, from 1862 to the 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 Cabinet, poisoned our New England air in 1863 with his impudent advocacy of colonization, and whose intrigues have nearly if 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 controversy suits him best?

4. One Hahn has been appointed and acts as Governor of Louisiana by a private, unofficial note of Abraham Lincoln. Another act of wanton and needless usurpation 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, baptizes them State governments, and it is asserted by a leading Republican 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 use the term for convenience), a veto which drew forth the only manly act done by the Republicans for a twelvemonth: I mean the protest of Messrs. 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 authority to reconstruct rests in Congress; every act of the Executive under the idea of reconstruction is usurpation, wanton, needless, and preeminently dangerous. 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 warning of it, unless the step was retraced. I am an Abolitionist, and rejoice in everything which prolongs this war now that its prolongation becomes necessary to the freedom of the negro. But I am also a citizen, and watch vigilantly for the welfare of constitutional Government. If Mr. Lincoln should use such votes, and be elected by them, no citizen would be bound to submit to his election; every lover of constitutional liberty would be bound to resist it in the best way he could.

These certainly are acts of pure despotism, and such as no theory of the war power can justify, and for which no plea of military necessity can be made. I do not recall 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 will. But in themselves these acts are of grave importance in judging the Administration and the President. You think little of these things now, shutting your foolish eyes, sealing 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 should put Vallandigham, Seymour and Wood in Grant's, Sherman's and Sheridan's places—what then? Suppose he should claim exclusive right to reconstruct the South so as to secure his own election, with the aid of some convenient Banks to help him, and veto all bills that interfered with his plan? All these things he could do, and silence criticism by saying, he was only following in such steps of his illustrious predecessor as had been silently or expressly approved by the Republican party, and endorsed at Baltimore.

But let us come directly to the Emancipation question, and Mr. Lincoln's general bearing toward the negro, and by a fair examination of his whole record fit ourselves to judge which, at the final settle-

ment, he will yield on, the question of Union or that of the Negro.

First let me say, that though valuing the war chiefly, as I believe, the controlling minds of the North do, for this its incidental but inevitable result, (these minds but for which the war would never have been undertaken,) still no one of them ever asked Government to abolish slavery merely because it was sinful. When Mr. Lincoln had got power by a swearing to sustain a pro-slavery Constitution, no one ever asked him to do an official act in mere deference to his abstract judgment and feeling 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 1858, he would not grant the negroes citizenship or suffrage,—was opposed to their political or social equality,—and believed the two races could never live 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 Presidency, his first pledge was to return slaves. During his administration, Congress has been busy and glorious in a dozen anti-slavery measures—admitting negroes to testify in courts—abolishing slavery in the District and Territories—freeing the slaves of rebels and others—acknowledging Liberia and Hayti—attempting to do justice to the colored soldier in the matter of pay—&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 cooperated, and in some (as confiscation) reluctantly cooperated. Their effort to guarantee his own Proclamation he vetoed. Bear in mind that the North accepted the war mainly, if not wholly, to get at the means of abolishing slavery,—that the South rebelled 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 size and sin."

Still, after that long interview between the President and the Border State representatives, in July, 1862, Mr. Horace 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 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. 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